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HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGES

BY
FRANZ BOAS

PART 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIVE SKETCHES

By ROLAND B. DIXON, P. E. GODDARD, WILLIAM JONES
AND TRUMAN MICHELSON, JOHN R. SWANTON,
AND WILLIAM THALBITZER



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1911

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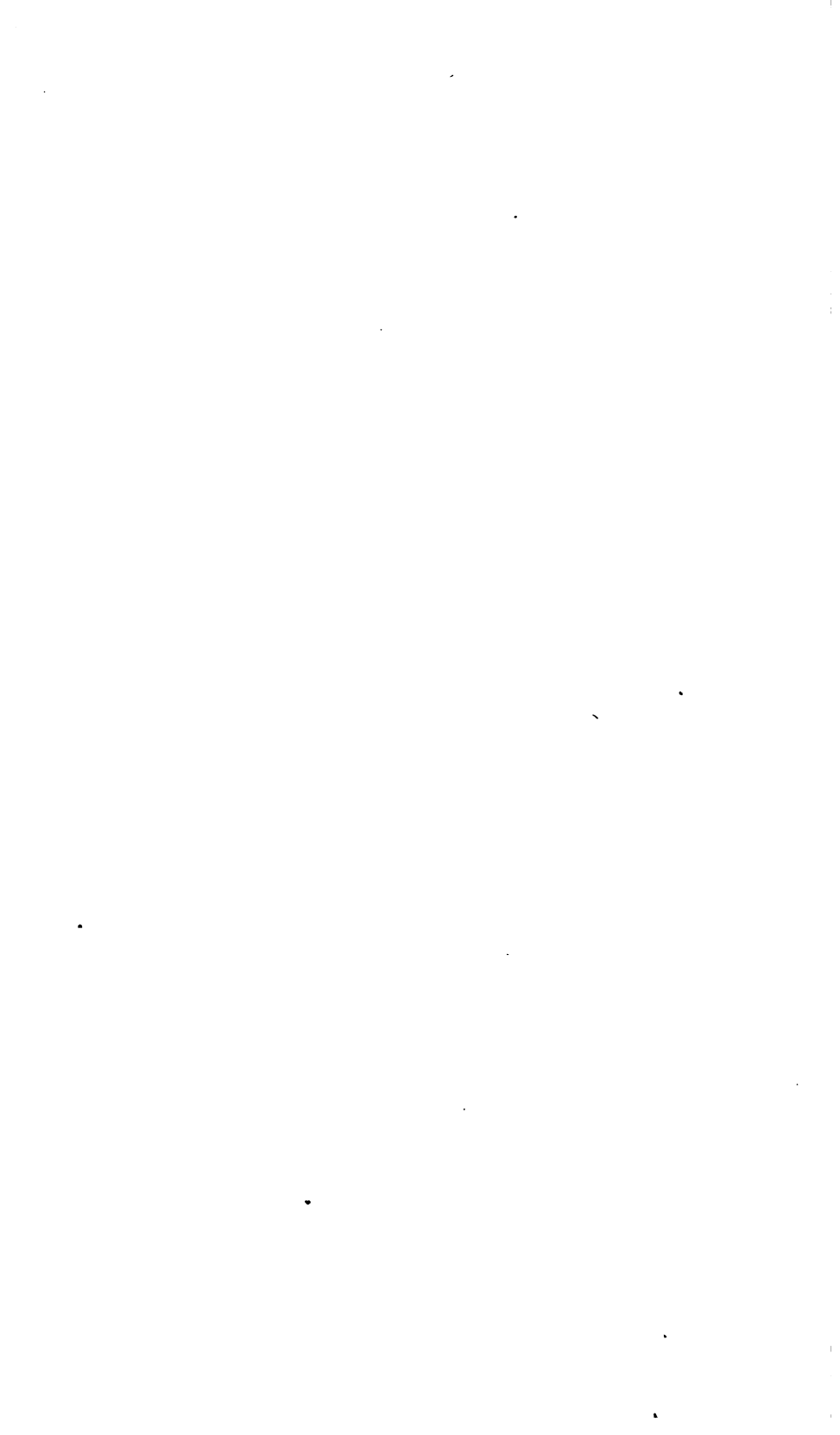
SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., March 11, 1908.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith for publication, subject to your approval, as Bulletin 40, Part 1, of this Bureau, the manuscript of a portion of the Handbook of American Indian Languages, prepared under the editorial supervision of Dr. Franz Boas.

Yours, respectfully,

W. H. HOLMES,
Chief.

DR. CHARLES D. WALCOTT,
*Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.*



PREFACE

The Handbook of American Indian Languages, the first Part of which is here presented, had its inception in an attempt to prepare a revised edition of the "Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages," by Major J. W. Powell.

During the first twenty years of the existence of the Bureau of American Ethnology much linguistic material had been accumulated by filling in the schedules contained in Major Powell's Introduction, and in this manner many vocabularies had been collected, while the essential features of the morphology of American languages remained unknown.

It seemed particularly desirable to call attention, in a new edition of the Introduction, to the essential features of the morphology and phonetics of American languages, and to emphasize the necessity of an analytical study of grammar. The object next to be attained by linguistic studies of American languages is a knowledge of their phonetic processes and of the psychological foundation of their structure. The former of these objects has hardly been attempted; knowledge of the latter has been obscured by the innumerable attempts to represent the grammars of Indian languages in a form analogous to that of the European grammars.

It was originally intended to give a somewhat elaborate introduction, setting forth the essential psychological characteristics of American languages; but with the development of the plan of work it was found necessary to relegate this discussion to the end of the whole work, because without a somewhat detailed discussion of the various languages the essential points can not be substantiated by reliable evidence.

I have not attempted to give either exhaustive grammars or exhaustive discussions of phonetics, because the object of the whole work has been to describe as clearly as possible those psychological principles of each language which may be isolated by an analysis of grammatical forms. A detailed discussion of phonetics and of the probable historical development of grammatical forms belongs rather to detailed studies of linguistic stocks, which should be the next step in the progress of our knowledge of American languages.

In the collection of the material embodied in the present volume, I have been liberally assisted by investigators employed by a number

of institutions, particularly the American Museum of Natural History and the University of California. Most of the material contained in the first Part, except that contained in the sketches of the Athapascan, by Dr. P. E. Goddard, and of the Eskimo, by Dr. William Thalbitzer, was collected in connection with extended ethnological research conducted under the joint auspices of these institutions and the Bureau of American Ethnology; and the grammatical sketches are based on the discussion of texts published by the Bureau of American Ethnology and by other institutions, and which are referred to in the various sketches.

The work of collecting and of revision has extended over the period from 1897 to 1908. Lack of funds prevented a more rapid completion of the work.

I desire to express my sincere thanks to the collaborators who have contributed to the volume, and who have willingly adopted the general plan of presentation of grammar outlined by the editor.

FRANZ BOAS.

NEW YORK, *February 26, 1910.*

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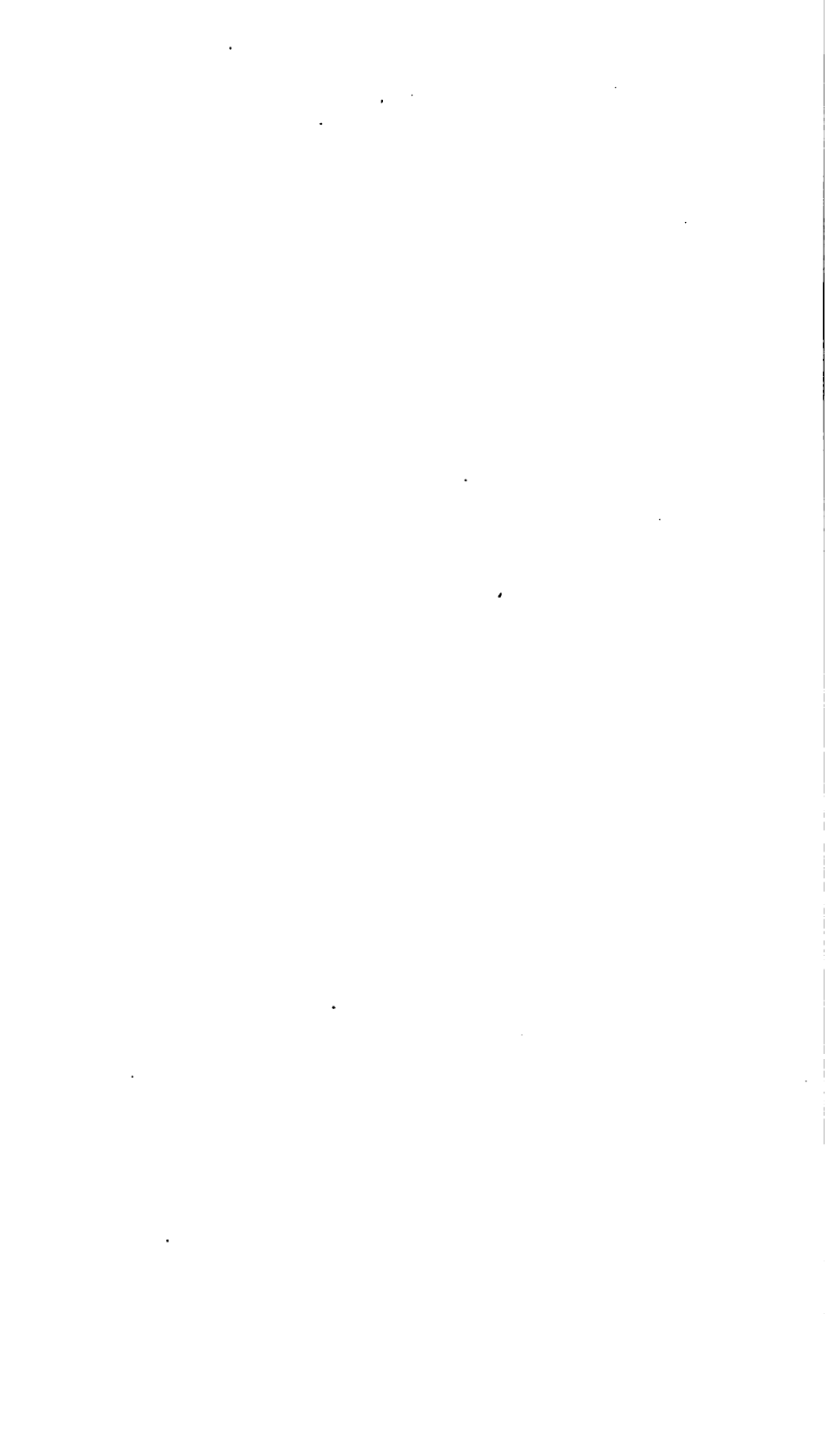
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BY

FRANZ BOAS



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INTRODUCTION

By **FRANZ BOAS**

I. RACE AND LANGUAGE

Early Attempts to Determine the Position of the American Race

When Columbus started on his journey to reach the Indies, sailing westward, and discovered the shores of America, he beheld a new race of man, different in type, different in culture, different in language, from any known before that time. This race resembled neither the European types, nor the negroes, nor the better-known races of southern Asia. As the Spanish conquest of America progressed, other peoples of our continent became known to the invaders, and all showed a certain degree of outer resemblance, which led the Spaniards to designate them by the term "Indios" (Indians), the inhabitants of the country which was believed to be part of India. Thus the mistaken geographical term came to be applied to the inhabitants of the New World; and owing to the contrast of their appearance to that of other races, and the peculiarities of their cultures and their languages, they came to be in time considered as a racial unit.

The same point of view still prevailed when the discoveries included more extended parts of the New World. The people with whom the Spaniards and Portuguese came into contact in South America, as well as the inhabitants of the northern parts of North America, all seemed to partake so much of the same characteristics, that they were readily classed with the natives first discovered, and were considered as a single race of mankind.

It was only when our knowledge of the Indian tribes increased that differences between the various types of man inhabiting our continent became known. Differences in degree of culture, as well as differences in language, were recognized at an early time. Much later came a recognition of the fact that the Indians of our continent differ in type as much among themselves as do the members of other races.

As soon as investigators began to concern themselves with these questions, the problem of the position of the natives of America among the races of mankind came to be of considerable interest, and speculations in regard to their origin and relationships occurred even in the early descriptions of the New World.

Among the earlier attempts we find particularly endeavors to prove that certain parts of the beliefs and customs of the Indians agree with those of the Old World. Such agreements were considered proof that the Indians belong to one of the races enumerated in biblical history; and the theory that they represent the lost tribes of Israel was propounded frequently, and has held its own for a long time. In a similar way were traced analogies between the languages of the New World and those of the Old World, and many investigators believe even now that they have established such relationships. Attempts were also made to prove similarities in appearance between the American races and other races, and thus to determine their position among the races of the Old World.

Classifications based on Physical Type, Language, and Customs

The problems involved in the determination of the relations of the various races have been approached from two different points of view—either the attempt has been made to assign a definite position to a race in a classificatory system of the races of man, or the history of the race has been traced as far back as available data may permit.

The attempts to classify mankind are numerous. Setting aside the classifications based on biblical tradition, and considering only those that are based on scientific discussion, we find a number of attempts based on comparisons of the anatomical characteristics of mankind, combined with geographical considerations; others are based on the discussion of a combination of anatomical and cultural character-

ics—traits which are considered as characteristic of certain groups of mankind; while still others are based primarily on the study of the languages spoken by people representing a certain anatomical type.

The attempts that have thus been made have led to entirely different results. Blumenbach, one of the first scientists who attempted to classify mankind, first distinguished five races—the Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. It is fairly clear that his classification is based as much on geographical as on anatomical considerations, although the description of each race is primarily an anatomical one. Cuvier distinguished three races—the white, yellow, and black. Huxley proceeds more strictly on a biological basis. He combines part of the Mongolian and American races of Blumenbach into one, assigns part of the South Asiatic peoples to the Australian type, and subdivides the European races into a dark and a light division. The numerical preponderance of the European types has evidently led him to make finer distinctions in this race, which he divides into the xanthochroic and melanochoic races. It would be easy to make subdivisions of equal value in other races. Still clearer is the influence of cultural points of view in classifications like those of Gobineau and Klemm (who distinguishes the active and passive races), according to the cultural achievements of the various types of man.

The most typical attempt to classify mankind from a consideration of both anatomical and linguistic points of view is that of Friedrich Müller, who takes as the basis of his primary divisions the form of hair, while all the minor divisions are based on linguistic considerations.

Relations between Physical Type, Language, and Customs

An attempt to correlate the numerous classifications that have been proposed shows clearly a condition of utter confusion and contradiction. If it were true that anatomical form, language, and culture are all closely associated, and that each subdivision of mankind is characterized by a certain bodily form, a certain culture, and a certain language, which can never become separated, we might expect that the results of the various investigations would show better agreement. If, on the other hand, the various phenomena which were made the leading points in the attempt at classification are not

closely associated, then we may naturally expect such contractions and lack of agreement as are actually found.

It is therefore necessary, first of all, to be clear in regard to significance of anatomical characteristics, language, and culture characteristic of any subdivision of mankind.

It seems desirable to consider the actual development of the various traits among the existing races.

Permanence of Physical Type; Changes in Language and Culture

At the present period we may observe many cases in which a complete change of language and culture takes place without a corresponding change in physical type. This is true, for instance, among the North American negroes, a people by descent largely African: culture and language, however, essentially European. While it is true that certain survivals of African culture and language are found among our American negroes, their culture is essentially that of the uneducated classes of the people among whom they live, and their language is on the whole identical with that of their neighbors—English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, according to the prevalent language in various parts of the continent. It might be objected that the transportation of the African race to America was an artificial one, and that in earlier times extended migrations and transplantations of this kind have not taken place.

The history of medieval Europe, however, shows clearly that extended changes in language and culture have taken place many times without corresponding changes in blood.

Recent investigations of the physical types of Europe have shown with great clearness that the distribution of types has remained the same for a long period. Without considering details, it may be said that an Alpine type can easily be distinguished from a north-European type on the one hand, and a south-European type on the other. The Alpine type appears fairly uniform over a large territory no matter what language may be spoken and what national culture may prevail in the particular district. The central-European Frenchmen, Germans, Italians, and Slavs are so nearly of the same type that we may safely assume a considerable degree of blood relationship, notwithstanding their linguistic differences.

Instances of similar kind, in which we find permanence of blood with far-reaching modifications of language and culture, are found in other parts of the world. As an example may be mentioned the Veddah of Ceylon, a people fundamentally different in type from the neighboring Singhalese, whose language they seem to have adopted, and from whom they have also evidently borrowed a number of cultural traits. Still other examples are the Japanese of the northern part of Japan, who are undoubtedly, to a considerable extent, Ainu in blood; and the Yukaghir of Siberia, who, while retaining to a great extent the old blood, have been assimilated in culture and language by the neighboring Tungus.

Permanence of Language; Changes of Physical Type

While it is therefore evident that in many cases a people, without undergoing a considerable change in type by mixture, have changed completely their language and culture, still other cases may be adduced in which it can be shown that a people have retained their language while undergoing material changes in blood and culture, or in both. As an example of this may be mentioned the Magyar of Europe, who have retained their old language, but have become mixed with people speaking Indo-European languages, and who have, to all intents and purposes, adopted European culture.

Similar conditions must have prevailed among the Athapascans, one of the great linguistic families of North America. The great body of people speaking languages belonging to this linguistic stock live in the northwestern part of America, while other dialects are spoken by small tribes in California, and still others by a large body of people in Arizona and New Mexico. The relationship between all these dialects is so close that they must be considered as branches of one large group, and it must be assumed that all of them have sprung from a language once spoken over a continuous area. At the present time the people speaking these languages differ fundamentally in type, the inhabitants of the Mackenzie river region being quite different from the tribes of California, and these, again, differing from the tribes of New Mexico. The forms of culture in these different regions are also quite distinct; the culture of the California Athapascans resembles that of other Californian tribes, while the culture of the Athapascans of New Mexico and Arizona is influenced by that of other peoples of that area. It seems most

plausible to assume in this case that branches of this stock migrated from one part of this large area to another, where they intermingled with the neighboring people, and thus changed their physical characteristics, while at the same time they retained their speech. Without historical evidence this process can not, of course, be proved. I shall refer to this example later on.

Changes of Language and Type

These two phenomena—a retention of type with a change of language, and a retention of language with a change of type—apparently opposed to each other, are still very closely related, and in many cases go hand in hand. An example of this is, for instance, the distribution of the Arabs along the north coast of Africa. On the whole, the Arab element has retained its language; but at the same time intermarriages with the native races were common, so that the descendants of the Arabs have often retained the old language and have changed their type. On the other hand, the natives have to a certain extent given up their own languages, but have continued to intermarry among themselves and have thus preserved their type. So far as any change of this kind is connected with intermixture, both types of changes must always occur at the same time, and will be classed as a change of type or a change of language, as our attention is directed to the one people or the other, or, in some cases, as the one or the other change is more pronounced. Cases of complete assimilation without any mixture of the people involved seem to be rare, if not entirely absent.

Permanence of Type and Language; Change of Culture

Cases of permanence of type and language and of change of culture are much more numerous. As a matter of fact, the whole historical development of Europe, from prehistoric times on, is one endless series of examples of this process, which seems to be much easier, since assimilation of cultures occurs everywhere without actual blood mixture, as an effect of imitation. Proof of diffusion of cultural elements may be found in every single cultural area which covers a district in which many languages are spoken. In North America, California offers a good example of this kind; for here many languages are spoken, and there is a certain degree of differentiation of type, but at the same time a considerable uniformity of culture pre-

ails. Another case in point is the coast of New Guinea, where, notwithstanding strong local differentiations, a certain fairly characteristic type of culture prevails, which goes hand in hand with a strong differentiation of languages. Among more highly civilized peoples, the whole area which is under the influence of Chinese culture might be given as an example.

These considerations make it fairly clear that, at least at the present time, anatomical type, language, and culture have not necessarily the same fates; that a people may remain constant in type and language and change in culture; that they may remain constant in type, but change in language; or that they may remain constant in language and change in type and culture. If this is true, then it is obvious that attempts to classify mankind, based on the present distribution of type, language, and culture, must lead to different results, according to the point of view taken; that a classification based primarily on type alone will lead to a system which represents, more or less accurately, the blood relationships of the people, which do not need to coincide with their cultural relationships; and that, in the same way, classifications based on language and culture do not need at all to coincide with a biological classification.

If this be true, then a problem like the much discussed Aryan problem really does not exist, because the problem is primarily a linguistic one, relating to the history of the Aryan languages; and the assumption that a certain definite people whose members have always been related by blood must have been the carriers of this language throughout history; and the other assumption, that a certain cultural type must have always belonged to this people—are purely arbitrary ones and not in accord with the observed facts.

Hypothesis of Original Correlation of Type, Language, and Culture

Nevertheless, it must be granted, that in a theoretical consideration of the history of the types of mankind, of languages, and of cultures, we are led back to the assumption of early conditions during which each type was much more isolated from the rest of mankind than it is at the present time. For this reason, the culture and the language belonging to a single type must have been much more sharply separated from those of other types than we find them to be at the present period. It is true that such a condition has nowhere

been observed; but the knowledge of historical developments almost compels us to assume its existence at a very early period in the development of mankind. If this is true, the question would arise, whether an isolated group, at an early period, was necessarily characterized by a single type, a single language, and a single culture, or whether in such a group different types, different languages, and different cultures may have been represented.

The historical development of mankind would afford a simpler and clearer picture, if we were justified in assuming that in primitive communities the three phenomena had been intimately associated. No proof, however, of such an assumption can be given. On the contrary, the present distribution of languages, as compared with the distribution of types, makes it plausible that even at the earliest times the biological units may have been wider than the linguistic units, and presumably also wider than the cultural units. I believe that it may be safely said that all over the world the biological unit is much larger than the linguistic unit: in other words, that groups of men who are so closely related in bodily appearance that we must consider them as representatives of the same variety of mankind, embrace a much larger number of individuals than the number of men speaking languages which we know to be genetically related. Examples of this kind may be given from many parts of the world. Thus, the European race—including under this term roughly all those individuals who are without hesitation classed by us as members of the white race—would include peoples speaking Indo-European, Basque, and Ural-Altaic languages. West African negroes would represent individuals of a certain negro type, but speaking the most diverse languages; and the same would be true, among Asiatic types, of Siberians; among American types, of part of the Californian Indians.

So far as our historical evidence goes, there is no reason to believe that the number of distinct languages has at any time been less than it is now. On the contrary, all our evidence goes to show that the number of apparently unrelated languages has been much greater in earlier times than at present. On the other hand, the number of types that have presumably become extinct seems to be rather small, so that there is no reason to suppose that at an early period there should have been a nearer correspondence between the number of distinct linguistic and anatomical types; and we are thus led to

he conclusion that presumably, at an early time, each human type may have existed in a number of small isolated groups, each of which may have possessed a language and culture of its own.

However this may be, the probabilities are decidedly in favor of the assumption that there is no necessity to assume that originally each language and culture were confined to a single type, or that each type and culture were confined to one language: in short, that there has been at any time a close correlation between these three phenomena.

The assumption that type, language, and culture were originally closely correlated would entail the further assumption that these three traits developed approximately at the same period, and that they developed conjointly for a considerable length of time. This assumption does not seem by any means plausible. The fundamental types of man which are represented in the negroid race and in the mongoloid race must have been differentiated long before the formation of those forms of speech that are now recognized in the linguistic families of the world. I think that even the differentiation of the more important subdivisions of the great races antedates the formation of the existing linguistic families. At any rate, the biological differentiation and the formation of speech were, at this early period, subject to the same causes that are acting upon them now, and our whole experience shows that these causes act much more rapidly on language than on the human body. In this consideration lies the principal reason for the theory of lack of correlation of type and language, even during the period of formation of types and of linguistic families.

What is true of language is obviously even more true of culture. In other words, if a certain type of man migrated over a considerable area before its language assumed the form which can now be traced in related linguistic groups, and before its culture assumed the definite type the further development of which can now be recognized, there would be no possibility of ever discovering a correlation of type, language, and culture, even if it had ever existed; but it is quite possible that such correlation has really never occurred.

It is quite conceivable that a certain racial type may have scattered over a considerable area during a formative period of speech, and that the languages which developed among the various groups

of this racial type came to be so different that it is now impossible to prove them to be genetically related. In the same way, new developments of culture may have taken place which are so entirely disconnected with older types that the older genetic relationships, even if they existed, can no longer be discovered.

If we adopt this point of view, and thus eliminate the hypothetical assumption of correlation between primitive type, primitive language, and primitive culture, we recognize that any attempt at classification which includes more than one of these traits can not be consistent.

It may be added that the general term "culture" which has been used here may be subdivided from a considerable number of points of view, and different results again might be expected when we consider the inventions, the types of social organization, or beliefs, as leading points of view in our classification.

Artificial Character of All Classifications of Mankind

We recognize thus that every classification of mankind must be more or less artificial, according to the point of view selected, and here, even more than in the domain of biology, we find that classification can only be a substitute for the genesis and history of the now existing types.

Thus we recognize that the essential object in comparing different types of man must be the reconstruction of the history of the development of their types, their languages, and their cultures. The history of each of these various traits is subject to a distinct set of modifying causes, and the investigation of each may be expected to contribute data toward the solution of our problem. The biological investigation may reveal the blood-relationships of types and their modifications under social and geographical environment. The linguistic investigation may disclose the history of languages, the contact of the people speaking them with other people, and the causes that led to linguistic differentiation and integration; while the history of civilization deals with the contact of a people with neighboring peoples, as well as with the history of its own achievements.

II. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LANGUAGE

Definition of Language

The discussions of the preceding chapter have shown that a consideration of the human languages alone must not be understood to yield a history of the blood-relationships of races and of their component elements, but that all that we can hope to obtain is a clear understanding of the relationship of the languages, no matter by whom they may be spoken.

Before discussing the extent to which we may reconstruct the history of languages, it seems necessary to describe briefly the essential traits of human speech.

In our present discussion we do not deal with gesture-language or musical means of communication, but confine ourselves to the discussion of articulate speech; that is, to communication by means of groups of sounds produced by the articulating organs—the larynx, oral cavity, tongue, lips, and nose.

Character of Phonetics

Speech consists of groups of sounds produced by the articulating organs, partly noises made by opening and closing certain places in the larynx, pharynx, mouth, or nose, or by restricting certain parts of the passage of the breath; partly resonant sounds produced by the vocal chords.

Number of Sounds Unlimited

The number of sounds that may be produced in this manner is unlimited. In our own language we select only a limited number of all possible sounds; for instance, some sounds, like *p*, are produced by the closing and a sudden opening of the lips; others, like *t*, by bringing the tip of the tongue into contact with the anterior portion of the palate, by producing a closure at this point, and by suddenly expelling the air. On the other hand, a sound might be produced by placing the tip of the tongue between the lips, making a closure in this manner, and by expelling the air suddenly. This sound would to our ear partake of the character of both our *t* and our *p*, while it would correspond to neither of these. A comparison of the sounds of the well-known European languages—like English, French, and German; or even of the different dialects of the same

languages, like those of Scotch and of the various English dialects—reveals the fact that considerable variation occurs in the manner of producing sounds, and that each dialect has its own characteristic phonetic system, in which each sound is nearly fixed, although subject to slight modifications which are due to accident or to the effects of surrounding sounds.

Each Language Uses a Limited Number of Sounds

One of the most important facts relating to the phonetics of human speech is, that every single language has a definite and limited group of sounds, and that the number of those used in any particular dialect is never excessively large.

It would seem that this limitation in the use of sounds is necessary in order to make possible rapid communication. If the number of sounds that are used in any particular language were unlimited, the accuracy with which the movements of the complicated mechanism required for producing the sounds are performed would presumably be lacking, and consequently rapidity and accuracy of pronunciation, and with them the possibility of accurate interpretation of the sounds heard, would be difficult, or even impossible. On the other hand, limitation of the number of sounds brings it about that the movements required in the production of each become automatic, that the association between the sound heard and the muscular movements, and that between the auditory impression and the muscular sensation of the articulation, become firmly fixed. Thus it would seem that limited phonetic resources are necessary for easy communication.

Alleged Lack of Differentiation of Sounds in Primitive Languages

It has been maintained that this is not a characteristic found in more primitive types of languages, and particularly, examples of American languages have often been brought forward to show that the accuracy of their pronunciation is much less than that found in the languages of the civilized world.

It would seem that this view is based largely on the fact that certain sounds that occur in American languages are interpreted by observers sometimes as one European sound, sometimes as another. Thus the Pawnee language contains a sound which may be heard

more or less distinctly sometimes as an *l*, sometimes an *r*, sometimes as *n*, and again as *d*, which, however, without any doubt, is throughout the same sound, although modified to a certain extent by its position in the word and by surrounding sounds. It is an exceedingly weak *r*, made by trilling with the tip of the tongue at a point a little behind the roots of the incisors, and in which the tongue hardly leaves the palate, the trill being produced by the lateral part of the tongue adjoining the tip. As soon as the trill is heard more strongly, we receive the impression of an *r*. When the lateral movement prevails and the tip of the tongue does not seem to leave the palate, the impression of an *l* is strongest, while when the trill is almost suppressed and a sudden release of the tongue from the palate takes place, the impression of the *d* is given. The impression of an *n* is produced because the sound is often accompanied by an audible breathing through the nose. This peculiar sound is, of course, entirely foreign to our phonetic system; but its variations are not greater than those of the English *r* in various combinations, as in *broth*, *mother*, *where*. The different impression is brought about by the fact that the sound, according to its prevailing character, associates itself either with our *l*, or our *r*, *n*, or *d*.

Other examples are quite common. Thus, the lower Chinook has a sound which is readily perceived as a *b*, *m*, or *w*. As a matter of fact, it is a *b* sound, produced by a very weak closure of the lips and with open nose, the breath passing weakly both through the mouth and through the nose, and accompanied by a faint intonation of the vocal chords. This sound associates itself with our *b*, which is produced by a moderately weak release of the lips; with our *m*, which is a free breath through the nose with closed lips; and with our *w*, which is a breath through the lips, which are almost closed, all accompanied by a faint intonation of the vocal chords. The association of this sound with *w*, is particularly marked when it appears in combination with a *u* vowel, which imitates the characteristic *u* tinge of our *w*. Still another example is the *b* sound, which is produced with half-closed nose by the Indians of the Strait of Fuca, in the State of Washington. In this case the characteristic trait of the sound is a semiclosure of the nose, similar to the effect produced by a cold in the head. Not less common are sounds intermediate between our vowels. Thus we seem to find in a number of Indian languages

a vowel which is sometimes perceived as *o*, sometimes as *u* (continental pronunciation), and which is in reality pronounced in a position intermediate between these two sounds.

The correctness of this interpretation of Indian phonetics is perhaps best proved by the fact that observers belonging to different nationalities readily perceive the sounds in accordance with the system of sounds with which they are familiar. Often it is not difficult to recognize the nationality of a recorder from the system selected by him for the rendering of sounds.

Still another proof of the correctness of this view of Indian phonetics is given by the fact that, wherever there is a greater number of Indian sounds of a class represented by a single sound in English, our own sounds are misinterpreted in similar manner. Thus, for instance, the Indians of the North Pacific coast have a series of *l* sounds, which may be roughly compared to our sounds *tl*, *cl*, *gl*. Consequently, a word like *close* is heard by the Indians sometimes one way, sometimes another; our *cl* is for them an intermediate sound, in the same way as some Indian sounds are intermediate sounds to our ears. The alternation of the sounds is clearly an effect of perception through the medium of a foreign system of phonetics, not that of a greater variability of pronunciation than the one that is characteristic of our own sounds.

While the phonetic system of each language is limited and fixed, the sounds selected in different types of languages show great differences, and it seems necessary to compare groups of languages from the point of view of their constituent phonetic elements.

Brief Description of Phonetics

A complete discussion of this subject can not be given at this place; but a brief statement of the characteristics of articulate sounds, and the manner of rendering them by means of symbols, seems necessary.

All articulate sounds are produced by the vibrations of the articulating organs, which are set in motion by breathing. In the vast majority of cases it is the outgoing breath which causes the vibrations; while in a few languages, as in those of South Africa, the breath, while being drawn in, is used for producing the sound.

One group of sounds is produced by the vibration of the vocal chords, and is characterized by the form given to the cavities of

mouth and nose. These are the vowels. When the nose is closed, we have pure vowels; when the posterior part of the nose is more or less open, more or less nasalized vowels. The character of the vowel depends upon the form given to the oral cavity. The timbre of the vowels changes according to the degree to which the larynx is raised; the epiglottis lowered or raised; the tongue retracted or brought forward and its back rounded or flattened; and the lips rounded and brought forward, or an elongated opening of the mouth produced by retracting the corners of the mouth. With open lips and the tongue and pharynx at rest, but the soft palate (velum) raised, we have the pure vowel *a*, similar to the *a* in *father*. From this sound the vowels vary in two principal directions. The one extreme is *u* (like *oo* in English *fool*), with small round opening of the protruding lips, tongue retracted, and round opening between tongue and palate, and large opening between larynx and pharynx, the larynx still being almost at rest. The transitional sounds pass through *â* (*aw* in English *law*) and *o* (as in *most*), but the range of intermediate positions is continuous. In another direction the vowels pass from *a* through *e* (*a* in English *mane*) to *i* (*ee* in *fleet*). The *i* is pronounced with extreme retraction of the corners of the mouth and elongated opening of the lips, with very narrow flat opening between tongue and palate, and the posterior part of the tongue brought forward, so that there is a wide opening in the back part of the mouth, the larynx being raised at the same time.

Variations of vowels may be produced by a different grouping of the movements of the articulating organs. Thus, when the lips are in *i* position, the tongue and pharynx and larynx in *u* position, we have the sound *ü*, which is connected with the *a* by a series passing through *ö*. These sounds are similar to the German umlaut.

Other combinations of positions of the tongue and of the lips occur, although the ones here described seem to be the most frequent vowel-sounds. All vowels may become very much weakened in strength of articulation, and dwindle down to a slight intonation of the vocal chords, although retaining the peculiar vowel timbre, which depends upon the position of mouth, nose, and lips. When this articulation becomes very weak, all the vowels tend to become quite similar in character, or may be influenced in their timbre by neighboring consonants, as will be described later.

All sounds produced by vibrations in any part of the articulating organs other than the vocal chords are consonants. These vibrations may be produced either by closing the air-passages completely and then suddenly opening the closure, or by producing a narrowing or stricture at any point. The former series of sounds are called "stops" (like our *p*, *t*, *k*). In all of these there is a complete closure before the air is expelled. The latter are called "spirants" or "continued" (like our *s* and *f*), in which there is a continuous escape of breath. When a stop is made and is followed by a breathing through a stricture at the same place, sounds develop like our *ts*. These are called "affricatives." When the mouth is completely stopped, and the air escapes through the nose, the sound is called a "nasal consonant" (like our *m* and *n*). There may also be stricture and nasal opening. A rapidly repeated series of stops, a trill, is represented by our *r*. The character of the sound depends largely upon the parts of the articulating organs that produce the closure or stricture, and upon the place where these occur. Closure or stricture may be made by the lips, lips and tongue, lips and teeth, tongue and teeth, tongue and hard palate, tongue and soft palate (velum), by the vocal chords, and in the nose.

In the following table, only the principal groups of consonants are described. Rare sounds are omitted. According to what has been said before, it will be recognized that here also the total number of possible sounds is infinitely large.

Bilabial stop	p
Linguo-palatal stops:	
Apical (dental, alveolar, post-alveolar)	t
Cerebral (produced with the tip of the tongue turned backward)	t
Dorsal:	
Anterior palatal	k
Medial	k
Velar	q
Glottal (a stop produced with the vocal chords)	s
Nasal	N

Almost all these stops may be modified by giving to the closure a different degree of stress. In English we have two principal degrees of stress, represented, for instance, by our *b* and *p* or *d* and *t*. In many languages, as, for instance, in Sioux and in the languages of the Pacific coast, there are three degrees of stress that may be

readily differentiated. The strongest of these we call the "fortis," and indicate it by following the consonant by an ! (*p!*, *t!*):

When these stops are not accompanied by any kind of vibration of the vocal chords, they are called "surds."

It is, of course, also possible that more than one stop may be made at one time. Thus it might be possible to close at the same time the lips and the posterior part of the mouth with the tongue. This type of combination is, however, rare; but we find very frequently articulation of the vocal chords with stops. This results in the voiced consonants, or sonants. In English we find that almost always the stress of articulation of the voiced sound is less than the stress of articulation of the unvoiced sound, or surd; but this correlation is not necessary. In American languages particularly, we find very commonly the same degree of stress used with voicing and without voicing, which brings it about that to the European ear the surd and sonant are difficult to distinguish.

A third modification of the consonants is brought about by the strength of breathing accompanying the release of the closure. In a sound like *t*, for instance, the sound may be simply produced by closing the mouth, by laying the tip of the tongue firmly against the palate, producing a slightly increased amount of air-pressure behind the tongue, and then releasing the closure. On the other hand, the sound may be produced by bringing about the closure and combining the release with the expiration of a full breath. Sounds which are accompanied by this full breathing may be called "aspirates," and we will designate the aspiration by ', the symbol of the Greek spiritus asper. This full breathing may follow the stop, or may begin even before the completion of the closure. With the increased stress of closure of the fortis is connected a closure of the glottis or of the posterior part of the tongue, so that only the air that has been poured into the vocal cavity is expelled.

In the case of voiced consonants, the voicing may either be entirely synchronous with the consonant, or it may slightly precede or follow it. In both of these cases we may get the impression of a preceding or following exceedingly weak vowel, the timbre of which will depend essentially upon the accompanying consonant. When the timbre is very indefinite, we write this vowel *E*; when it is more definite, *A*, *I*, *Ø*, *U*, etc. In other cases, where the release at the

closure is made without a full breath going out, and simply by compressing the air slightly in the space behind the closure, a break is very liable to originate between the stop and the following sound of the word. Such a hiatus in the word is indicated by an apostrophe ('). It seems likely that, where such a hiatus occurs following a vowel, it is generally due to a closing of the glottis.

Most of the phenomena here described may also occur with the spirants and nasals, which, however, do not seem to differ so much in regard to strength; while the character of the outgoing breath, the voicing and the breaking-off, show traits similar to those observed among the stops.

All the stops may be changed into nasals by letting the air escape through the nose while the closure is continued. In this manner originate our *n* and *m*. The nasal opening may also differ in width, and the stricture of the upper nares may produce semi-nasalized consonants.

In the spirant sounds before described, the escape of the air is along the middle line of the palate. There are a number of other sounds in which the air escapes laterally. These are represented by our *l*. They also may vary considerably, according to the place and form of the opening through which the air escapes and the form of closure of the mouth.

It seems that the peculiar timbre of some of the consonants depends also upon the resonance of the oral opening. This seems to be particularly the case in regard to the *t* and *k* sounds. In pronouncing the *t* sounds, one of the essential characteristics seems to be that the posterior part of the mouth is open, while the anterior portion of the mouth is filled by the tongue. In the *k* series, on the other hand, the posterior portion of the mouth is filled by the tongue, while the anterior portion remains open. Sounds produced with both the posterior and anterior portion of the mouth open partake of the character of both the *k* and *t* series.¹

Two of the vowels show a close affiliation to consonants of the continuant series. These are *i* and *u*, owing largely to the fact that in *i* the position of the tongue is very nearly a stricture in the anterior portion of the mouth, while in *u* the position of the lips is quite near to a stricture. Thus originate the semi-vowels *y* and *w*. The last sound that must be mentioned is the free breathing *h*, which, in its

¹ See P. W. Schmidt, *Anthropos*, II, 834.

most characteristic form, is produced by the expiration of the breath with all the articulating organs at rest.

In tabular form we obtain thus the following series of the most important consonantic sounds:

	Stops.			Spirants.		Nasals.		Trill.	
	Sonant.	Surd.	Fortis.	Sonant.	Surd.	Sonant.	Surd.	Sonant.	Surd.
Bilabial.....	b	p	p'	v	f	m	ɱ	.....	.....
Labio-dental.....				v	f			.....	.....
Linguo-labial.....	d	t	t'	ç	ç	n	ɳ	.....	.....
Linguo-dental.....	d	t	t'	ç	ç	n	ɳ	.....	.....
Dental.....				ɟ	c			.....	.....
Lingual—									
Apical.....	d	t	t'	s	s	n	ɳ	r	ʀ
Cerebral.....									
Dorsal—									
Medial.....	g	k	k'	ɣ	χ	ŋ	ɳ	r	ʀ
Velar.....	g	q	q'	ɣ	x	ŋ	ɳ	r	ʀ
Lateral.....	l	l	l'	l	l				
Glottal.....	ʔ								
Nasal.....	N								

Semi-vowels y, w. Breath, 'h. Hiatus '.

The vocalic tinge of consonants is expressed by superior vowels following them: *a e i o u*. The series of affricatives which begin with a stop and end with a continued sound have been omitted from this table.

It will be noticed that in the preceding table the same symbols are used in several columns. This is done, because, ordinarily, only one, or at most two, series of these groups occur in one language, so that these differences can be expressed in each special case by diacritical marks. Attempts have been made by other authors to give a general system of sound representation. For any particular language, these are liable to become cumbersome, and are therefore not used in the sketches contained in this volume.

Unconsciousness of Phonetic Elements

In the preceding pages we have briefly discussed the results of an analysis of the phonetic elements of human speech. It must, however, be remembered that the single sound as such has no independent existence, that it never enters into the consciousness of the speaker, but that it exists only as a part of a sound-complex which conveys a definite meaning. This will be easily recognized, if we consider for a moment grammatical forms in the English language in which the modification of the idea is expressed by a single sound. In the word

hills, the terminal *s* does not enter our consciousness as a separate element with separate significance, expressing the idea of plurality,—except, perhaps, in so far as our grammatical training has taught us the fact that plurals may be formed by the use of a terminal *s*,—but the word forms a firm unit, which conveys a meaning only as a whole. The variety of uses of the terminal *s* as a plural, possessive, and third person singular of the verb, and the strong effort required to recognize the phonetic identity of these terminal elements, may be adduced as a further proof of the fact that the single phonetic elements become conscious to us only as a result of analysis. A comparison of words that differ only in a single sound, like *mail* and *nail*, *snake* and *stake*, makes it also clear that the isolation of sounds is a result of secondary analysis.

Grammatical Categories

Differences in Categories of Different Languages

In all articulate speech the groups of sounds which are uttered serve to convey ideas, and each group of sounds has a fixed meaning. Languages differ not only in the character of their constituent phonetic elements and sound-clusters, but also in the groups of ideas that find expression in fixed phonetic groups.

Limitation of the Number of Phonetic Groups Expressing Ideas

The total number of possible combinations of phonetic elements is also unlimited; but only a limited number are used to express ideas. This implies that the total number of ideas that are expressed by distinct phonetic groups is limited in number.

Since the total range of personal experience which language serves to express is infinitely varied, and its whole scope must be expressed by a limited number of phonetic groups, it is obvious that an extended classification of experiences must underlie all articulate speech.

This coincides with a fundamental trait of human thought. In our actual experience no two sense-impressions or emotional states are identical. Nevertheless we classify them, according to their similarities, in wider or narrower groups the limits of which may be determined from a variety of points of view. Notwithstanding their individual differences, we recognize in our experiences common elements, and consider them as related or even as the same, provided a

efficient number of characteristic traits belong to them in common. Thus the limitation of the number of phonetic groups expressing distinct ideas is an expression of the psychological fact that many different individual experiences appear to us as representatives of the same category of thought.

This trait of human thought and speech may be compared in a certain manner to the limitation of the whole series of possible articulating movements by selection of a limited number of habitual movements. If the whole mass of concepts, with all their variants, were expressed in language by entirely heterogeneous and unrelated sound-complexes, a condition would arise in which closely related ideas would not show their relationship by the corresponding relationship of their phonetic symbols, and an infinitely large number of distinct phonetic groups would be required for expression. If this were the case, the association between an idea and its representative sound-complex would not become sufficiently stable to be reproduced automatically without reflection at any given moment. As the automatic and rapid use of articulations has brought it about that a limited number of articulations only, each with limited variability, and a limited number of sound-clusters, have been selected from the infinitely large range of possible articulations and clusters of articulations, so the infinitely large number of ideas have been reduced by classification to a lesser number, which by constant use have established firm associations, and which can be used automatically.

It seems important at this point of our considerations to emphasize the fact that the groups of ideas expressed by specific phonetic groups show very material differences in different languages, and do not conform by any means to the same principles of classification. To take again the example of English, we find that the idea of WATER is expressed in a great variety of forms: one term serves to express water as a LIQUID; another one, water in the form of a large expanse (LAKE); others, water as running in a large body or in a small body (RIVER and BROOK); still other terms express water in the form of RAIN, DEW, WAVE, and FOAM. It is perfectly conceivable that this variety of ideas, each of which is expressed by a single independent term in English, might be expressed in other languages by derivations from the same term.

Another example of the same kind, the words for SNOW in Eskimo, may be given. Here we find one word, *aput*, expressing SNOW ON

THE GROUND; another one, *qana*, FALLING SNOW; a third one, *sirpoq*, DRIFTING SNOW; and a fourth one, *qimuqsuq*, A SNOWDRIFT.

In the same language the SEAL in different conditions is expressed by a variety of terms. One word is the general term for seal; another one signifies the SEAL BASKING IN THE SUN; a third one SEAL FLOATING ON A PIECE OF ICE; not to mention the many names for the seals of different ages and for male and female.

As an example of the manner in which terms that we express by independent words are grouped together under one concept, the Dakota language may be selected. The terms *naxta'ka* TO BIND, *paxta'ka* TO BIND IN BUNDLES, *yaxta'ka* TO BITE, *ic'a'xtaka* TO BE NEAR TO, *boxta'ka* TO POUND, are all derived from the common element *xtaka* TO GRIP, which holds them together, while we use distinct words for expressing the various ideas.

It seems fairly evident that the selection of such simple terms must to a certain extent depend upon the chief interests of a people; and where it is necessary to distinguish a certain phenomenon in many aspects, which in the life of the people play each an entirely independent rôle, many independent words may develop, while in other cases modifications of a single term may suffice.

Thus it happens that each language, from the point of view of another language, may be arbitrary in its classifications; that what appears as a single simple idea in one language may be characterized by a series of distinct phonetic groups in another.

The tendency of a language to express a complex idea by a single term has been styled "holophrasis," and it appears therefore that every language may be holophrastic from the point of view of another language. Holophrasis can hardly be taken as a fundamental characteristic of primitive languages.

We have seen before that some kind of classification of expressions must be found in every language. This classification of ideas into groups, each of which is expressed by an independent phonetic group, makes it necessary that concepts which are not readily rendered by a single one among the available sound-complexes should be expressed by combinations or by modifications of what might be called the elementary phonetic groups, in accordance with the elementary ideas to which the particular idea is reduced.

This classification, and the necessity of expressing certain experiences by means of other related ones, which by limiting one another

define the special idea to be expressed, entail the presence of certain formal elements which determine the relations of the single phonetic groups. If each idea could be expressed by a single phonetic group, languages without form would be possible. Since, however, ideas must be expressed by being reduced to a number of related ideas, the kinds of relation become important elements in articulate speech; and it follows that all languages must contain formal elements, and that their number must be the greater, the fewer the elementary phonetic groups that define special ideas. In a language which commands a very large, fixed vocabulary, the number of formal elements may become quite small.

Grammatical Processes

It is important to note that, in the languages of the world, the number of processes which are utilized to express the relations of terms is limited. Presumably this is due to the general characteristics of articulate speech. The only methods that are available for expressing the relations between definite phonetic groups are their composition in definite order, which may be combined with a mutual phonetic influence of the component elements upon one another, and inner modification of the phonetic groups themselves. Both these methods are found in a great many languages, but sometimes only the method of composition occurs.

Word and Sentence

In order to understand the significance of the ideas expressed by independent phonetic groups and of the elements expressing their mutual relations, we have to discuss here the question, What forms the unit of speech? It has been pointed out before that the phonetic elements as such can be isolated only by analysis, and that they occur in speech only in combinations which are the equivalents of definite concepts.

Since all speech is intended to serve for the communication of ideas, the natural unit of expression is the sentence; that is to say, a group of articulate sounds which convey a complete idea. It might seem that speech can readily be further subdivided, and that the word also forms a natural unit from which the sentence is built up. In most cases, however, it is easy to show that such is not the case, and that the word as such is known only by analysis. This is particularly

clear in the case of words like prepositions, conjunctions, or verbal forms which belong to subordinate clauses. Thus it would be exceedingly difficult to imagine the use of words like *and*, *for*, *to*, *were*, expressed in such a way that they would convey a clear idea, except perhaps in forms like the Laconic *If*, in which all the rest of the sentence is implied, and sufficiently indicated by the *if*. In the same way, however, we who are grammatically trained may use a simple ending to correct an idea previously expressed. Thus the statement *He sings beautifully* might elicit a reply, *sang*; or a laconically inclined person might even remark, in reply to the statement *He plays well*, *-ed*, which by his friends might be well understood. It is clear that in all these cases the single elements are isolated by a secondary process from the complete unit of the sentence.

Less clear appears the artificiality of the word as a unit in those cases in which the word seems to designate a concept that stands out clearly from others. Such is the case, for instance, with nouns; and it might seem that a word like *stone* is a natural unit. Nevertheless it will be recognized that the word *stone* alone conveys at most an objective picture, not a complete idea.

Thus we are led to the important question of the relation of the word to the sentence. Basing our considerations on languages differing fundamentally in form, it would seem that we may define the word as *a phonetic group which, owing to its permanence of form, clearness of significance, and phonetic independence, is readily separated from the whole sentence*. This definition obviously contains a considerable number of arbitrary elements, which may induce us, according to the general point of view taken, sometimes to designate a certain unit as a word, sometimes to deny its independent existence. We shall see later on, in the discussion of American languages, that this practical difficulty confronts us many times, and that it is not possible to decide with objective certainty whether it is justifiable to consider a certain phonetic group as an independent word or as a subordinate part of a word.

Nevertheless there are certain elements contained in our definition which seem to be essential for the interpretation of a sound-complex as an independent word. From the point of view of grammatical form, the least important; from the point of view of phonetics, how-

ver, the most fundamental, is the phonetic independence of the element in question. It has been pointed out before how difficult it is to conceive the independence of the English *s*, which expresses the plural, the possessive, and the third person singular of the verb. This is largely due to the phonetic weakness of this grammatical element. If the idea of plurality were expressed by an element as strong phonetically as the word *many*; the possessive part of the word, by an element as strong as the preposition *of*; and the third person singular, by an element like *he*—we might, perhaps, be much more ready to recognize the character of these elements as independent words, and we actually do so. For example, *stones*, *John's*, *loves*, are single words; while *many sheep*, *of stone*, *he went*, are each considered as two words. Difficulties of this kind are met with constantly in American languages. Thus we find in a language like the Chinook that modifying elements are expressed by single sounds which phonetically enter into clusters which are pronounced without any break. To give an example: The word *aniā'lōt* I GIVE HIM TO HER may be analyzed into the following elements: *a* (tense), *n* I, *i* HIM, *a* HER, *l* TO, *ō* (direction away), *t* TO GIVE. Here, again, the weakness of the component elements and their close phonetic association forbid us to consider them independent words; while the whole expression appears to us as a firm unit.

Whenever we are guided by this principle alone, the limitation of the word unit appears naturally exceedingly uncertain, on account of the difference in impression of the phonetic strength of the component elements.

It also happens that certain elements appear sometimes with such phonetic weakness that they can not possibly be considered as independent units of the sentence, while closely related forms, or even the same forms in other combinations, may gain the strength which they are lacking in other cases. As an example of this kind may be given the Kwakiutl, in which many of the pronominal forms appear as exceedingly weak phonetic elements. Thus the expression HE STRIKES HIM WITH IT is rendered by *mîx^{ts}i'dæqs*, in which the two terminal elements mean: *q* HIM, *s* WITH IT. When, however, substantives are introduced in this expression for object and instrument, the *q* assumes the fuller form *xa*, and the *s* the fuller form *sa*, which we might quite readily write as independent words analogous to our articles.

I doubt very much whether an investigator who would record French in the same way as we do the unwritten American languages would be inclined to write the pronominal elements which enter into the transitive verb as independent words, at least not when recording the indicative forms of a positive verb. He might be induced to do so on discovering their freedom of position which appears in the negative and in some interrogative forms.

The determining influence of the freedom of position of a phonetically fixed part of the sentence makes it necessary to include it in our definition of the word.

Whenever a certain phonetic group appears in a variety of positions in a sentence, and always in the same form, without any, or at least without material, modifications, we readily recognize its individuality, and in an analysis of the language we are inclined to consider it as a separate word. These conditions are fully realized only in cases in which the sound-complex in question shows no modifications at all.

It may, however, happen that minor modifications occur, particularly at the beginning and at the end, which we may be ready to disregard on account of their slight significance as compared to the permanence of the whole word. Such is the case, for instance, in the Dakota language, in which the terminal sound of a permanent word-complex which has a clearly defined significance will automatically modify the first sound of the following word-complex which has the same characteristics of permanence. The reverse may also occur. Strictly speaking, the line of demarcation between what we should commonly call two words is lost in this case; but the mutual influence of the two words in connection is, comparatively speaking, so slight that the concept of the individuality of the word outweighs their organic connection.

In other cases, where the organic connection becomes so firm that either both or one of the component elements may never occur without signs marking their close coupling, they will appear to us as a single unit. As an example of this condition may be mentioned the Eskimo. This language contains a great many elements which are quite clear in their significance and strong in phonetic character, but which in their position are so limited that they always follow other definite parts of the sentence, that they can never form the beginning of a complete phonetic group, and

that the preceding phonetic group loses its more permanent phonetic form whenever they appear added to it. To give an example: *kuvoq* means HE SEES; *takulerpoq* means HE BEGINS TO SEE. In the second form the idea of seeing is contained in the element *ku-*, which by itself is incomplete. The following element, *-ler*, can never begin a sentence, and attains the significance of BEGINNING only in connection with a preceding phonetic group, the terminal sound of which is to a certain extent determined by it. In its turn, *-ler* requires an ending, which expresses, in the example here selected, the third person singular, *-poq*; while the word expressing the idea of SEEING requires the ending *-voq* for the same person. These also can not possibly begin a sentence, and their initial sounds, *v* and *p*, are determined solely by the terminal sounds of the preceding elements. Thus it will be seen that this group of sound-complexes forms a firm unit, held together by the formal incompleteness of each part and their far-reaching phonetic influences upon one another. It would seem that, in a language in which the elements are so firmly unit together as in Eskimo, there could not be the slightest doubt as to what constitutes the word in our ordinary sense of the term. The same is true in many cases in Iroquois, a language in which conditions quite similar to those in the Eskimo prevail. Here an example may be given from the Oneida dialect. *Watgajijanegale* THE FLOWER BREAKS OPEN consists of the formal elements *wa-*, *-t-*, and *-g-*, which are temporal, modal, and pronominal in character; the vowel *-a-*, which is the character of the stem *-jija* FLOWER, which never occurs alone; and the stem *-negale* TO BREAK OPEN, which also has no independent existence.

In all these cases the elements possess great clearness of significance, but the lack of permanence of form compels us to consider them as parts of a longer word.

While in some languages this gives us the impression of an adequate criterion for the separation of words, there are other cases in which certain parts of the sentence may be thus isolated, while the others retain their independent form. In American languages this is particularly the case when nouns enter the verbal complex without any modification of their component elements. This is the case, for instance, in Pawnee: *tā'tukʰt* I HAVE CUT IT FOR THEE, and *rīks* ARROW, combine into *tatū'rīkskʰt* I CUT THY ARROW. The closeness of connection of these forms is even clearer in cases in which far-reach-

ingphonetic modifications occur. Thus the elements *ta-t-ruⁿ* come into *ta'huⁿ* I MAKE (because *tr* in a word changes to *h*); and *ta-ruⁿ* becomes *tahikstuⁿ* I MAKE AN ARROW (because *r* after changes to *t*). At the same time *riks* ARROW occurs as an independent word.

If we follow the principle laid down in the preceding remarks it will readily be seen that the same element may appear at one time as an independent noun, then again as a part of a word, the result of which has all the characteristics before described, and which for this reason we are not inclined to consider as a complex of independent elements.

Ambiguity in regard to the independence of parts of the sentence may also arise either when in their significance they become dependent upon other parts of the sentence, or when their meaning is vague and weak as compared to the other parts of the sentence; in the latter case we are led to regard them as subordinate parts. Words of the former kind, when phonetically strong, will generally be considered as independent particles; when, on the other hand, they are phonetically weak, they will generally be considered as modifying parts of other words. A good example of this kind is contained in the Pequot texts by the Rev. James Owen Dorsey,¹ in which the same elements are often treated as independent particles, while in other cases they appear as subordinate parts of words. Thus we find *féama* THE BEAVER (p. 23, line 17), but *jábe amá* THE BEAVER (p. 553, line 7).

The same is true in regard to the treatment of the grammar of the Sioux by the Rev. S. R. Riggs. We find in this case, for instance, the element *pi* always treated as the ending of a word, probably owing to the fact that it represents the plural, which in the Indo-European languages is almost always expressed by a modification of the word to which it applies. On the other hand, elements like *ni* and *éni*, signifying the future and negation respectively, are treated as independent words, although they appear in exactly the same form as the *pi* mentioned before.

Other examples of this kind are the modifying elements in Tshiashian, a language in which innumerable adverbial elements are expressed by fairly weak phonetic groups which have a definite position. Here, also, it seems entirely arbitrary whether the phonetic groups are considered as separate words, or whether the

¹Contributions to North American Ethnology, vi.

are combined with the verbal expressions into a single word. In these cases the independent existence of the word to which such particles are joined without any modification will generally determine us to consider these elements as independent particles, provided they are phonetically strong enough; while whenever the verbal expression to which they are joined is modified either by the insertion of these elements between its component parts, or in some other way, we are inclined to consider them as parts of the word.

It seemed important to discuss somewhat fully the concept of the word in its relation to the whole sentence, because in the morphological treatment of American languages this question plays an important rôle.

Stem and Affix

The analytic treatment of languages results in the separation of a number of different groups of the elements of speech. When we arrange these according to their functions, it appears that certain elements recur in every single sentence. These are, for instance, the forms indicating subject and predicate, or, in modern European languages, forms indicating number, tense, and person. Others, like terms expressing demonstrative ideas, may or may not occur in a sentence. These and many others are treated in our grammars. According to the character of these elements, they seem to modify the material contents of the sentence; as, for instance, in the English sentences *he strikes him*, and *I struck thee*, where the idea of striking somebody appears as the content of the communication; while the ideas *he*, *present*, *him*, and *I*, *past*, *thee*, appear as modifications.

It is of fundamental importance to note that this separation of the ideas contained in a sentence into material contents and formal modifications is an arbitrary one, brought about, presumably, first of all, by the great variety of ideas which may be expressed in the same formal manner by the same pronominal and tense elements. In other words, the material contents of the sentence may be represented by subjects and predicates expressing an unlimited number of ideas, while the modifying elements—here the pronouns and tenses—comprise, comparatively speaking, a very small number of ideas. In the discussion of a language, the parts expressing the material contents of sentences appear to us as the subject-matter of lexi-

cography; parts expressing the modifying relations, as the subject-matter of grammar. In modern Indo-European languages the number of ideas which are expressed by subordinate elements is, on the whole, limited, and for this reason the dividing-line between grammar and dictionary appears perfectly clear and well drawn. In a wider sense, however, all etymological processes and word compositions must be considered as parts of the grammar; and, if we include those, we find that, even in Indo-European languages, the number of classifying ideas is quite large.

In American languages the distinction between grammar and lexicography often becomes quite obscure, owing to the fact that the number of elements which enter into formal compositions becomes very large. It seems necessary to explain this somewhat more fully by examples. In the Tsimshian language we find a very great number of adverbial elements which can not be considered as entirely independent, and which, without doubt, must be considered as elements modifying verbal ideas. On account of the very large number of these elements, the total number of verbs of motion seems to be somewhat restricted, although the total number of verbs that may be combined with these adverbial ideas is much larger than the total number of the adverbial ideas themselves. Thus, the number of adverbs appears to be fixed, while the number of verbs appears unlimited; and consequently we have the impression that the former are modifying elements, and that their discussion belongs to the grammar of the language, while the latter are words, and their discussion belongs to the lexicography of the language. The number of such modifying elements in Eskimo is even larger; and here the impression that the discussion of these elements belongs to the grammar of the language is increased by the fact that they can never take an initial position, and that they are not placed following a complete word, but are added to an element which, if pronounced by itself, would not give any sense.

Now, it is important to note that, in a number of languages, the number of the modifying elements may increase so much that it may become doubtful which element represents a series of ideas limited in number, and which represents an almost unlimited series of words belonging to the vocabulary. This is true, for instance, in Algonquian, where in almost all verbs several elements appear in conjunction, each in a definite position, but each group so numerous

that it would be entirely arbitrary to designate the one group as words modified by the other group, or vice versa.

The importance of this consideration for our purposes lies in the fact that it illustrates the lack of definiteness of the terms *stem* and *affix*. According to the ordinary terminology, affixes are elements attached to stems or words, and modifying them. This definition is perfectly acceptable as long as the number of modifying ideas is limited. When, however, the number of modifying elements becomes exceedingly large, we may well doubt which of the two is the modifier and which the modified, and the determination finally becomes entirely arbitrary. In the following discussions the attempt has been made to confine the terms *prefix*, *suffix*, and *affix* entirely to those cases where the number of ideas expressed by these elements is strictly limited. Wherever the number of combined elements becomes so large that they can not be properly classified, these terms have not been used, but the elements have been treated as co-ordinate.

Discussion of Grammatical Categories

From what has been said it appears that, in an objective discussion of languages, three points have to be considered: first, the constituent phonetic elements of the language; second, the groups of ideas expressed by phonetic groups; third, the methods of combining and modifying phonetic groups.

It seems desirable to discuss the second of these points somewhat more fully before taking up the description of the characteristics of American languages.

Grammarians who have studied the languages of Europe and western Asia have developed a system of categories which we are inclined to look for in every language. It seems desirable to show here in how far the system with which we are familiar is characteristic only of certain groups of languages, and in how far other systems may be substituted for it. It seems easiest to illustrate this matter by discussing first some of the characteristics of the Indo-European noun, pronoun, and verb, and then by taking up the wider aspects of this subject.

Nominal Categories

In the treatment of our noun we are accustomed to look for a number of fundamental categories. In most Indo-European languages, nouns are classified according to gender, they are modified by forms expressing singular and plural, and they also appear in syntactic combinations as cases. None of these apparently fundamental aspects of the noun are necessary elements of articulate speech.

GENDER

The history of the English language shows clearly that the gender of a noun may practically be suppressed without interfering with the clearness of expression. While we still find traces of gender in English, practically all inanimate objects have come to belong to one single gender. It is interesting to note that, in the languages of the world, gender is not by any means a fundamental category, and that nouns may not be divided into classes at all, or the point of view of classification may be an entirely different one. Thus the Bantu languages of Africa classify words into a great many distinct groups the significance of most of which is not by any means clear. The Algonquian of North America classify nouns as animate and inanimate, without, however, adhering strictly to the natural classification implied in these terms. Thus the small animals may be classified as inanimate, while certain plants may appear as animate. Some of the Siouan languages classify nouns by means of articles, and strict distinctions are made between animate moving and animate at rest, inanimate long, inanimate round, inanimate high, and inanimate collective objects. The Iroquois distinguish strictly between nouns designating men and other nouns. The latter may again be subdivided into a definite and indefinite group. The Uchee distinguish between members of the tribe and other human beings. In America, true gender is on the whole rare; it is found, perhaps, among a few of the languages of the lower Mississippi; it occurs in the same way as in most Indo-European languages in the Chinook of Columbia river, and to a more limited extent among some of the languages of the state of Washington and of British Columbia. Among North American languages, the Eskimo and Athapascan have no trace of a classification of nouns. The examples here given

how clearly that the sex principle, which underlies the classification of nouns in European languages, is merely one of a great many possible classifications of this kind.

PLURAL

Of a somewhat different character is the plural of Indo-European nouns. Because, for the purpose of clear expression, each noun must be expressed either as a singular or as a plural, it might seem that this classification is almost indispensable; but it is not difficult to show, by means of sentences, that, even in English, the distinction is not always made. For instance, in the sentence *The wolf has devoured the sheep*, it is not clear whether a single sheep is meant, or a plurality of sheep are referred to. Nevertheless, this would not, on the whole, be felt as an inconvenience, since either the context would show whether singular or plural is meant, or an added adjective would give the desired information.

While, according to the structure of our European languages, we always tend to look for the expression of singularity or plurality for the sake of clearness of expression, there are other languages that are entirely indifferent towards this distinction. A good example of this kind is the Kwakiutl. It is entirely immaterial to the Kwakiutl whether he says, *There is a house* or *There are houses*. The same form is used for expressing both ideas, and the idea of singularity and plurality must be understood either by the context or by the addition of a special adjective. Similar conditions prevail in the Athapascan languages and in Haida. In Siouan, also, a distinction between singularity and plurality is made only in the case of animate objects. It would seem that, on the whole, American languages are rather indifferent in regard to the clear expression of plurality, but that they tend to express much more rigidly the ideas of collectivity or distribution. Thus the Kwakiutl, who are rather indifferent to the expression of plurality, are very particular in denoting whether the objects spoken of are distributed here or there. When this is the case, the distribution is carefully expressed. In the same way, when speaking of fish, they express by the same term a single fish and a quantity of fish. When, however, they desire to say that these fish belong to different species, a distributive

form expressing this idea is made use of. A similar indifference to the idea of singular and plural may be observed in the pronouns of several languages, and will be noted later on.

On the other hand, the idea of number may be much more strongly emphasized than it is in the modern languages of Europe. The dual, as in Greek, is of common occurrence the world over; but it happens also that a trialis and paucalis—expressions for *three* and *a few*—are distinguished.

CASE

What is true of number is no less true of case. Psychologically, the substitution of prepositional expressions for cases would hardly represent a complete absence of the concept of cases. This is rather found in those languages in which the whole group of relations of the nouns of a sentence is expressed in the verb. When, for instance, in Chinook, we find expressions like *he her it with cut, man, woman, knife*, meaning *The man cut the woman with the knife*, we may safely say that the nouns themselves appear without any trace of case-relationship, merely as appositions to a number of pronouns. It is true that in this case a distinction is made in the pronoun between subject and object, and that, in this sense, cases are found, although not as nominal cases, but still as pronominal cases. The case-relation, however, is confined to the two forms of subject and object, since the oblique cases are expressed by pronominal objects, while the characteristic of each particular oblique relation is expressed by adverbial elements. In the same language, the genitive relation is eliminated by substituting for it possessive expressions, like, for instance, *the man, his house*, instead of *the man's house*. While, therefore, case-expressions are not entirely eliminated, their number, which in some European languages is considerable, may be largely reduced.

Thus we find that some of our nominal categories either do not occur at all, or occur only in very much reduced forms. On the other hand, we must recognize that other new categories may occur which are entirely foreign to our European languages. Classifications like those referred to before—such as animate and inanimate, or of nouns designating men, and other nouns; and, further, of nouns according to form—are rather foreign to us, although, in the connection of verb

and noun, form-classifications occur. Thus we do not say, *a tree is somewhere*, but *a tree stands*; not, *the river is in New York*, but *the river flows through New York*.

TENSE

Tense classes of nouns are not rare in American languages. As we may speak of *a future husband* or of *our late friend*, thus many Indian languages express in every noun its existence in presence, past, or future, which they require as much for clearness of expression as we require the distinction of singular and plural.

Personal Pronouns

The same lack of conformity in the principles of classification may be found in the pronouns. We are accustomed to speak of three persons of the pronoun, which occur both in the singular and in the plural. Although we make a distinction of gender for the third person of the pronoun, we do not carry out this principle of classification consistently in the other persons. The first and second persons and the third person plural have the same form for masculine, feminine, and neuter. A more rigid application of the sex system is made, for instance, in the language of the Hottentots of South Africa, in which sex is distinguished, not only in the third person, but also in the first and second persons.

Logically, our three persons of the pronoun are based on the two concepts of self and not-self, the second of which is subdivided, according to the needs of speech, into the two concepts of person addressed and person spoken of. When, therefore, we speak of a first person plural, we mean logically either self and person addressed, or self and person or persons spoken of, or, finally, self, person or persons addressed, and person or persons spoken of. A true first person plural is impossible, because there can never be more than one self. This logical laxity is avoided by many languages, in which a sharp distinction is made between the two combinations self and person or persons spoken to, or self and person or persons spoken of. I do not know of any language expressing in a separate form the combination of the three persons, probably because this idea readily coalesces with the idea of self and persons spoken to. These two forms are generally designated by the rather inaccurate term of

"inclusive" and "exclusive first person plural," by which is meant the first person plural, including or excluding the person addressed. The second and third persons form true plurals. Thus the principle of division of the pronouns is carried through in many languages more rigidly than we find it in the European group.

On the other hand, the lack of clear distinction between singular and plural may be observed also in the pronominal forms of a number of languages. Thus the Sioux do not know any pronominal distinction between the singular and plural of the second person, and only a very imperfect distinction between the third person singular and plural; while the first person singular and plural, according to the fundamental difference in their significance, are sharply distinguished. In some Siouan dialects we may well say that the pronominal object has only a first person singular, first person plural, and a second person, and that no other pronoun for the object occurs. Thus the system of pronouns may be reduced to a mere fragment of what we are accustomed to find.

Demonstrative Pronouns

In many cases, the analogy of the personal pronouns and of the demonstrative pronouns is rigid, the demonstrative pronoun having three persons in the same way as the personal pronoun. Thus the Kwakiutl will say, *the house near me* (this house), *the house near thee* (that house), *the house near him* (that house).

But other points of view are added to the principle of division corresponding to the personal pronoun. Thus, the Kwakiutl, and many other American languages, add to the pronominal concept just discussed that of visibility and invisibility, while the Chinook add the concepts of present and past. Perhaps the most exuberant development of the demonstrative idea is found among the Eskimo, where not only the ideas corresponding to the three personal pronouns occur, but also those of position in space in relation to the speaker,—which are specified in seven directions; as, center, above, below, in front, behind, right, left,—and expressing points of the compass in relation to the position of the speaker.

It must be borne in mind that the divisions which are mentioned here are all *necessary* parts of clear expression in the languages mentioned. For instance, in Kwakiutl it would be inconceivable to use an expression like our *that house*, which means in English *the single*

house away from the speaker. The Kwakiutl must express this idea in one of the following six forms:

The (singular or plural) house visible near me
invisible near me
visible near thee
invisible near thee
visible near him
invisible near him

while the Eskimo would express a term like *this man* as

This man near me
near thee
near him
behind me
in front of me
to the right of me
to the left of me
above me
below me, etc.

Verbal Categories

We can follow out similar differences in the verb. In our Indo-European languages we have expressions signifying persons, tenses, moods, and voices. The ideas represented by these groups are quite unevenly developed in various languages. In a great many cases the forms expressing the persons are expressed simply by a combination of the personal pronoun and the verb; while in other cases the phonetic complexes expressing personal relations are developed in an astonishing manner. Thus the Algonquian and the Eskimo possess special phonetic groups expressing definite relations between the subject and object which occur in transitive verbs. For example, in sentences like *I strike thee*, or *They strike me*, the combination of the pronouns *I* — *thee*, and *they* — *me*, are expressed by special phonetic equivalents. There are even cases in which the indirect objects (as in the sentence, *I send him to you*) may be expressed by a single form. The characteristic trait of the forms here referred to is, that the combined pronoun can not be reduced to its constituent elements, although historically it may have originated from combinations of separate forms. It is obvious that in cases in which the development

of the pronoun is as weak as in the Siouan languages, to which I have referred before, the definiteness of the pronominal forms of the verb to which we are accustomed, is entirely lost. Thus it happens that in the Sioux the verb alone may be used as well for the more or less abstract idea of verbal action as for the third person of the indicative.

Much more fundamental are the existing differences in regard to the occurrence of tenses and modes. We are accustomed to verb forms in which the tense is always expressed with perfect definiteness. In the sentence *The man is sick* we really express the idea *The single definite man is sick at the present time*. This strict expression of the time relation of the occurrence is missing in many languages. The Eskimo, for instance, in expressing the same idea will simply say, *single man sick*, leaving the question entirely open whether the man was sick at a previous time, is sick at the present time, or is going to be sick in the future. The condition here is similar to the one described before in relation to plurality. The Eskimo can, of course, express whether the man is sick at the present time, was sick, or is going to be sick, but the grammatical form of his sentences does not *require* the expression of the tense relation. In other cases the temporal ideas may be expressed with much greater nicety than we find in our familiar grammars. Generally, languages in which a multiplicity of tenses are found include in their form of expression certain modifications of the tense concept which might be called "semi-temporal," like inchoatives, which express the beginning of an action; duratives, which express the extent of time during which the action lasts; transitionals, which express the change of one state of being into another; etc. There is very little agreement in regard to the occurrence of such tenses, and the characteristics of many languages show that tenses are not by any means required for clear expression.

What is true of tenses is also true of modes. The number of languages which get along with a single mode, or at most with the indicative and imperative, is considerable; although, in this case also, the idea of subordination may be expressed if it seems desirable to do so.

The few examples that I have given here illustrate that many of the categories which we are inclined to consider as essential may be absent in foreign languages, and that other categories may occur as substitutes.

Interpretation of Grammatical Categories

When we consider for a moment what this implies, it will be recognized that in each language only a part of the complete concept that we have in mind is expressed, and that each language has a peculiar tendency to select this or that aspect of the mental image which is conveyed by the expression of the thought. To use again the example which I mentioned before, *The man is sick*. We express by this sentence, in English, the idea, *a definite single man at present sick*. In Kwakiutl this sentence would have to be rendered by an expression which would mean, in the vaguest possible form that could be given to it, *definite man near him invisible sick near him invisible*. Visibility and nearness to the first or second person might, of course, have been selected in our example in place of invisibility and nearness to the third person. An idiomatic expression of the sentence in this language would, however, be much more definite, and would require an expression somewhat like the following, *That invisible man lies sick on his back on the floor of the absent house*. In Eskimo, on the other hand, the same idea would be expressed by a form like *(single) man sick*, leaving place and time entirely indefinite. In Ponca, one of the Siouan dialects, the same idea would require a decision of the question whether the man is at rest or moving, and we might have a form like *the moving single man sick*. If we take into consideration further traits of idiomatic expression, this example might be further expanded by adding modalities of the verb; thus the Kwakiutl, whose language I have used several times as an example, would require a form indicating whether this is a new subject introduced in conversation or not; and, in case the speaker had not seen the sick person himself, he would have to express whether he knows by hearsay or by evidence that the person is sick, or whether he has dreamed it. It seems, however, better not to complicate our present discussion by taking into consideration the possibilities of exact expression that may be required in idiomatic forms of speech, but rather to consider only those parts of the sentence which, according to the morphology of the language, *must* be expressed.

We conclude from the examples here given that in a discussion of the characteristics of various languages different fundamental categories will be found, and that in a comparison of different languages it will be necessary to compare as well the phonetic characteristics as the characteristics of the vocabulary and those of the grammatical concepts in order to give each language its proper place.

III. CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

Origin of Dialects

In many cases the determination of the genetic relationship of languages is perfectly simple. Wherever we find close similarities in phonetics, in vocabularies, and in details of grammar, there can not be the slightest doubt that the languages that are being studied are varieties of the same ancestral form.

To a certain extent the differentiation of a single language into a number of dialects is spontaneous. When communication between peoples speaking the same tongue ceases, peculiarities of pronunciation will readily manifest themselves in one region or the other and may become permanent. In some cases these modifications of pronunciation may gradually increase and may become so radical that several quite different forms of the original language develop. At the same time words readily assume a new significance, and if the separation of the people should be accompanied by a differentiation of culture, these changes may proceed at a very rapid rate.

In cases of such phonetic changes and of modifications in the significance of words, a certain degree of regularity may always be observed, and for this reason the historical relationship between the new dialects and the older forms can always be readily established and may be compared to the modifications that take place in a series of generations of living beings.

Another form of modification may occur that is also analogous to biological transformations. We must recognize that the origin of language must not be looked for in human faculties that have once been active, but which have disappeared. As a matter of fact, new additions to linguistic devices and to linguistic material are constantly being made. Such spontaneous additions to a language may occur in one of the new dialects, while they do not occur in the other. These, although related to the structure of the older language, will be so entirely new in their character that they can not be directly related to the ancestral language.

It must also be considered that each of these dialects may incorporate new material. Nevertheless in all cases where the older material constitutes the bulk of the material of the language, its close relationship to the ancestral tongue will readily be recognized. In

all these cases, phonetics, details of grammatical structure, and vocabulary will show far-reaching similarities.

Comparison of Distinct Languages

The problem becomes much more difficult when the similarities in any of these traits become less pronounced. With the extension of our knowledge of primitive languages, it has been found that cases are not rare in which languages spoken in certain continuous areas show radical differences in vocabulary and in grammatical form, but close similarity in their phonetic elements. In other cases the similarity of phonetic elements may be less pronounced, but there may exist a close similarity in structural details. Again, many investigators have pointed out peculiar analogies in certain words without being able to show that grammatical form and general phonetic character coincide. Many examples of such conditions may be given. In America, for instance, the phonetic similarity of the languages spoken between the coast of Oregon and Mount St. Elias is quite striking. All these languages are characterized by the occurrence of a great many peculiar *k* sounds and peculiar *l* sounds, and by their tendency towards great stress of articulation, and, in most cases, towards a clustering of consonants. Consequently to our ear these languages sound rough and harsh. Notwithstanding these similarities, the grammatical forms and the vocabularies are so utterly distinct that a common origin of the languages of this area seems entirely out of the question. A similar example may be given from South Africa, where the Bantu negroes, Bushmen, and Hottentots utilize some peculiar sounds which are produced by inspiration—by drawing in the breath, not by expelling it—and which are ordinarily called “clicks.” Notwithstanding this very peculiar common trait in their languages, there is no similarity in grammar and hardly any in vocabulary.

We might also give the example of the Siouan and the Iroquois languages of North America, two stocks that have been in proximity, and which are characterized by the occurrence of numerous nasalized vowels; or the phonetic characteristics of Californian languages, which sound to our ear euphonious, and are in strong contrast to the languages of the North Pacific coast.

It must be said that, on the whole, such phonetic characteristics of a limited area appear in their most pronounced form when we

compare the whole region with the neighboring districts. They form a unit rather by contrast with foreign phonetics than when compared among themselves, each language having its own peculiar characteristics in a group of this kind. Thus, the Tlingit of the North Pacific coast differs very much from the Chinook of Columbia river. Nevertheless, when both languages are compared to a language of southern California, the Sioux or the Algonquian, traits that are common to both of them appear to quite a marked degree.

What is true of phonetics is also true of grammatical form, and this is evidently a characteristic trait of the languages of the whole world. In North America particularly such groups of languages can be readily recognized. A more detailed discussion of this problem will be given in another place, and it will be sufficient to state here, that languages—like, for instance, the Athapascan, Tlingit, and Haida—which are spoken in one continuous area on the northwest coast of our continent show certain common characteristics when compared with neighboring languages like the Eskimo, Algonquian, and Tsimshian. In a similar way, a number of Californian languages, or languages of southern British Columbia, and languages like the Pawnee and Iroquois, each form a group characterized by certain traits which are not found in other languages.

In cases where such morphological similarities occur without a corresponding similarity of vocabulary, it becomes exceedingly difficult to determine whether these languages may be considered as descendants of one parent language; and there are numerous cases in which our judgment must be suspended, because, on the one hand, these similarities are far-reaching, while, on the other hand, such radical differences are found that we can not account for them without assuming the introduction of an entirely foreign element.

Similar phenomena have recently induced P. W. Schmidt to consider the languages of Farther India and of Malaysia as related; and the same problem has been discussed by Lepsius, and again by Meinhoff, in reference to the relation of the languages of the Hottentot to a number of east African languages and to the languages of the Hamitic peoples of North Africa.

Difficulties also arise in cases where a considerable number of similar words are found without a corresponding similarity of grammatical forms, so that we may be reluctant to combine two such languages, notwithstanding their similarities of vocabulary.

The comparison of vocabularies offers peculiar difficulties in American languages. Unfortunately, our knowledge of American languages is very limited, and in many cases we are confined to collections of a few hundred words, without any information in regard to grammatical forms. Owing to the strong tendency of many American languages to form compound words or derivatives of various kinds, it is very difficult in vocabularies of this kind to recognize the component elements of words, and often accidental similarities may obtrude themselves which a thorough knowledge of the languages would prove to be of no significance whatever.

Setting aside this practical difficulty, it may happen quite often that in neighboring languages the same term is used to designate the same object, owing, not to the relationship of the languages, but to the fact that the word may be a loan word in several of them. Since the vocabularies which are ordinarily collected embrace terms for objects found in most common use, it seems most likely that among these a number of loan words may occur.

Even when the available material is fuller and more thoroughly analyzed, doubt may arise regarding the significance of the apparent similarities of vocabulary.

Mutual Influences of Languages

In all these cases the final decision will depend upon the answer to the questions in how far distinct languages may influence one another, and in how far a language without being subject to foreign influences may deviate from the parental type. While it seems that the time has hardly come when it is possible to answer these questions in a definite manner, the evidence seems to be in favor of the existence of far-reaching influences of this kind.

Phonetic Influences

This is perhaps most clearly evident in the case of phonetics. It is hardly conceivable why languages spoken in continuous areas, and entirely distinct in vocabulary and in grammatical structure, should partake of the same phonetic characteristics, unless, by imitation, certain phonetic traits may be carried beyond a single linguistic stock. While I do not know that historical evidence of such occurrences has been definitely given, the phenomenon as it occurs in South Africa, among the Bantu and Hottentot, admits of hardly

any other explanation. And the same is true, to a more or less pronounced extent, among other distinct but neighboring languages.

The possibility of such a transfer of sounds can not be denied. Among the American Indians, for instance—where intermarriages between individuals belonging to different tribes are frequent; where slave women raise their own and their masters' children; and where, owing to the small number of individuals constituting the tribe, individuals who have mastered several distinct languages are not by any means rare—ample opportunity is given for one language to exert its phonetic influence over another. Whether this explanation is adequate, is a question that remains to be decided by further historical studies.¹

Grammatical Influences

Influence of the syntax of one language upon another, and even, to a certain extent, of the morphology of one language upon another, is also probable. The study of the languages of Europe has proved clearly the deep influence exerted by Latin upon the syntax of all the modern European languages. We can also recognize how certain syntactic forms of expression occur in neighboring languages on our American continent. To give an instance of this kind, we find that, in the most diverse languages of the North Pacific coast, commands are given in the periphrastic form, *It would be good if you did so and so*; and in many cases this periphrastic form has been substituted entirely for the ordinary imperative. Thus it may well be that groups of psychological concepts which are expressed by means of grammatical forms have developed in one language under the influence of another; and it is difficult to say, if we once admit such influence, where the limit may be to the modifications caused by such processes.

On the other hand, it seems exceedingly difficult to understand why the most fundamental morphological traits of a language should disappear under the influence of another form of thought as exhibited in another language. This would mean that the greater number of grammatical forms would disappear, and entirely new categories develop. It certainly can not be denied that far-reaching modifications of this kind are possible, but it will require the most cautious proof in every single case before their existence can be accepted.

¹ See also p. 53.

Cases of the introduction of new suffixes in European languages are not by any means rare. Thus, the ending *-able* of French words has been adopted so frequently into English that the ending itself has attained a certain independence, and we can form words like *atable*, or even *get-at-able*, in which the ending, which was originally French, is added to an English word. In a similar way the French verbal ending *-ir*, combined with the German infinitive ending in *-en*, is used in a large number of German words as though it were a purely German ending. I do not know, however, of any observations which would point to a radical modification of the morphological traits of a language through the influence of another language.

Lexicographic Influences

While the phonetic influence of distinct languages upon one another and the modification of morphological traits in different languages are still obscure, the borrowing of words is very common, and sometimes reaches to an enormous extent. The vocabulary of English is an excellent example of such extensive amalgamation of the vocabularies of quite distinct languages, and the manner by which it has been attained is instructive. It is not only that Anglo-Saxon adopted large parts of the vocabulary of the Norman conquerors, that it took over a few terms of the older Celtic language, and adopted some words from the Norse invaders; but we find also, later, introductions from Latin and Greek, which were introduced through the progress of the arts and sciences, and which filtered down from the educated to the uneducated classes. Furthermore, numerous terms were adopted from the less civilized peoples with whom the English-speaking people came into contact in different parts of the world. Thus, the Australian and the Indian-English have each adopted a great many native terms, quite a number of which have found their way into colloquial and written modern English. This phenomenon is so common, and the processes by which new words enter into a language are so obvious, that a full discussion is not required. Another example that may be mentioned here is that of the Turkish language, which has adopted a very large number of Arab words.

In such a transfer of the vocabulary of one language into another, words undergo, of course, far-reaching changes. These may be

partly due to phonetic difficulties, and consist in the adaptation of an unfamiliar group of sounds to the familiar similar sounds of the language by which the word has been adopted. There may be assimilations by which the grammatical form of a word is made similar to more familiar forms. Furthermore, changes in the significance of the word are common, and new derivations may be formed from the word after it has once become entirely familiar, like other native words.

In this respect a number of American languages seem to behave curiously when compared with European languages. Borrowing of words in Europe is particularly common when a new object is first introduced. In almost all these cases the foreign designation is taken over with more or less fundamental phonetic modifications. Examples of this kind are the words *tobacco*, *canoe*, *maize*, *chocolate*—to take as illustration a few words borrowed from American languages. American natives, on the other hand, do not commonly adopt words in this manner, but much more frequently invent descriptive words by which the new object is designated. Thus the Tsimshian of British Columbia designate rice by a term meaning *looking like maggots*. The Kwakiutl call a steamboat *fire on its back moving on the water*. The Eskimo call cut tobacco *being blown upon*. Words of this type are in wide use; nevertheless, loan words taken from English are not by any means rare. The terms *biscuit*, *dollar*, *coffee*, *tea*, are found in a great many Indian languages. The probable reason why descriptive words are more common in American languages than in European languages lies in the frequent occurrence of descriptive nouns.

We find, therefore, that there are two sets of phenomena which must be considered in the classification of languages: (1) differences which can easily be proved to be derived from modifications of a single ancestral language; and (2) similarities which can not be thus explained, and some of which may be due to the effects of mixture.

Origin of Similarities; by Dissemination or by Parallel Development

Before we proceed with this consideration, we have to discuss the two logical possibilities for such similarities. Either they may be due to dissemination from a common source, so that they origi-

nated only a single time, and were diffused by the influence of one people upon another; or it may be that they are due to an independent origin in many parts of the world.

This alternative is present in the explanation of all ethnic phenomena, and is one of the fundamental questions in regard to which the ethnologist, as well as the investigator of languages, must be clear. In the older considerations of the position of the American race among the races of man, for instance, it has always been assumed that occurrence of similar phenomena among the peoples of the Old World and of the New proved genetic relationship. It is obvious that this method of proving relationship assumes that, wherever similarities occur, they must have been carried by the same people over different parts of the world, and that therefore they may be considered as proof of common descent. The method thus applied does not take into consideration the possibility of a gradual diffusion of cultural elements from one people to another, and the other more fundamental one of a parallel but independent development of similar phenomena among different races in remote parts of the world. Since such development is a logical possibility, proofs of genetic relationship must not be based on the occurrence of sporadic resemblances alone.

A final decision of this vexed problem can be given only by historical evidence, which is hardly ever available, and for this reason the systematic treatment of the question must always proceed with the greatest caution.

The cases in which isolated similarities of ethnic phenomena in remote parts of the world have been recorded are numerous, and many of these are of such a character that transmission cannot be proved at all. If, for instance, the Indians of South America use sacred musical instruments, which must not be seen by women, and if apparently the same custom prevails among the Australian aborigines, it is inadmissible to assume the occurrence of what seems to be the same custom in these two remote districts as due to transmission. It is perfectly intelligible that the custom may have developed independently in each continent. On the other hand, there are many cases in which certain peculiar and complex customs are distributed over large continuous areas, and where transmission over large portions of this area is plausible. In this case, even if independent origin had taken place in different parts of the district in question, the present

distribution is fully explained by the assumption of extended dissemination.

It is true, for instance, in the case of similar traditions which are found distributed over large districts. An example of this is the story of two girls who noticed two stars, a bright one and a small one and wished these stars for their husbands. The following morning they found themselves in the sky, married to the stars, and later on tried to return to the earth by letting themselves down through a hole in the sky. This rather complex tale is found distributed over the American continent in an area extending from Nova Scotia to the mouth of the Mississippi river and westward to the Rocky mountains, and in places even on the Pacific ocean, for instance, in Alaska and in the state of Washington. It would seem difficult to assume, in a case of this kind, the possibility of an independent invention of the tale at a number of distinct points; but it must be assumed that, after the tale had once attained its present form, it spread by dissemination over that part of the continent where it is now found.

In extreme cases the conclusions drawn from these two types of explanation seem quite unassailable; but there are naturally a very large number of others in which the phenomenon in question is neither sufficiently complex, nor distributed over a sufficiently large continuous area, to lead with certainty to the conclusion of an origin by dissemination; and there are others where the sporadic distributions seem curiously arranged, and where vague possibilities of contact occur. Thus it happens often that a satisfactory conclusion cannot be reached.

We must also bear in mind that in many cases a continuous distribution may once have existed, but may have become discontinuous, owing to the disappearance of the phenomena in question in intermediate regions. If, however, we want to follow a safe method, we must not admit such causes for sporadic distribution, unless they can be definitely proved by other evidence; otherwise, the way is open to attempts to bring into contact practically every part of the world with all others.

The general occurrence of similar ethnic phenomena in remote parts of the world admits also of the explanation of the existence of a certain number of customs and habits that were common to large parts of mankind at a very early period, and which have maintained themselves here and there up to the present time. It can

not be denied that this point of view has certain elements in its favor; but in the present state of our knowledge we can hardly say that it would be possible to prove or to disprove it.

We meet the same fundamental problem in connection with similarities of languages which are too vague to be considered as proofs of genetic relationship. That these exist is obvious. Here we have not only the common characteristics of all human language, which have been discussed in the preceding chapter, but also certain other similarities which must here be considered.

Influence of Environment on Language

It has often been suggested that similarities of neighboring languages and customs may be explained by the influence of environment. The leading thought in this theory is, that the human mind, under the stress of similar conditions, will produce the same results; that consequently, if the members of the same race live in the same surroundings, they will produce, for instance, in their articulate speech, the same kind of phonetics, differing perhaps in detail according to the variations of environment, but the same in their essential traits. Thus it has been claimed that the moist and stormy climate of the North Pacific coast caused a chronic catarrhal condition among the inhabitants, and that to this condition is due the guttural pronunciation and harshness of their languages; while, on the other hand, the mildness of the California climate has been made responsible for the euphonic character of the languages of that district.

I do not believe that detailed investigations in any part of the world would sustain this theory. We might demand proof that the same language, when distributed over different climates, should produce the same kind of modifications as those here exemplified; and we might further demand that, wherever similar climates are found, at least a certain approach to similarity in the phonetics of the languages should occur. It would be difficult to prove that this is the case, even if we should admit the excuse that modifying influences have obscured the original similarity of phonetic character. Taking, for instance, the arctic people of the Old and New Worlds as a unit, we find fundamentally different traits in the phonetics of the Eskimo, of the Chukchee of eastern Siberia, and of other arctic Asiatic and European peoples. The phonetics of the deserts of Asia and South

Africa and of southwestern North America are not by any means the same. The prairie tribes of North America, although living in nearly the same climate, over a considerable area, show remarkable differences in the phonetics of their languages; and, on the other hand, the tribes belonging to the Salish family who live east of the Rocky mountains, in the interior of British Columbia, speak a language that is not less harsh than that of their congeners on the northern coast of the state of Washington. In any attempt at arranging phonetics in accordance with climate, the discrepancies would be so numerous, that an attempt to carry out the theory would lead to the necessity of explaining exceptions rather than examples corroborating its correctness.

What is true in regard to phonetics is no less true in regard to morphology and vocabulary. I do not think that it has ever been claimed that similar words must necessarily originate under the stress of the same conditions, although, if we admit the correctness of the principle, there is no reason for making an exception in regard to the vocabulary.

I think this theory can be sustained even less in the field of linguistics than in the field of ethnology. It is certainly true that each people accommodates itself to a certain extent to its surroundings, and that it even may make the best possible use of its surroundings in accordance with the fundamental traits of its culture, but I do not believe that in any single case it will be possible to explain the culture of a people as due to the influence of its surroundings. It is self-evident that the Eskimo of northern arctic America do not make extended use of wood, a substance which is very rare in those parts of the world, and that the Indians of the woodlands of Brazil are not familiar with the uses to which snow may be put. We may even go further, and acknowledge that, after the usefulness of certain substances, plants, and animals—like bamboo in the tropics, or the cedar on the North Pacific coast of America, or ivory in the arctic regions, or the buffalo on the plains of North America—has once been recognized, they will find the most extended use, and that numerous inventions will be made to expand their usefulness. We may also recognize that the distribution of the produce of a country, the difficulties and ease of travel, the necessity of reaching certain points, may deeply influence the habits of the people. But with all this, to geographical conditions cannot be ascribed more than a modifying influence upon

the fundamental traits of culture. If this were not true, the peculiar facts of distribution of inventions, of beliefs, of habits, and of other ethnological phenomena, would be unintelligible.

For instance, the use of the underground house is distributed, in America and Asia, over the northern parts of the plateaus to parts of the Great Plains, northward into the arctic region; and crossing Bering strait we find it in use along the Pacific coast of Asia and as far south as northern Japan, not to speak of the subterranean dwellings of Europe and North Africa. The climate of this district shows very considerable differences, and the climatic necessity for underground habitations does not exist by any means in many parts of the area where they occur.

In a similar area we find the custom of increasing the elasticity of the bow by overlaying it with sinew. While this procedure may be quite necessary in the arctic regions, where no elastic wood is available, it is certainly not necessary in the more southern parts of the Rocky mountains, or along the east coast of Asia, where a great many varieties of strong elastic wood are available. Nevertheless the usefulness of the invention seems to have led to its general application over an extended district.

We might also give numerous examples which would illustrate that the adaptation of a people to their surroundings is not by any means perfect. How, for instance, can we explain the fact that the Eskimo, notwithstanding their inventiveness, have never thought of domesticating the caribou, while the Chukchee have acquired large reindeer-herds? Why, on the other hand, should the Chukchee, who are compelled to travel about with their reindeer-herds, use a tent which is so cumbersome that a train of many sledges is required to move it, while the Eskimo have reduced the frame of their tents to such a degree that a single sledge can be used for conveying it from place to place?

Other examples of a similar kind are the difference in the habitations of the arctic Athapascan tribes and those of the Eskimo. Notwithstanding the rigor of the climate, the former live in light skin tents, while the Eskimo have succeeded in protecting themselves efficiently against the gales and the snows of winter.

What actually seems to take place in the movements of peoples is, that a people who settle in a new environment will first of all cling to their old habits and only modify them as much as is abso-

lutely necessary in order to live fairly comfortably, the comfort of life being generally of secondary importance to the inertia or conservatism which prevents a people from changing their settled habits, that have become customary to such an extent that they are more or less automatic, and that a change would be felt as something decidedly unusual.

Even when a people remain located in the same place, it would seem that historical influences are much stronger than geographical influences. I am inclined, for instance, to explain in this manner the differences between the cultures of the tribes of arctic Asia and of arctic America, and the difference in the habits of the tribes of the southern plateaus of North America when compared with those of the northern plateaus of North America. In the southern regions the influence of the Pueblos has made itself felt, while farther to the north the simpler culture of the Mackenzie basin gives the essential tone to the culture of the people.

While fully acknowledging the importance of geographical conditions upon life, I do not believe that they can be given a place at all comparable to that of culture as handed down, and to that of the historical influence exerted by the cultures of surrounding tribes; and it seems likely that the less direct the influence of the surroundings is, the less also can it be used for accounting for peculiar ethnological traits.

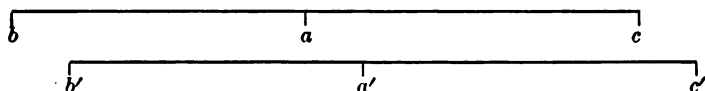
So far as language is concerned, the influence of geographical surroundings and of climate seems to be exceedingly remote; and as long as we are not even able to prove that the whole organism of man, and with it the articulating organs, are directly influenced by geographical environment, I do not think we are justified in considering this element as an essential trait in the formation or modification of human speech, much less as a cause which can be used to account for the similarities of human speech in neighboring areas.

Influence of Common Psychic Traits

Equally uncertain seems to be the resort to the assumption of peculiar psychic traits that are common to geographical divisions of the same race. It may be claimed, for instance, that the languages of the Athapascan, Tlingit, and Haida, which were referred to before as similar in certain fundamental morphological traits, are alike,

for the reason that these three peoples have certain psychical traits in common which are not shared in by other American tribes.

It seems certainly admissible to assume slight differences in the psychical make-up among groups of a race which are different in regard to their physical type. If we can prove by means of anatomical investigations that the bodily form, and with it the nervous system and the brain of one part of a race show differences from the analogous traits of another part of the race, it seems justifiable to conclude that the physical differentiation may be accompanied by psychic differences. It must, however, be borne in mind that the extent of physical difference is always exceedingly slight, and that, within the limits of each geographical type, variations are found which are great as compared to the total differences between the averages of the types. To use a diagram:



If a represents the middle point of one type and b and c its extremes, a' the average of another type and b' and c' its extremes, and if these types are so placed, one over the other, that types in the second series correspond to those in the first series vertically over them, then it will be seen that the bulk of the population of the two types will very well coincide, while only the extremes will be more frequent in the one group than in the other. That is to say, the physical difference is not a difference in kind, but a difference more or less in degree, and a considerable overlapping of the types necessarily takes place.

If this is true in regard to the physical type, and if, furthermore, the difference in psychical types is inferred only from the observed differences of the physical types, then we must assume that the same kind of overlapping will take place in the psychical types. The differences with which we are dealing can, therefore, be only very slight, and it seems hardly likely that these slight differences could lead to radically diverse results.

As a matter of fact, the proof which has been given before,¹ that the same languages may be spoken by entirely distinct types, shows clearly how slight the effect of difference in anatomical type upon

¹ See p. 9.

language is at the present time, and there is no reason to presume that it has ever been greater. Viewing the matter from this standpoint, the hereditary mental differences of various groups of mankind, particularly within the same race, seem to be so slight that it would be very difficult to believe that they account in any way for the fundamental differences in the traits of distinct languages.

Uncertainty of Definition of Linguistic Families

The problem thus remains unsolved how to interpret the similarities of distinct languages in cases where the similarities are no longer sufficient to prove genetic relationship. From what has been said we may conclude that, even in languages which can easily be proved to be genetically related, independent elements may be found in various divisions. Such independent elements may be due partly to new tendencies which develop in one or the other of the dialects, or to foreign influence. It is quite conceivable that such new tendencies and foreign influences may attain such importance that the new language may still be considered as historically related to the ancestral family, but that its deviations, due to elements that are not found in the ancestral language, have become so important that it can no longer be considered as a branch of the older family.

Thus it will be seen that the concept of a linguistic family can not be sharply defined; that even among the dialects of one linguistic family, more or less foreign material may be present, and that in this sense the languages, as has been pointed out by Paul,¹ are not, in the strict sense of the term, descendants of a single ancestral family.

Thus the whole problem of the final classification of languages in linguistic families that are without doubt related, seems destined to remain open until our knowledge of the processes by which distinct languages are developed shall have become much more thorough than it is at the present time. Under these circumstances we must confine ourselves to classifying American languages in those linguistic families for which we can give a proof of relationship that can not possibly be challenged. Beyond this point we can do no more than give certain definite classifications in which the traits common to certain groups of languages are pointed out, while the decision as to the significance of these common traits must be left to later times.

¹ Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*.

IV. LINGUISTICS AND ETHNOLOGY

It seems desirable to say a few words on the function of linguistic researches in the study of the ethnography of the Indians.

Practical Need of Linguistic Studies for Ethnological Purposes

First of all, the purely practical aspect of this question may be considered. Ordinarily, the investigator who visits an Indian tribe is not able to converse with the natives themselves and to obtain his information first-hand, but he is obliged to rely more or less on data transmitted by interpreters, or at least by the help of interpreters. He may ask his question through an interpreter, and receive again through his mouth the answer given by the Indians. It is obvious that this is an unsatisfactory method, even when the interpreters are good; but, as a rule, the available men are either not sufficiently familiar with the English language, or they are so entirely out of sympathy with the Indian point of view, and understand the need of accuracy on the part of the investigator so little, that information furnished by them can be used only with a considerable degree of caution. At the present time it is possible to get along in many parts of America without interpreters, by means of the trade-jargons that have developed everywhere in the intercourse between the whites and the Indians. These, however, are also a very unsatisfactory means of inquiring into the customs of the natives, because, in some cases, the vocabulary of the trade-languages is extremely limited, and it is almost impossible to convey information relating to the religious and philosophic ideas or to the higher aspects of native art, all of which play so important a part in Indian life. Another difficulty which often develops whenever the investigator works with a particularly intelligent interpreter is, that the interpreter imbibes too readily the views of the investigator, and that his information, for this reason, is strongly biased, because he is not so well able to withstand the influence of formative theories as the trained investigator ought to be. Anyone who has carried on work with intelligent Indians will recall instances of this kind, where the interpreter may have formulated a theory based on the questions that have been put through him, and has interpreted his answers

under the guidance of his preconceived notions. All this is so obvious that it hardly requires a full discussion. Our needs become particularly apparent when we compare the methods that we expect from any investigator of cultures of the Old World with those of the ethnologist who is studying primitive tribes. Nobody would expect authoritative accounts of the civilization of China or of Japan from a man who does not speak the languages readily, and who has not mastered their literatures. The student of antiquity is expected to have a thorough mastery of the ancient languages. A student of Mohammedan life in Arabia or Turkey would hardly be considered a serious investigator if all his knowledge had to be derived from second-hand accounts. The ethnologist, on the other hand, undertakes in the majority of cases to elucidate the innermost thoughts and feelings of a people without so much as a smattering of knowledge of their language.

It is true that the American ethnologist is confronted with a serious practical difficulty, for, in the present state of American society, by far the greater number of customs and practices have gone out of existence, and the investigator is compelled to rely upon accounts of customs of former times recorded from the mouths of the old generation who, when young, still took part in these performances. Added to this he is confronted with the difficulty that the number of trained investigators is very small, and the number of American languages that are mutually unintelligible exceedingly large, probably exceeding three hundred in number. Our investigating ethnologists are also denied opportunity to spend long continuous periods with any particular tribe, so that the practical difficulties in the way of acquiring languages are almost insuperable. Nevertheless, we must insist that a command of the language is an indispensable means of obtaining accurate and thorough knowledge, because much information can be gained by listening to conversations of the natives and by taking part in their daily life, which, to the observer who has no command of the language, will remain entirely inaccessible.

It must be admitted that this ideal aim is, under present conditions, entirely beyond our reach. It is, however, quite possible for the ethnographer to obtain a theoretical knowledge of native languages that will enable him to collect at least part of the information that could be best obtained by a practical knowledge of the language. Fortunately, the Indian is easily misled, by the ability of the observer

to read his language, into thinking that he is also able to understand what he reads. Thus, in taking down tales or other records in the native language, and reading them to the Indians, the Indian always believes that the reader also understands what he pronounces, because it is quite inconceivable to him that a person can freely utter the sentences in his language without clearly grasping their meaning. This fact facilitates the initial stages of ethnographic information in the native languages, because, on the whole, the northern Indians are eager to be put on record in regard to questions that are of supreme interest to them. If the observer is capable of grasping by a rapid analysis the significance of what is dictated to him, even without being able to express himself freely in the native language, he is in a position to obtain much information that otherwise would be entirely unobtainable. Although this is wholly a makeshift, still it puts the observer in an infinitely better position than that in which he would be without any knowledge whatever of the language. First of all, he can get the information from the Indians first-hand, without employing an interpreter, who may mislead him. Furthermore, the range of subjects on which he can get information is considerably increased, because the limitations of the linguistic knowledge of the interpreter, or those of the trade-language, are eliminated. It would seem, therefore, that under present conditions we are more or less compelled to rely upon an extended series of texts as the safest means of obtaining information from the Indians. A general review of our ethnographic literature shows clearly how much better is the information obtained by observers who have command of the language, and who are on terms of intimate friendship with the natives, than that obtained through the medium of interpreters.

The best material we possess is perhaps contained in the naïve outpourings of the Eskimo, which they write and print themselves, and distribute as a newspaper, intended to inform the people of all the events that are of interest. These used to contain much mythological matter and much that related to the mode of life of the people. Other material of similar character is furnished by the large text collections of the Ponca, published by the late James Owen Dorsey; although many of these are influenced by the changed conditions under which the people now live. Some older records on the Iroquois, written by prominent members of the tribe, also deserve attention; and among the most recent literature the descriptions of the

Sauk and Fox by Dr. William Jones are remarkable on account of the thorough understanding that the author has reached, owing to his mastery of the language. Similar in character, although rendered entirely in English, are the observations of Mr. James Teit on the Thompson Indians.

In some cases it has been possible to interest educated natives in the study of their own tribes and to induce them to write down in their own language their observations. These, also, are much superior to English records, in which the natives are generally hampered by the lack of mastery of the foreign language.

While in all these cases a collector thoroughly familiar with the Indian language and with English might give us the results of his studies without using the native language in his publications, this is quite indispensable when we try to investigate the deeper problems of ethnology. A few examples will show clearly what is meant. When the question arises, for instance, of investigating the poetry of the Indians, no translation can possibly be considered as an adequate substitute for the original. The form of rhythm, the treatment of the language, the adjustment of text to music, the imagery, the use of metaphors, and all the numerous problems involved in any thorough investigation of the style of poetry, can be interpreted only by the investigator who has equal command of the ethnographical traits of the tribe and of their language. The same is true in the investigation of rituals, with their set, more or less poetic phrases, or in the investigation of prayers and incantations. The oratory of the Indians, a subject that has received much attention by ethnologists, is not adequately known, because only a very few speeches have been handed down in the original. Here, also, an accurate investigation of the method of composition and of the devices used to reach oratorical effect, requires the preservation of speeches as rendered in the original language.

There are also numerous other features of the life of the Indians which can not be adequately presented without linguistic investigation. To these belong, for instance, the discussion of personal, tribal, and local names. The translations of Indian names which are popularly known—like Sitting-Bull, Afraid-Of-His-Horse, etc.—indicate that names possess a deeper significance. The translations, however, are so difficult that a thorough linguistic knowledge is required in order to explain the significance adequately.

In all the subjects mentioned heretofore, a knowledge of Indian languages serves as an important adjunct to a full understanding of the customs and beliefs of the people whom we are studying. But in all these cases the service which language lends us is first of all a practical one—a means to a clearer understanding of ethnological phenomena which in themselves have nothing to do with linguistic problems.

Theoretical Importance of Linguistic Studies

Language a Part of Ethnological Phenomena in General

It seems, however, that a theoretical study of Indian languages is not less important than a practical knowledge of them; that the purely linguistic inquiry is part and parcel of a thorough investigation of the psychology of the peoples of the world. If ethnology is understood as the science dealing with the mental phenomena of the life of the peoples of the world, human language, one of the most important manifestations of mental life, would seem to belong naturally to the field of work of ethnology, unless special reasons can be adduced why it should not be so considered. It is true that a practical reason of this kind exists, namely, the specialization which has taken place in the methods of philological research, which has progressed to such an extent that philology and comparative linguistics are sciences which require the utmost attention, and do not allow the student to devote much of his time to other fields that require different methods of study. This, however, is no reason for believing that the results of linguistic inquiry are unimportant to the ethnologist. There are other fields of ethnological investigation which have come to be more or less specialized, and which require for their successful treatment peculiar specialization. This is true, for instance, of the study of primitive music, of primitive art, and, to a certain extent, of primitive law. Nevertheless, these subjects continue to form an important part of ethnological science.

If the phenomena of human speech seem to form in a way a subject by itself, this is perhaps largely due to the fact that the laws of language remain entirely unknown to the speakers, that linguistic phenomena never rise into the consciousness of primitive man, while all other ethnological phenomena are more or less clearly subjects of conscious thought.

The question of the relation of linguistic phenomena to ethnological phenomena, in the narrower sense of the term, deserves, therefore, special discussion.

Language and Thought

First of all, it may be well to discuss the relation between language and thought. It has been claimed that the conciseness and clearness of thought of a people depend to a great extent upon their language. The ease with which in our modern European languages we express wide abstract ideas by a single term, and the facility with which wide generalizations are cast into the frame of a simple sentence, have been claimed to be one of the fundamental conditions of the clearness of our concepts, the logical force of our thought, and the precision with which we eliminate in our thoughts irrelevant details. Apparently this view has much in its favor. When we compare modern English with some of those Indian languages which are most concrete in their formative expression, the contrast is striking. When we say *The eye is the organ of sight*, the Indian may not be able to form the expression *the eye*, but may have to define that the eye of a person or of an animal is meant. Neither may the Indian be able to generalize readily the abstract idea of an eye as the representative of the whole class of objects, but may have to specialize by an expression like *this eye here*. Neither may he be able to express by a single term the idea of *organ*, but may have to specify it by an expression like *instrument of seeing*, so that the whole sentence might assume a form like *An indefinite person's eye is his means of seeing*. Still, it will be recognized that in this more specific form the general idea may be well expressed. It seems very questionable in how far the restriction of the use of certain grammatical forms can really be conceived as a hindrance in the formulation of generalized ideas. It seems much more likely that the lack of these forms is due to the lack of their need. Primitive man, when conversing with his fellow-man, is not in the habit of discussing abstract ideas. His interests center around the occupations of his daily life; and where philosophic problems are touched upon, they appear either in relation to definite individuals or in the more or less anthropomorphic forms of religious beliefs. Discourses on qualities without connection with the object to which the qualities belong, or of activities or states disconnected from the idea of the actor or the subject being in a

certain state, will hardly occur in primitive speech. Thus the Indian will not speak of goodness as such, although he may very well speak of the goodness of a person. He will not speak of a state of bliss apart from the person who is in such a state. He will not refer to the power of seeing without designating an individual who has such power. Thus it happens that in languages in which the idea of possession is expressed by elements subordinated to nouns, all abstract terms appear always with possessive elements. It is, however, perfectly conceivable that an Indian trained in philosophic thought would proceed to free the underlying nominal forms from the possessive elements, and thus reach abstract forms strictly corresponding to the abstract forms of our modern languages. I have made this experiment, for instance, with the Kwakiutl language of Vancouver Island, in which no abstract term ever occurs without its possessive elements. After some discussion, I found it perfectly easy to develop the idea of the abstract term in the mind of the Indian, who will state that the word without a possessive pronoun gives a sense, although it is not used idiomatically. I succeeded, for instance, in this manner, in isolating the terms for *love* and *pity*, which ordinarily occur only in possessive forms, like *his love for him* or *my pity for you*. That this view is correct may also be observed in languages in which possessive elements appear as independent forms, as, for instance, in the Siouan languages. In these, pure abstract terms are quite common.

There is also evidence that other specializing elements, which are so characteristic of many Indian languages, may be dispensed with when, for one reason or another, it seems desirable to generalize a term. To use the example of the Kwakiutl language, the idea *to be seated* is almost always expressed with an inseparable suffix expressing the place in which a person is seated, as *seated on the floor of the house, on the ground, on the beach, on a pile of things, or on a round thing*, etc. When, however, for some reason, the idea of the state of sitting is to be emphasized, a form may be used which expresses simply *being in a sitting posture*. In this case, also, the device for generalized expression is present, but the opportunity for its application arises seldom, or perhaps never. I think what is true in these cases is true of the structure of every single language. The fact that generalized forms of expression are not

used does not prove inability to form them, but it merely proves that the mode of life of the people is such that they are not required; that they would, however, develop just as soon as needed.

This point of view is also corroborated by a study of the numeral systems of primitive languages. As is well known, many languages exist in which the numerals do not exceed two or three. It has been inferred from this that the people speaking these languages are not capable of forming the concept of higher numbers. I think this interpretation of the existing conditions is quite erroneous. People like the South American Indians (among whom these defective numeral systems are found), or like the Eskimo (whose old system of numbers probably did not exceed ten), are presumably not in need of higher numerical expressions, because there are not many objects that they have to count. On the other hand, just as soon as these same people find themselves in contact with civilization, and when they acquire standards of value that have to be counted, they adopt with perfect ease higher numerals from other languages and develop a more or less perfect system of counting. This does not mean that every individual who in the course of his life has never made use of higher numerals would acquire more complex systems readily, but the tribe as a whole seems always to be capable of adjusting itself to the needs of counting. It must be borne in mind that counting does not become necessary until objects are considered in such generalized form that their individualities are entirely lost sight of. For this reason it is possible that even a person who has a flock of domesticated animals may know them by name and by their characteristics without ever desiring to count them. Members of a war expedition may be known by name and may not be counted. In short, there is no proof that the lack of the use of numerals is in any way connected with the inability to form the concepts of higher numbers.

If we want to form a correct judgment of the influence that language exerts over thought, we ought to bear in mind that our European languages as found at the present time have been moulded to a great extent by the abstract thought of philosophers. Terms like *essence* and *existence*, many of which are now commonly used, are by origin artificial devices for expressing the results of abstract thought. In this they would resemble the artificial, unidiomatic abstract terms that may be formed in primitive languages.

Thus it would seem that the obstacles to generalized thought inherent in the form of a language are of minor importance only, and that presumably the language alone would not prevent a people from advancing to more generalized forms of thinking if the general state of their culture should require expression of such thought; that under these conditions the language would be moulded rather by the cultural state. It does not seem likely, therefore, that there is any direct relation between the culture of a tribe and the language they speak, except in so far as the form of the language will be moulded by the state of culture, but not in so far as a certain state of culture is conditioned by morphological traits of the language.

Unconscious Character of Linguistic Phenomena

Of greater positive importance is the question of the relation of the unconscious character of linguistic phenomena to the more conscious ethnological phenomena. It seems to my mind that this contrast is only apparent, and that the very fact of the unconsciousness of linguistic processes helps us to gain a clearer understanding of the ethnological phenomena, a point the importance of which can not be underrated. It has been mentioned before that in all languages certain classifications of concepts occur. To mention only a few: we find objects classified according to sex, or as animate and inanimate, or according to form. We find actions determined according to time and place, etc. The behavior of primitive man makes it perfectly clear that all these concepts, although they are in constant use, have never risen into consciousness, and that consequently their origin must be sought, not in rational, but in entirely unconscious, we may perhaps say instinctive, processes of the mind. They must be due to a grouping of sense-impressions and of concepts which is not in any sense of the term voluntary, but which develops from quite different psychological causes. It would seem that the essential difference between linguistic phenomena and other ethnological phenomena is, that the linguistic classifications never rise into consciousness, while in other ethnological phenomena, although the same unconscious origin prevails, these often rise into consciousness, and thus give rise to secondary reasoning and to re-interpretations. It would, for instance, seem very plausible that the fundamental religious notions—like the idea of the voluntary power of inanimate objects, or of the anthropomorphic

character of animals, or of the existence of powers that are superior to the mental and physical powers of man—are in their origin just as little conscious as are the fundamental ideas of language. While, however, the use of language is so automatic that the opportunity never arises for the fundamental notions to emerge into consciousness, this happens very frequently in all phenomena relating to religion. It would seem that there is no tribe in the world in which the religious activities have not come to be a subject of thought. While the religious activities may have been performed before the reason for performing them had become a subject of thought, they attained at an early time such importance that man asked himself the reason why he performed these actions. With this moment speculation in regard to religious activities arose, and the whole series of secondary explanations which form so vast a field of ethnological phenomena came into existence.

It is difficult to give a definite proof of the unconscious origin of ethnic phenomena, because so many of them are, or have come to be, subjects of thought. The best evidence that can be given for their unconscious origin must be taken from our own experience, and I think it is not difficult to show that certain groups of our activities, whatever the history of their earlier development may have been, develop at present in each individual and in the whole people entirely sub-consciously, and nevertheless are most potent in the formation of our opinions and actions. Simple examples of this kind are actions which we consider as proper and improper, and which may be found in great numbers in what we call good manners. Thus table manners, which on the whole are impressed vigorously upon the child while it is still young, have a very fixed form. Smacking of the lips and bringing the plate up to the mouth would not be tolerated, although no esthetic or other reason could be given for their rigid exclusion; and it is instructive to know that among a tribe like the Omaha it is considered as bad taste, when invited to eat, not to smack one's lips, because this is a sign of appreciation of the meal. I think it will readily be recognized that the simple fact that these habits are customary, while others are not, is sufficient reason for eliminating those acts that are not customary, and that the idea of propriety simply arises from the continuity and automatic repetition of these acts, which brings about the notion that manners contrary to custom are unusual, and

therefore not the proper manners. It may be observed in this connection that bad manners are always accompanied by rather intense feelings of displeasure, the psychological reason for which can be found only in the fact that the actions in question are contrary to those which have become habitual. It is fairly evident that in our table manners this strong feeling of propriety is associated with the familiar modes of eating. When a new kind of food is presented, the proper manner of eating which is not known, practically any habit that is not in absolute conflict with the common habits may readily establish itself.

The example of table manners gives also a fairly good instance of secondary explanation. It is not customary to bring the knife to the mouth, and very readily the feeling arises, that the knife is not used in this manner because in eating thus one would easily cut the lips. The lateness of the invention of the fork, and the fact that in many countries dull knives are used and that a similar danger exists of pricking the tongue or the lips with the sharp-pointed steel fork which is commonly used in Europe, show readily that this explanation is only a secondary rationalistic attempt to explain a custom that otherwise would remain unexplained.

If we are to draw a parallel to linguistic phenomena in this case, it would appear that the grouping of a number of unrelated actions in one group, for the reason that they cause a feeling of disgust, is brought about without any reasoning, and still sets off these actions clearly and definitely in a group by themselves.

On account of the importance of this question, it seems desirable to give another example, and one that seems to be more deeply seated than the one given before. A case of this kind is presented in the group of acts which we characterize as modest. It requires very little thought to see that, while the feelings of modesty are fundamental, the particular acts which are considered modest or immodest show immense variation, and are determined entirely by habits that develop unconsciously so far as their relation to modesty is concerned, and which may have their ultimate origin in causes of an entirely different character. A study of the history of costume proves at once that at different times and in different parts of the world it has been considered immodest to bare certain parts of the body. What parts of the body these are, is to a great

extent a matter of accident. Even at the present time, and within a rather narrow range, great variations in this respect may be found. Examples are the use of the veil in Turkey, the more or less rigid use of the glove in our own society, and the difference between street costume and evening dress. A lady in full evening dress in a street-car, during the daytime, would hardly appear in place.

We all are at once conscious of the intensity of these feelings of modesty, and of the extreme repugnance of the individual to any act that goes counter to the customary concepts of modesty. In a number of cases the origin of a costume can readily be traced, and in its development no considerations of modesty exert any influence. It is therefore evident that in this respect the grouping-together of certain customs again develops entirely unconsciously, but that, nevertheless, they stand out as a group set apart from others with great clearness as soon as our attention is directed toward the feelings of modesty.

To draw a parallel again between this ethnological phenomenon and linguistic phenomena, it would seem that the common feature of both is the grouping-together of a considerable number of activities under the form of a single idea, without the necessity of this idea itself entering into consciousness. The difference, again, would lie in the fact that the idea of modesty is easily isolated from other concepts, and that then secondary explanations are given of what is considered modest and what not. I believe that the unconscious formation of these categories is one of the fundamental traits of ethnic life, and that it even manifests itself in many of its more complex aspects; that many of our religious views and activities, of our ethical concepts, and even our scientific views, which are apparently based entirely on conscious reasoning, are affected by this tendency of distinct activities to associate themselves under the influence of strong emotions. It has been recognized before that this is one of the fundamental causes of error and of the diversity of opinion.

It seems necessary to dwell upon the analogy of ethnology and language in this respect, because, if we adopt this point of view, language seems to be one of the most instructive fields of inquiry in an investigation of the formation of the fundamental ethnic ideas. The great advantage that linguistics offer in this respect is the fact that, on the whole, the categories which are formed always remain

unconscious, and that for this reason the processes which lead to their formation can be followed without the misleading and disturbing factors of secondary explanations, which are so common in ethnology, so much so that they generally obscure the real history of the development of ideas entirely.

Cases are rare in which a people have begun to speculate about linguistic categories, and these speculations are almost always so clearly affected by the faulty reasoning that has led to secondary explanations, that they are readily recognized as such, and can not disturb the clear view of the history of linguistic processes. In America we find this tendency, for instance, among the Pawnee, who seem to have been led to several of their religious opinions by linguistic similarities. Incidentally such cases occur also in other languages, as, for instance, in Chinook mythology, where the Culture Hero discovers a man in a canoe who obtains fish by dancing, and tells him that he must not do so, but must catch fish with the net, a tale which is entirely based on the identity of the two words for *dancing*, and *catching with a net*. These are cases which show that Max Müller's theory of the influence of etymology upon religious concepts explains some of the religious phenomena, although, of course, it can be held to account for only a very small portion.

Judging the importance of linguistic studies from this point of view, it seems well worth while to subject the whole range of linguistic concepts to a searching analysis, and to seek in the peculiarities of the grouping of ideas in different languages an important characteristic in the history of the mental development of the various branches of mankind. From this point of view, the occurrence of the most fundamental grammatical concepts in all languages must be considered as proof of the unity of fundamental psychological processes. The characteristic groupings of concepts in American languages will be treated more fully in the discussion of the single linguistic stocks. The ethnological significance of these studies lies in the clear definition of the groupings of ideas which are brought out by the objective study of language.

There is still another theoretical aspect that deserves special attention. When we try to think at all clearly, we think, on the whole, in words; and it is well known that, even in the advancement of science, inaccuracy of vocabulary has often been a stumbling-

block which has made it difficult to reach accurate conclusions. The same words may be used with different significance, and by assuming the word to have the same significance always, erroneous conclusions may be reached. It may also be that the word expresses only part of an idea, so that owing to its use the full range of the subject-matter discussed may not be recognized. In the same manner the words may be too wide in their significance, including a number of distinct ideas the differences of which in the course of the development of the language were not recognized. Furthermore, we find that, among more primitive tribes, similarities of sound are misunderstood, and that ideas expressed by similar words are considered as similar or identical, and that descriptive terms are misunderstood as expressing an identity, or at least close relationship, between the object described and the group of ideas contained in the description.

All these traits of human thought, which are known to influence the history of science and which play a more or less important rôle in the general history of civilization, occur with equal frequency in the thoughts of primitive man. It will be sufficient to give a few examples of these cases.

One of the most common cases of a group of views due to failure to notice that the same word may signify divers objects, is that based on the belief of the identity of persons bearing the same name. Generally the interpretation is given that a child receives the name of an ancestor because he is believed to be a re-incarnation of the individuality of the ancestor. It seems, however, much more likely that this is not the real reason for the views connected with this custom, which seems due to the fact that no distinction is made between the name and the personality known under the name. The association established between name and individual is so close that the two seem almost inseparable; and when a name is mentioned, not only the name itself, but also the personality of its bearer, appears before the mind of the speaker.

Inferences based on peculiar forms of classification of ideas, and due to the fact that a whole group of distinct ideas are expressed by a single term, occur commonly in the terms of relationship of various languages; as, for instance, in our term *uncle*, which means the two distinct classes of father's brother and mother's

brother. Here, also, it is commonly assumed that the linguistic expression is a secondary reflex of the customs of the people; but the question is quite open in how far the one phenomenon is the primary one and the other the secondary one, and whether the customs of the people have not rather developed from the unconsciously developed terminology.

Cases in which the similarity of sound of words is reflected in the views of the people are not rare, and examples of these have been given before in referring to Max Müller's theory of the origin of religions.

Finally, a few examples may be given of cases in which the use of descriptive terms for certain concepts, or the metaphorical use of terms, has led to peculiar views or customs. It seems plausible to my mind, for instance, that the terms of relationship by which some of the eastern Indian tribes designate one another were originally nothing but a metaphorical use of these terms, and that the further elaboration of the social relations of the tribes may have been largely determined by transferring the ideas accompanying these terms into practice.

More convincing are examples taken from the use of metaphorical terms in poetry, which, in rituals, are taken literally, and are made the basis of certain rites. I am inclined to believe, for instance, that the frequently occurring image of *the devouring of wealth* has a close relation to the detailed form of the winter ritual among the Indians of the North Pacific coast, and that the poetical simile in which the chief is called the *support of the sky* has to a certain extent been taken literally in the elaboration of mythological ideas.

Thus it appears that from practical, as well as from theoretical, points of view, the study of language must be considered as one of the most important branches of ethnological study, because, on the one hand, a thorough insight into ethnology can not be gained without practical knowledge of language, and, on the other hand, the fundamental concepts illustrated by human languages are not distinct in kind from ethnological phenomena; and because, furthermore, the peculiar characteristics of languages are clearly reflected in the views and customs of the peoples of the world.

V. CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN LANGUAGES

In older treatises of the languages of the world, languages have often been classified as isolating, agglutinating, polysynthetic, and inflecting languages. Chinese is generally given as an example of an isolating language. The agglutinating languages are represented by the Ural-Altaic languages of northern Asia; polysynthetic languages by the languages of America; and inflecting languages, by the Indo-European and Semitic languages. The essential traits of these four groups are: That in the first, sentences are expressed solely by the juxtaposition of unchangeable elements; in the agglutinating languages, a single stem is modified by the attachment of numerous formative elements which modify the fundamental idea of the stem; in polysynthetic languages, a large number of distinct ideas are amalgamated by grammatical processes and form a single word, without any morphological distinction between the formal elements of the sentence and the contents of the sentence; and in the inflecting languages, on the other hand, a sharp distinction is made between formal elements and the material contents of the sentence, and stems are modified solely according to the logical forms in which they appear in the sentence.

An example of what is meant by polysynthesis is given, for instance, in the following Eskimo word: *takusariartorumagaluarnerpâ?* DO YOU THINK HE REALLY INTENDS TO GO TO LOOK AFTER IT? (*takusar[pâ]* he looks after it; *-iartor[poq]* he goes to; *-uma[voq]* he intends to; *-[g]aluar[poq]* he does so—but; *-ner[poq]* do you think he—; *-â* interrogation, third person.) It will be recognized here, that there is no correspondence between the suffixed elements of the fundamental stem and the formal elements that appear in the Indo-European languages, but that a great variety of ideas are expressed by the long series of suffixes. Another example of similar kind is the Tsimshian word *t-yuk-ligi-lo-d'ep-dālet* HE BEGAN TO PUT IT DOWN SOMEWHERE INSIDE (*t*, he; *yuk* to begin; *ligi* somewhere; *lo* in; *d'ep* down; *dāl* to put down; *-t* it).

American languages have also been designated as incorporating languages, by which is meant a tendency to incorporate the object of the sentence, either nominal or pronominal, in the verbal expression. Examples of this tendency are the Mexican *ni-petla-tsiwa* I MAKE MATS (*petla-tl* mat); or the Pawnee *ta-t'itka'wit* I DIG DIRT (*ta-* indic-

tive; *t*- I; *i'tkār** dirt; *-pīt* to dig [*rp* in contact, form '*w*']; or the Haida *g-nagla'-sl-i-zak-s* I SEARCH FOR A VILLAGE (*g*- I; *-nagla'* to go; *-sl-* abstract noun; *-i-* verbal character; *-zak* to search; *-s* continuative).

A more thorough knowledge of the structure of many American languages shows that the general designation of all these languages as polysynthetic and incorporating is not tenable. We have in America a sufficiently large number of cases of languages in which the pronouns are not incorporated, but joined loosely to the verb, and we also have numerous languages in which the incorporation of many elements into a single word hardly occurs at all. Among the languages treated here, the Chinook may be given as an example of lack of polysynthesis. There are very few, if any, cases in which a single Chinook word expresses an extended complex of ideas, and we notice particularly that there are no large classes of ideas which are expressed in such form that they may be considered as subordinate. An examination of the structure of the Chinook grammar will show that each verbal stem appears modified only by pronominal and a few adverbial elements, and that nouns show hardly any tendency to incorporate new ideas such as are expressed by our adjectives. On the other hand, the Athapaskan and the Haida and Tlingit may be taken as examples of languages which, though polysynthetic in the sense here described, do not readily incorporate the object, but treat both pronominal subject and pronominal object as independent elements. Among the languages of northern North America, the Iroquois alone has so strong a tendency to incorporate the nominal object into the verb, and at the same time to modify so much its independent form, that it can be considered as one of the characteristic languages that incorporate the object. To a lesser extent this trait belongs also to the Tsimshian, Kutenai, and Shoshone. It is strongly developed in the Caddoan languages. All the other incorporating languages treated here, like the Eskimo, Algonquian, and Kwakiutl, confine themselves to a more or less close incorporation of the pronominal object. In Shoshone, the incorporation of the pronominal object and of the nominal object is so weak that it is almost arbitrary whether we consider these forms as incorporated or not. If we extend our view over other parts of America, the same facts appear clearly, and it is not possible to consider these two traits as characteristics of all American languages.

On the other hand, there are certain traits that, although not common to all American languages, are at least frequent, and which are not less characteristic than the tendency to objective incorporation and to polysynthesis. The most important of these is the tendency to divide the verb sharply into an active and a neutral class, one of which is closely related to the possessive forms of the noun, while the other is treated as a true verb. We might perhaps say that American languages have a strong tendency to draw the dividing line between denominating terms and predicative terms, not in the same way that we are accustomed to do. In American languages many of our predicative terms are closely related to nominal terms, most frequently the neutral verbs expressing a state, like *to sit*, *to stand*. These, also, often include a considerable number of adjectives. On the other hand, terms expressing activities—like *to sing*, *to eat*, *to kill*—are treated as true predicative terms. The differentiation of these two classes is generally expressed by the occurrence of an entirely or partially separated set of pronouns for the predicative terms.

Beyond these extremely vague points, there are hardly any characteristics that are common to many American languages. A number of traits, however, may be enumerated which occur with considerable frequency in many parts of America.

The phonetic systems of American languages differ very considerably, but we find with remarkable frequency a peculiar differentiation of voiced and unvoiced stops,—corresponding to our *b, p*; *d, t*; *g, k*,—which differ in principle from the classification of the corresponding sounds in most of the European languages. An examination of American vocabularies and texts shows very clearly that all observers have had more or less difficulty in differentiating these sounds. Although there is not the slightest doubt that they differ in character, it would seem that there is almost everywhere a tendency to pronounce the voiced and unvoiced sounds with very nearly equal stress of articulation, not as in European languages, where the unvoiced sound is generally pronounced with greater stress. This equality of stress of the two sounds brings it about that their differences appear rather slight. On the other hand, there are frequently sounds, particularly in the languages of the Pacific coast, in which a stress of articulation is used which is considerably greater than any stresses occurring in the languages with which we are familiar. These sounds are generally unvoiced; but a high air-pressure in the oral cavity is secured by

ing the glottis and nares, or by closing the posterior part of the mouth with the base of the tongue. The release at the point of articulation lets out the small amount of strongly compressed air, the subsequent opening of glottis and nares or base of tongue produces a break in the continuity of sound.

We find also with particular frequency the occurrence of a number of lingual stops corresponding more or less strictly to our *k* sounds. These, however, are more finely differentiated than our *k* sounds. As the velar *k*, which is so characteristic of Semitic languages, occurs with great frequency in America. On the other hand, the labio-dental *f* seems to be rather rare, and where a similar sound occurs it is often the bilabial sound.

The same may be said of the *r*, which on the whole is a rare sound in American languages, and the trill of which is almost always so weak that it merges into the *d*, *n*, *l*, or *y*, as the case may be.

On the whole, the system of consonants of American languages is well developed, particularly owing to the occurrence of the three classes to which I referred before, instead of the two with which we are more familiar. In some groups of languages we have also a quite distinct set of stops accompanied by full breathing, which correspond to the English surds. Furthermore, a peculiar break, produced by closing the vocal chords, occurs quite commonly, not only in connection with sonants, but also following or preceding vowels or fricative consonants. This intonation is sometimes quite audible, and sometimes merely a break or hiatus in the continuity of pronunciation. Sometimes it seems related to the pronunciation of a voiced consonant in which the voicing is preceded by a closure of the vocal chords. In other cases it seems related to the production of the great stress of articulation to which I referred before. For instance, in a strong *t* the tongue may be pressed so firmly against the palate that all the articulating organs, including the vocal chords, take part in the tension, and that the sudden expulsion of the air is accompanied also by a sudden relaxation of the vocal chords, so that for this reason the strong, exploded sound appears to be accompanied by an intonation of the vocal chords.

As stated before, these traits are not by any means common to all American languages, but they are sufficiently frequent to deserve mention in a generalized discussion of the subject.

On the other hand, there are languages which are exceedingly deficient in their phonetic system. Among these may be mentioned, for

instance, the Iroquois, which possesses not a single true labial consonant; or the Haida, in which the labials are confined to a few sounds, which are rather rare.

The vocalic systems of the northern languages seem peculiarly uncertain. The cases are very numerous in which obscure vowels occur, which are evidently related to fuller vowels, but whose affiliations often can not be determined. It would seem that in the southern languages these weak vowels are not so prominent. We also find very frequently a lack of clear distinction between *o* and *u* on the one hand, and *e* and *i* on the other. Although the variability of vowels in some of the languages seems beyond doubt, there are others in which the vocalic system is very definite and in which distinctions are expressed, not only by the timbre of the vowel, but also by its rising or falling tone. Among these may be mentioned the Pawnee and the Takelma. The Pawnee seems to have at least two tones, a sinking tone and a rising tone, while in Takelma there seem to be three tones. Nasalized vowels are very common in some languages, and entirely absent in others. This nasalization occurs both with open lips and with closed lips. An example of the latter is the Iroquois *u^m*.

It is not possible to give any general characterization of American languages with regard to the grouping of sounds. While in some languages consonantic clusters of incredible complexity are formed, others avoid such clusters altogether. There is, however, a habit of pronunciation which deserves attention, and which is found very widely distributed. This is the slurring of the ends of words, which is sometimes so pronounced, that, in an attempt to write the words, the terminations, grammatical or other, may become entirely inaudible. The simplest form in which this tendency expresses itself is in the suppression of terminal consonants, which are only articulated, but not pronounced. In the Nass river dialect of the Tsimshian, for instance, the terminal *n* of the word *gan* TREE is indicated by the position of the tongue, but is entirely inaudible, unless the word is followed by other words belonging to the same sentence. In that language the same is true of the sounds *l* and *m*. Vowels are suppressed in a similar manner by being only indicated by the position of the mouth, without being articulated. This happens frequently to the *u* following a *k*, or with an *i* in the same position.

Thus, the Kwakiutl pronounce *wā'dek*^u. If, however, another vowel follows, the *u* which is not articulated appears as a *w*, as in the form *wā'dekwa*.

The slurring, however, extends over whole syllables, which in these cases may appear highly modified. Thus, in the Oneida dialect of the Iroquois, a peculiar *l* sound is heard, which presumably occurs only in such slurred syllables. It is very remarkable that the Indians of all tribes are perfectly conscious of the phonetic elements which have thus been suppressed, and can, when pressed to do so, pronounce the words with their full endings.

Another trait that is characteristic of many American languages, and that deserves mention, is the tendency of various parts of the population to modify the pronunciation of sounds. Thus we find that among some Eskimo tribes the men pronounce the terminal *p*, *t*, *k*, and *q* distinctly, while the women always transform these sounds into *m*, *n*, *ñ*, and *q̃*. In some dialects the men have also adopted this manner of pronouncing, so that the pronunciation has become uniform again. Such mannerisms, that are peculiar to certain social groups, are of course not entirely foreign to us, but they are seldom developed in so striking a manner as in a few of the Indian languages.

In many American languages we find highly developed laws of euphony,—laws by which, automatically, one sound in a sentence requires certain other sounds either to precede or to follow it. In the majority of cases these laws of euphony seem to act forward in a manner that may be compared to the laws of vowel harmony in the Ural-Altaic languages. Particularly remarkable among these laws is the influence of the *o* upon following vowels, which occurs in a few languages of the Pacific coast. In these, the vowels following an *o* in the same word must, under certain conditions, be transformed into *o* vowels, or at least be modified by the addition of a *w*. Quite different in character are the numerous influences of contact of sounds, which are very pronounced in the Siouan languages, and occur again in a quite different form in the Pawnee. It may be well to give an example of these also. Thus, in Dakota, words ending with an *a* and followed by a word beginning with a *k* transform the former into *e*, the latter into *č*. In Pawnee, on the other hand, the combination *tr* is always transformed into an *h*; *b* following an *i* is generally

changed into a *w*; *rp* becomes *hw*, etc. While in some languages these phonetic changes do not occupy a prominent place, they are exceedingly important in others. They correspond in a way to the laws of euphony of Sanskrit.

Just as much variety as is shown in phonetic systems is found in the use of grammatical devices. In discussing the definition of the word, it has been pointed out that in some American languages the word-unit seems to be perfectly clear and consistent, while in others the structure of the sentence would seem to justify us in considering it as composed of a number of independent elements combined by juxtaposition. Thus, languages which have a polysynthetic character have the tendency to form firmly knit word-units, which may be predicative sentences, but may also be used for denominative purposes. For example, the Chinook may say, *He runs into the water*, and may designate by this term *the mink*; or the Hupa may say *They have been laid together*, meaning by this term *a fire*. On the other hand, there are innumerable languages in America in which expressions of this kind are entirely impossible.

In forming words and sentences, affixes are used extensively, and we find prefixes, as well as suffixes and infixes. It is not absolutely certain that cases occur in America where true infixing into a stem takes place, and where it might not be better explained as an insertion of the apparently infixed element into a compound stem, or as due to secondary phonetic phenomena, like those of metathesis; but in the Siouan languages at least, infixion in bisyllabic stems that are apparently simple in their origin occurs. Otherwise, suffixing is, on the whole, more extensively used than prefixing; and in some languages only one of these two methods is used, in others both. There are probably no languages in which prefixing alone occurs.

Change of stem is also a device that is used with great frequency. We find particularly that methods of reduplication are used extensively. Modifications of single sounds of the stem occur also, and sometimes in peculiar form. Thus we have cases, as in Tsimshian, where the lengthening of a vowel indicates plurality; or, as in Algonquian, where modality is expressed by vocalic modification; and, as in Chinook, where diminutive and augmentative are expressed by increasing the stress of consonants. Sometimes an exuberance of reduplicated forms is found, the reduplicated stem being reduplicated a second and even a third time. On the other

hand, we find numerous languages in which the stem is entirely unchangeable, excepting so far as it may be subject to phonetic contact phenomena.

The following grammatical sketches have been contributed by investigators, each of whom has made a special study of the linguistic stock of which he treats. The attempt has been made to adopt, so far as feasible, a uniform method of treatment, without, however, sacrificing the individual conception of each investigator.

In accordance with the general views expressed in the introductory chapters, the method of treatment has been throughout an analytical one. No attempt has been made to compare the forms of the Indian grammars with the grammars of English, Latin, or even among themselves; but in each case the psychological groupings which are given depend entirely upon the inner form of each language. In other words, the grammar has been treated as though an intelligent Indian was going to develop the forms of his own thoughts by an analysis of his own form of speech.

It will be understood that the results of this analysis can not be claimed to represent the fundamental categories from which the present form of each language has developed. There is not the slightest doubt that, in all Indian languages, processes have occurred analogous to those processes which are historically known and to which the modern forms of Indo-European languages owe their present forms. Grammatical categories have been lost, and new ones have developed. Even a hasty comparison of the dialects of various American linguistic families gives ample proof that similar processes have taken place here. To give an example, we find that, in the Ponca dialect of the Siouan languages, nouns are classified according to form, and that there is a clear formal distinction between the subject and the object of the sentence. These important features have disappeared entirely in the Dakota dialect of the same group of languages. To give another example, we find a pronominal sex gender in all the dialects of the Salishan stock that are spoken west of the Coast range in the states of Washington and in British Columbia, while in the dialects of the interior there is no trace of gender. On the other hand, we find in one of the Salish dialects of the interior the occurrence of an exclusive and inclusive form of the pronoun, which is absent in all the other dialects of the same stock. We have no information on the

history of American languages, and the study of dialects has not advanced far enough to permit us to draw far-reaching inferences in regard to this subject. It is therefore impossible, in the few cases here mentioned, to state whether the occurrence and non-occurrence of these categories are due to a loss of old forms in the one dialect or to a later differentiation in the other.

Although, therefore, an analytical grammar can not lay any claim to present a history of the development of grammatical categories, it is valuable as a presentation of the present state of grammatical development in each linguistic group. The results of our investigation must be supplemented at a later time by a thorough analysis and comparison of all the dialects of each linguistic stock.

Owing to the fundamental differences between different linguistic families, it has seemed advisable to develop the terminology of each independently of the others, and to seek for uniformity only in cases where it can be obtained without artificially stretching the definition of terms. It is planned to give a comparative discussion of the languages at the close of these volumes, when reference can be made to the published sketches.

So far as our present knowledge goes, the following linguistic families may be distinguished in North America north of Mexico:

1. Eskimo (arctic coast).
2. Athapaskan (northwestern interior, Oregon, California, Southwest).
3. Tlingit (coast of southern Alaska).
4. Haida (Queen Charlotte islands, British Columbia).
5. Salishan (southern British Columbia and northern Washington).
6. Chemakum (west coast of Washington).
7. Wakashan (Vancouver island).
8. Algonquian (region south of Hudson Bay and eastern Woodlands).
9. Beothuk (Newfoundland).
10. Tsimshian (northern coast of British Columbia).
11. Siouan (northern plains west of Mississippi and North Carolina).
12. Iroquoian (lower Great Lakes and North Carolina).
13. Caddoan (southern part of plains west of Mississippi).
14. Muskogean (southeastern United States).
15. Kiowa (middle Western plains).
16. Shoshonean (western plateaus of United States).

17. Kutenai (southeastern interior of British Columbia).
18. Pima (Arizona and Sonora).
19. Yuma (Arizona and lower California).
20. Chinook (lower Columbia river).
21. Yakona (Yaquina bay).
22. Kus (coast of central Oregon).
23. Takelma (Rogue river, Oregon).
24. Kalapuya (Willamette valley, Oregon).
25. Wailaptuan (Cascade range east of Willamette, Ore.).
26. Klamath (southeastern interior of Oregon).
27. Sahaptin (interior of Oregon).
28. Quoratean (Klamath river).
29. Weitspekan (lower Klamath river).
30. Shasta (northeast interior of California).
31. Wishok (north coast of California).
32. Yana (eastern tributaries of upper Sacramento river, California).
33. Chimarico (head waters of Sacramento river, California).
34. Wintun (valley of Sacramento river).
35. Maidu (east of Sacramento river).
36. Yuki (north of Bay of San Francisco).
37. Pomo (coast north of Bay of San Francisco).
38. Washo (Lake Washoe, Nevada, and California).
39. Moquelumnan (east of lower Tulare river, California).
40. Yokuts (southern Tulare river, California).
41. Costanoan (south of Bay of San Francisco, California).
42. Esselenian (coast of southern California).
43. Salinan (coast of southern California).
44. Chumashan (coast of southern California).
45. Tanoan
46. Zúñi
47. Keres
48. Pakawan (from Cibolo creek, Texas, into the state of Coahuila, Mexico).
49. Karankawa (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Atakapa).
50. Tonkawa (inland from preceding).
51. Atakapa (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Chitimacha).
52. Chitimacha (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Mississippi).
53. Tunica (coast of Gulf of Mexico west of Mississippi).
54. Yuchi (east Georgia).
55. Timuqua (Florida).

Of these, the present volume contains sketches of a number of languages of the northern group, the Athapascan, Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Kwakiutl, Chinook, Maidu, Algonquian, Siouan, Eskimo.



ATHAPASCAN
(HUPA)

BY

PLINY EARLE GODDARD

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ATHAPASCAN

(HUPA)

By PLINY EARLE GODDARD

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF THE ATHAPASCAN FAMILY

The Athapascan stock is one of the largest and most widely distributed families of speech in North America. Geographically it consists of three divisions, the northern, the Pacific coast, and the southern.

The northern division¹ occupies much of the northwestern portion of the continent. East of the Rocky mountains the southern boundary is the Churchill river at the southeast, and the watershed between Athabasca and Peace rivers at the southwest. South of them are peoples of the Algonquian stock. The Eskimo hold a narrow strip of continuous coast-line along the Arctic ocean and Hudson bay to the north and east. West of the Rocky mountains the Athapascan territory begins at the fifty-first parallel of north latitude, and includes all of the country except the coast and islands. Only near the boundary of Alaska and British Columbia did they reach the coast. In the extreme north the coast is in the possession of the Eskimo. To the south the shore-lands are in the possession of the Haida, Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Wakashan. Their southern neighbors are members of the Salishan stock.

¹The principal works which treat particularly of the Athapascans of the north are the following:
SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE. *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans: in the Years 1789 and 1793.* London, 1801.
SIR JOHN RICHARDSON. *Arctic Searching Expedition: a Journal of a Boat Voyage through Ruperts Land to the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin.* London, 1851.
J. C. E. BUSCHMANN. *Der Athapaskische Sprachstamm.* *Königliche Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Abhandlungen aus dem Jahre 1855*, 144-319.
LE R. P. E. PETITOT. *Dictionnaire de la langue Déné-Dindjé.* Paris, 1876.
REV. FATHER A. G. MORICE. *The Western Déné, their Manners and Customs.* *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, 3d ser., VII, 109-174. Toronto, 1890.
———. *The Déné Languages.* *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, I, 170-212. Toronto, 1891.
———. *The History of the Northern Interior of British Columbia.* Toronto, 1904.

The Pacific coast division¹ formerly consisted of one band in the interior of British Columbia, two small bands in the state of Washington, and many villages in a strip of nearly continuous territory about four hundred miles in length, beginning at the Umpqua river, Oregon, and extending south between the coast and coast range mountains to the head waters of Eel river in California. At the Klamath river their territory was cut through at one point by the Yurok who occupied the lower portion of that river and the coast southward nearly to the mouth of Mad river. From that point the non-Athapaskan Wiyot extended along the coast a little south of the mouth of Eel river. These villages were separated in many cases from each other by low but rugged mountains. They were surrounded by the small stocks characteristic of the region.

The southern division² occupies a very large area in the Southwest, including much of Arizona, New Mexico, and western Texas, and extending to some distance into Mexico proper. The people form three groups, the Lipan in the East, the Navaho south of the San Juan river in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico, and the various tribes of Apache east and south of the Navaho. This division greatly exceeds in numbers all the other Athapaskan people. Their principal neighbors were the Piman, Shoshonean, and Pueblo peoples.

Wide differences in physical type and culture, and considerable changes in language, make it certain that these divisions have not been separated from each other recently.

In the Pacific coast division, to which the Hupa belong, are at least four languages mutually unintelligible. The Umpqua at the north seems to differ widely from the dialects south of it, both in its phonetic character and its vocabulary. From the Umpqua southward to the Yurok country on the Klamath river the dialects seem to shade into one another, those formerly spoken on the Coquille river and

¹ Publications treating this division of the Athapaskan are:

- J. OWEN DORSEY. Indians of the Siletz Reservation, Oregon. *American Anthropologist*, II, 55-61. Washington, 1889.—The Gentile System of the Siletz Tribes. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, III, 227-237. Boston, 1890.
- STEPHEN POWERS. The Northern California Indians. *Overland Monthly*, VIII, IX. San Francisco, 1872-74.
- PLINY EARLE GODDARD. Kato Texts. *University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology*, V, no. 3.

² The published material concerning this division is mostly restricted to the Navaho, and has been collected by one author, DR. WASHINGTON MATTHEWS. The more important of his works are: *The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony*. *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1887. *Navaho Legends*. *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, V. Boston, 1897. *The Night Chant*. *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, VI. New York, 1902.

Galice creek being the most distinct. In the southern portion of the area, on Eel river and the coast, are several dialects differing much more in vocabulary than in phonetics. That Indians from the extremes of this territory can converse in their respective languages is not probable. On lower Mattole and Bear rivers and the adjacent coast a very distinct dialect was spoken. In the middle of this Pacific coast division are two dialects very closely connected. One of them was formerly spoken on upper Redwood creek and middle Mad river in Humboldt county, California; and the other, the Hupa of which this paper treats, on the lower (northern) portion of the Trinity river.

The villages speaking the Hupa dialect have for neighbors, to the north the Yurok, to the northeast the Karok, to the east the Shasta, but with high mountains intervening, to the south the Chimariko and Wintun, and to the west the Athapascans of Redwood creek.

Texts of myths, tales, and medicine formulas collected by the author were published by the University of California,¹ upon which, as a basis, an analytical study of the morphology of the language has been made.² A preliminary paper describing in detail the individual sounds of the language and illustrating them by means of palatograms and tracings has been published.³ The examples given in the following grammatical sketch are taken from the collection of Hupa texts published by the University of California. The figures refer to pages and lines.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

Among the sounds composing the Hupa language, consonantal continuants predominate. This takes from the speech the definiteness produced by a predominance of stops, and the musical character imparted by full clear vowels standing alone or scantily attended by consonants in the syllable.

The stops are entirely lacking in one of the most important series, the labial. Hupa has neither *p* nor *b*. The latter is often found in many of the other Athapaskan dialects of the Pacific coast division. In Hupa the corresponding words have *m* in place of *b*. The back

¹ For a general account of the Hupa villages and their surroundings, see P. E. Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*. *University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology*, 1, no. 1.—Hupa Texts, *idem*, 1, no. 2.

² The Morphology of the Hupa Language, *idem*, III.

³ The Phonology of the Hupa Language.—Part I, *idem*, v, no. 1.

series are represented by stops, but mostly by surds only. In the dental series alone is the sonant frequent. There are two surds of this series, one quite strongly aspirated, about as much so as is English *t* in a stressed syllable; the other, followed by suction, probably produced by glottal action, has the vowel following the explosion of the consonant in about half the time it does in the aspirated *t*. In this regard it lies between the aspirated *t* and *d*. The unaccustomed ear usually hears it as *d*, but it may easily be distinguished from that sound when the attention is directed toward its sonancy which begins in *d* at the moment of release. On first acquaintance with the language the sonant has been written as *t* by all who have attempted its notation. After more practice it may be distinguished with precision, and its pronunciation only as a sonant meets with the approval of the native speaker. Of the palatal series, only the anterior palatals are employed before *e* and *i* sounds. When these occur before *a*, *o*, and *u*, a well-defined glide is heard, which has been written as *y*. The posterior palatal series is articulated just back of the line of the joining of the soft and hard palates. That there were originally three or more representatives of this series is probable. The full sonant seems to have become *w*. The aspirated surd has become a continuant spirant *x*.¹ There remain two sounds, one (*k*) that has the sonancy closely following the release, and one (*k̤*) accompanied or followed by suction giving it a sharp, harsh sound usually designated as fortis. The velar series is articulated very far back, giving the effect of a closure against a yielding surface, and resulting in a soft sound, rather difficult to distinguish as surd or sonant, but probably always the former. The glottal stop (*ʔ*) is most easily recognized when final, for then its release is often heard. Between vowels it must be detected by the silence enforced and by the change wrought in the close of the first vowel.

The stops may be represented as follows:

	Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Anterior palatal	Dental	Labial
Sonant	—	—	—	<i>g, gy</i>	<i>d̤</i>	—
Surd	(<i>ʔ</i>)	<i>q</i>	<i>k̤</i>	<i>k, ky</i>	<i>t</i>	—
Fortis	—	—	<i>k̤</i>	<i>k̤</i>	<i>t̤</i>	—

The continuant consonants of Hupa comprise spirants, affricatives, nasals, and liquids. A glottal spirant occurs after as well as before vowels. Initially it is a surd breath escaping as the glottis passes from

¹Compare Hupa *tcilleswen* HE CARRIED, and *menixet* YOU FINISHED, with Kato *tcetegit̤* and *ben̤it̤et̤*.

the open position maintained in breathing to the position required for the vowel, and is written *h*. It is rather stronger than English *h*. When final, the spirant is caused by the sudden opening of the glottis without diminution of the force of the breath, and is written ('). It has been noted only where it is most prominent, or where it differentiates one word or word-element from another. One of the spirants (*x*) imparts a noticeable harshness to the Hupa language. It is formed rather far back in the mouth, apparently in the velar position. The mouth-passage is made quite narrow, and the uvula is thrown into vibration. The period of these vibrations is about forty per second. The resulting sound is harsh, both from the lowness of the period and from its irregularity. The degree of harshness varies considerably in individuals, and, indeed, in the same individual. While the sound is not far removed from the velar *r* in its place and manner of formation, its effect on the ear is rather that of German *ch* after back vowels. In Hupa, however, this sound is usually initial. There is no corresponding sonant in Hupa. It does occur in Navaho; as, for example, in the proper pronunciation of *hogan* HOUSE, where the first consonant is nearly like the Hupa sound, and the second is its sonant. There is a spirant pronounced in the palatal position, but accompanied by marked labial rounding. It closely resembles *w*; but it is a surd, not a sonant. When this sound is initial (*hw*), it appears to begin without rounding of the lips, sounding much like English *wh* in WHO. When final (*w*), the sound makes much less impression on the ear. It is to be distinguished from *x* by its lack of roughness, and from both *x* and *h* by the rounding of the lips. It differs from a bilabial *f* in that it is accompanied by a narrowing of the mouth-passage in the palatal position.¹ Another spirant (*ɬ*) common on the Pacific coast, and found in Hupa, causes great difficulty when first heard. It is formed at one or both sides of the tongue, as is *l*, but differs from that sound in that the breath which passes through the opening is surd instead of sonant, and that the passage is narrower, causing a distinct spirant character. When the passage is entirely closed and the breath must break its way through to continue as a spirant, an affricative *L* is formed. Both of these sounds, but especially the latter, impress the ear of one unaccustomed to them as combinations of *t* or *k* and *l*. The spirant *s* in the alveolar position is frequent in Hupa, and does not differ espe-

¹ This sound has for its equivalent in other dialects *c* (sh). Cf. Hupa *hɬa* SUN and *hɬe* I, ME, with Kato *ca* and *ci*.

cially, either in its method of formation or in its sound, from English *s*. The sonant *z* does not occur except when preceded by *d*. There are no interdental, labio-dental, or bilabial spirants except the rounded palatal spirant, *hw*, *w*, discussed above.

The affricatives are *tc*, *dj*, *ts*, *dz*, and *L*. The first two are formed by a *t*-like closure and explosion, followed by a spirant through a passage formed by a horizontally wide and vertically narrow constriction along the middle of the hard palate near the first and second molars. The second pair, *ts* and *dz*, are formed nearly as in English, in the dental position, through a rather round passageway. It is probable that there are three members of each series, the sonant, the aspirated surd, and the fortis surd. The aspirated anterior palatal surd usually has a *u* tinge and has been written *tcw*. The fortis is indicated by *tc*.

The nasals are three in number—the palatal, dental, and labial. The palatal nasal is very frequent in its occurrence, especially in the final position in the word. It is accompanied by more or less nasality in the preceding vowel.

The only liquid is the lateral one *l*, which does not differ in any considerable degree from English *l* either in the manner of its making or its sound.

The continuants may be represented as follows:

	Glottal	Velar	Palatal	Anterior palatal	Dental	Labial
Spirant . .	<i>h</i> (')	<i>x</i>	<i>hw</i> (<i>w</i>)	<i>L</i> (lateral)	<i>s</i>	<i>hw</i> (<i>w</i>)
Affricative .	—	—	—	<i>tc</i> , <i>tcw</i> , <i>dj</i> , <i>L</i>	<i>ts</i> , <i>dz</i>	—
Nasal . . .	—	—	<i>ñ</i>	—	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>
Liquid . . .	—	—	—	<i>l</i> (lateral)	—	—

The complete system of consonants may be tabulated thus:

	Stops		Continuants			
	Sonant	Surd	Spirant	Affricative	Nasal	Liquid
Glottal . . .	—	<i>ε</i>	<i>h</i> (')	—	—	—
Velar . . .	—	<i>g</i>	<i>x</i>	—	—	—
Palatal . . .	—	<i>k</i> (<i>k</i>)	<i>hw</i> (<i>w</i>)	—	<i>ñ</i>	—
Anterior {	<i>g</i> , <i>gy</i>	<i>k</i> , <i>ky</i>	<i>L</i> (lateral)	<i>tc</i> , <i>tcw</i> , <i>dj</i>	—	<i>l</i>
Palatal }				<i>L</i> (lateral)		
Dental . . .	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i> (<i>t</i>)	<i>s</i>	<i>ts</i> , <i>dz</i>	<i>n</i>	—
Labial . . .	—	—	<i>hw</i> (<i>w</i>)	—	<i>m</i>	—

There are in Hupa nine vowel-sounds and two semi-vowels. They may be represented as follows:

y, *i*, *ĩ*, *ē*, *e*, *a*, *û*, *o*, *ō*, *ũ*, *w*

The vowels in Hupa are formed with much less movement of the lower jaw and lips than is employed in the corresponding sounds in English speech. The Hupa seem to talk with their mouths nearly closed. As a result, the sounds are not open and clear, but muffled. These vowels may terminate in a sudden opening of the glottis, resulting in an aspiration of the vowel; or in a closure of the glottis,¹ bringing the vowel to an abrupt close. When aspirated, the whole vowel has a breathy quality; and when closed by a glottal stop, it sounds hard and compact.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

It is rarely the case that words or syllables begin with a vowel, and most of such cases occur in verb forms. Semi-vowels and single consonants are frequent initially. The only clusters which stand initially are the affricatives *dz*, *ts*, *dj*, *tc*, and *tcw*, and the combinations *hw*, *xw*, and *ky*. Of the affricatives, *tcw* seems to be a phonetic derivation from a simple sound, probably a palatal with a *u* tinge. The combination *hw* corresponds to the simple sound *c* (*sh*) in the other Athapaskan dialects; *xw* is due to the change of *ō* to the semi-vowel *w*; and *ky* has for the second element a glide due to a back vowel following an anterior palatal consonant. Probably none of these initial sounds were therefore originally two distinct consonants in juxtaposition.

Many syllables end in vowels. When final in the word, and bearing the accent, some vowels, under certain conditions, seem to develop semi-vowels after themselves, becoming diphthongs. This is especially true of the vowel *a* in the roots of verbs. In the past tense, which is more strongly accented on the ultima (the root syllable), *a* becomes *ai*, or sometimes *au*. The *au* is due to a disappearing final *g*. That *ai* is due to a suffix is not unlikely. Syllables may end in simple consonants or in affricatives. The only prominent sonant stop which occurs in Hupa (*ɖ*) is not frequent in the final position. When a dental stop occurs in the interior of a word, it is usually surd if at the end of a syllable, and sonant if at the beginning. In fact, it often happens that the same sound begins as a surd and is completed as a sonant, the occlusion belonging to the preceding syllable, and the explosion

¹The opening of the glottis is of course brought about by a separation of the vocal processes. The pitch at the end of the vowel is lowered. The closure of the glottis is more probably brought about by the movement of the epiglottis so as to cover the glottis as in swallowing. A similar glottal action no doubt produces the fortis series.

to the succeeding syllable. Two consonants may stand together in the middle of a word, provided they belong to different syllables.

§ 4. Assimilation of Sounds

Assimilation of consonants, mostly retrogressive, takes place in some cases when two consonants are brought together morphologically or syntactically. The most important are these:

(1) Retrogressive.

t before *n* becomes *n*.

tcūhwiłkinneen he nearly caught me (for *tcūhwiłkitneen*)

t before *m* becomes *m*.

yaiłkimmiñ they intended to catch (for *yaiłkitmiñ*)

ñ before *l* becomes *l*.

yawiñ^ean he picked up a stone (but *yawillai* he picked up several stones)

t before *l* becomes *l*.

noiwiłkillite it will be foggy (for *noiwiłkitlite*)

ñ before *t* or *d* becomes *n*.

neiłiñ I am looking at it (but *neiłinte* I am going to look at it)

ñ before *m* becomes *m*.

yawiñ^ean he picked it up (but *yawimmas* he rolled over)

(2) Progressive.

h after *l* becomes *l*.

tcūkqallit as he walked along (for *tcūkqalhit*)

w after *ñ* becomes *ñ*.

tcūwiññas he scraped bark off (but *wewas* I scraped bark off)

When morphological causes bring two consonants at the end of a syllable, one of them is dropped. This is evidently the case in the formation of the conjugation where the modal prefix (*l*) would be expected after the sign of the first person singular (*w*). In this case the modal prefix is not found. In the second person singular of the verb the modal prefix remains, but the sign of the second person (*ñ*) has been dropped. Also, in the third person singular *s* would be expected before the same modal prefix, but it does not occur in Hupa. In Tolowa all of these combinations do occur, and in the very places where one would expect them in Hupa but fails to find them.

There are in Hupa several morphological elements which seem to have only the initial consonant fixed. The remainder of the syllable depends upon the sounds which follow it. For example, the sign of the third person singular (*tc*) has the following forms:

tceilwól he is always lying down
tcúweswaL he remained lying down
tcissilwaL he is lying down
tcilloi^s he tied it
tcimmitc he is breaking it off
tcinnesten he lay down
tcittesyai he went
tcúkqal he walked

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical processes and syntactical relations are expressed by means of the following methods:

- (1) Composition.
- (2) Changes in the phonetic character of the root.
- (3) Position in the sentence.

§ 6. Composition

The verbs of Hupa, and some of the nouns, consist of two or more syllables, each of which has some rather definite meaning or points out some particular relation. These elements do not express ideas of equal rank and of like kind. Each may be replaced in turn by another giving to the thought expressed a different character. The element which by its displacement most completely alters the meaning may be called the root. The word-parts which precede this root may be considered prefixes, and those which follow it suffixes. These prefixes and suffixes fall into classes rather well marked as regards their office in the expression of thought, and have a definite order in the word-structure.

These sound-complexes expressing complete thoughts might be looked upon as sentences, which they often are, and their constituent parts as monosyllabic words, but for the following reasons: First, the individual parts, expressing definite ideas or relations, are not always phonetic wholes capable of independent production. These may be thought once to have had a more complete form, and to have

united with other elements of the word with which they came in contact through the disappearance of one of the vowels or by their contraction. It is, however, possible that from the beginning of the language they have had this meager form. Second, some of these elements, while existing as independent syllables, express relations or subordinate ideas which do not seem to arise in the mind of the Hupa when these syllables by themselves are uttered, but which readily arise when the syllables are uttered in their accustomed connection. Both of these statements are true of some of the monosyllabic elements of spoken English. The difference is not one of kind, but of degree.

Besides these older and largely conjectural phonetic changes which join together the parts of the word, there are other more simple and apparent modifications of the root by the suffix, or of the suffix by the root, bringing the whole into greater phonetic harmony. These changes are quite infrequent, and never great enough to obscure the root or suffix.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Root

There are definite and regular changes in the phonetic character of the roots which cannot be explained as being due to the influence of morphological additions. These are of two kinds:

- (1) Changes in the terminal consonant.
- (2) Changes in the character and length of the vowel.

CHANGES IN THE TERMINAL CONSONANT.—One of the most common changes of the terminal consonant of the root is that of *n* to *ñ*. This is a change of series, the nature of the sound remaining the same. The roots in which this change occurs have *n* in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action, and *ñ* elsewhere. A modification of the character of the sound, not in the place of its formation, is found in the case of *l* and *z*. The first sound is found in the forms expressing past definite, customary, and negative future action. The change in this case is from surd to sonant. Of a similar nature is the series of three sounds, *l*, *z*, and *L*. The first (*l*) is found in forms expressing customary and negative future action; the second (*z*) is employed with the forms of the present and imperative; and the third (*L*) with forms expressing definite action, whether past, present, or future. A few verbs have roots ending in *s* or the corre-

sponding affricative, *ts*. The latter occurs in the forms expressing definite action. It is evident that *c* and *tc* formerly had a similar relation, but the former has since become *w*. Finally there are a number of roots which lose a final *t*. The past definite, customary, and negative future have the form with *t*; and the present of both definite and indefinite action and the imperative do not have it.

CHANGES IN THE CHARACTER AND LENGTH OF THE VOWEL.—Certain vowel-changes occur in connection with the change of terminal consonants, and are perhaps tied up with them. These are a change of *a* to *ā*, and of *e* to *i*. The stronger vowels, *a* and *e*, occur with *n*; and *ā* and *i*, the weaker ones, with *ñ*. The threefold consonant-change, *l*, *L*, and *L*, has *e* before *L*, and *i* before *l* and *L*. Other changes take place in cases where there are now no final consonants. These are *ū* to *e*, *au* to *a*, and *ai* to *a*.¹ In all the pairs given above, the first-named is considerably longer in its duration than is the second. Probably these changes, the direction of which is not known, came about by a change in the position or force of the accent, whether of stress or pitch.

§ 8. Position

Upon the order of the words in the sentence often depends their relation to each other. This is especially true of the subject and object when expressed as nouns. The first in order is the subject, and the second the object. Both of them may precede the verb. Possession and other relations are expressed by syntactical particles, which are joined to the limited word, and fix its place in the sentence after the word which limits it.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES (§§ 9-19)

§ 9. Enumeration of Categories

The following ideas have grammatical devices for their expression in Hupa:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Denominating concepts. | (6) Distribution. |
| (2) Predicating concepts. | (7) Time. |
| (3) Syntactic relations. | (8) Mode. |
| (4) Classification. | (9) Place and direction. |
| (5) Number. | (10) Person. |

¹The pairs *ñ*, *e*, and *au*, *a*, are represented in Kato and other Eel river dialects by *eg*, *e'*, and *ag*, *a'*.

§ 10. Denominating Concepts

Most nouns are clearly separated from verbs, both in form and meaning. Many nouns are monosyllabic, entirely lacking in descriptive power, and having meaning because they have become associated in the mind with the object for which they stand. Of essentially the same character are the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship, which are always found with a prefixed possessive pronoun, the purely nominal part being a single syllable. There are a few compound nouns, either co-ordinate and in juxtaposition, or one modifying the other. Certain nouns are formed by suffixes which are strictly limited to a nominal use. Of such character are the augmentative and diminutive suffixes *-kyō* and *-itc.* Other suffixes have the meaning of DWELLING IN, FREQUENTING, OR BEING FOUND IN the place named by the stem to which they are attached; for example, *xonteltau* PLACE BROAD HE FREQUENTS (coyote). While nouns of this class do describe and predicate certain things, that is not their chief purpose. The description is for the purpose of pointing out definitely an object by discriminating between it and other related objects.

A number of nouns have a verbal form, and describe the object referred to by giving some characteristic position, form, or action. For this purpose the verb may appear alone in the active or passive voice, or a noun may be placed before it to serve as its object or limit of motion. It is probable that some such verbal forms, having lost their verbal force, have furnished a number of polysyllabic nouns which have now no descriptive meaning in the mind of the Hupa, and do not yield to attempts at analysis. These complexes which serve the office of nouns, indicating an object or animal by means of a characterization of it, are really substantive clauses.

There are a few suffixes which are employed with both nouns and verbs. They are temporal, indicating that the thing or act belongs to the past or future rather than the present.

§ 11. Predicating Concepts

The verbs differ from the nouns in that they are almost invariably polysyllabic, and have the meaning of a complete sentence. The more essential part or root of the verb is usually not associated in the mind with a certain object or animal, but with some particular act or motion: as *-tō*, which means TO INSERT OR EXERT AN OBJECT INTO A TUBULAR

OPENING. There are a number of roots which are connected with objects; not, however, naming them specifically, but indicating the class to which they belong as regards size, shape, or physical character. The few roots which do agree in form with monosyllabic nouns seem to name the object by means of which the act is done.

The form of the complete verb differs from the ordinary noun in that it has prefixes as well as suffixes, and in the character of these formative elements, which, with the exceptions noted above, differ from those employed in nouns. They differ in function in that they invariably have predicative force, while nouns either lack predicative force or have it incidentally.

§ 12. Syntactic Relations

The syntactic relation of subject and object to the predicate, when both are expressed by nouns, is shown by their order in the sentence. When only one is expressed by a noun, it may be determined, in most cases, whether it is intended as subject or object by the form of the incorporated pronoun, which is employed in the verb regardless of the employment or non-employment of nouns. However, in the case of a subject and object which are both of the third person and both other than adult Hupa, only one of them being expressed as a noun, it is impossible to tell, except from the context, whether such a noun is the subject or object.

The relation of possession is distinctly and regularly expressed by the prefixing of the possessive pronoun to the limited word and the placing of this compound after the word which limits it. Parts of the body and terms of relationship do not occur without prefixed possessive pronouns. Other syntactic relations are expressed by means of post-positions, having the appropriate force, placed after the weaker form of the pronoun. These post-positions, with their accompanying pronouns, stand after the nouns which they limit.

§ 13. Classification

In the third person of the pronoun, personal and possessive, adult Hupa are distinguished from young and old members of the tribe, from animals and inanimate objects, by a special form.

There are no grammatical forms by which objects are classified. Classification is sometimes indicated, however, in the verb, the stem expressing the character of the object to which the predicate refers,

the objects being characterized as long, round, flat plural in number, etc. In the intransitive verb this classification relates to the subject; in the transitive verb, to the object.

§ 14. Number

Only a few nouns have forms for the plural. These are those denoting age and station in life, and relationship.

The independent as well as the incorporated and prefixed pronouns are capable of expressing the plural in the first and second persons by means of additional forms. The plural of the first person includes, or may include, the third person as well as the second.

In the third person, *-ya-* is placed before the root for a plural subject and also for a plural object. One must judge from the context which is intended to be plural. *ya-* is also prefixed to the possessive form. In the singular, HIS FATHER is expressed by *hai xōta^ε*. Sometimes for THEIR FATHER *hai yaxōta^ε* is found, *hai* being the article.

In certain intransitive verbs a dual is indicated by using the root, indicating a plural subject, without *-ya-*, while for the plural *-ya-* is inserted.

In many cases Hupa employs the singular, as is shown by the verb, where the plural would be required in English. When a number of individuals do anything as a unit, as in a dance, the singular is used.

§ 15. Distribution

The distributives in Hupa are carefully distinguished from the plurals. For the expression of distribution the prefix *te-* is employed: for example,

tceñiñyai he went out
tceñindeL two went out
tceyanindeL they went out
tcetedeL one by one they went out

The same element expresses distribution as to the object. For example,

yawiñ^εan he picked up a stone
yavillai he picked up stones
yate^εan he picked up a stone here and there

Distinct from this is the intermittence of the act itself. That a thing is done now and again, or habitually, is indicated by a syllable, probably *e*, inserted before the pronominal subjective elements. The

presence of this syllable, together with a certain form of the root, constitutes a customary tense or mode.

By the use of *na-* an iterative force is given to the verb, expressing the fact that the act is done a second time or that it is undone.

§ 16. Time

Time is expressed by means of suffixes, a change of root, independent adverbs, and temporal clauses. For past time *-neen* may be suffixed to a noun or verb. A house in ruins is called *xontaneen* HOUSE USED TO BE. Habitual acts which have ceased are expressed by the same suffix, as *awutinneen* I USED TO DO IT. A single definite act completed in time already past is differentiated from such acts in present time by a change in the form and length of the root, and a change of the accent: for example,

tcinni'ñya he has just arrived

tcinniñyai' he arrived some time ago

The future is expressed by the suffixes *-te* and *-tel*. The former seems to be employed of the more remote future. These are generally employed only with verbs, but are sometimes found with nouns and adverbs: for example, *haiyate* HERE WILL BE THE PLACE.

§ 17. Mode

Closely connected with the time of the act is the degree of certainty with which it is asserted. For past acts, suffixes which indicate the source of the authority for the statement are often employed. That which is perceived by the sense of hearing has *-tsū* or *-tse'* suffixed; the former for the past, and the latter for the present. When the transaction is in sight, *-e* is suffixed. Things which are conjectured from circumstantial evidence, as the building of a fire from the remains of one, have *-xōlan* added to the verb:

leyanillai they built a fire

leyanillaxōlan they must have built a fire [here are the ashes]

Future acts which are contingent on human will or outward circumstance are rendered by the suffix *-de^e*. When the future is expressed with an absolute negative force, the impossibility of its being brought to pass being implied, a special form of the verb with an auxiliary verb prefixed is used.

Acts attempted, but not succeeded in, have *xōw*, an adverb, inserted before the verb; while the successful attempt after several vain or insufficient ones has *-ei* suffixed to the verb.

§ 18. Place and Direction

Direction and place, both relative and absolute, are expressed in Hupa with much exactness. A number of prefixes, occupying the first place in the verb, indicate the direction of the movement expressed or implied by the verb. The place, initial and ultimate, is also indicated by prefixes as being on the surface of the earth, on some surface higher than the earth, in the fire, on or in the water, or in the air. By means of demonstratives, and adverbs formed from demonstrative elements, added exactness as to location is expressed. For that which is in sight and can be pointed to, the demonstratives *ded* and *haided*, and the adverb of place, *dikkyūñ*, are employed; for the first-mentioned or more remote of two, *haiya* or *hai* is used; while that which is still more remote is referred to by *yō* and *haiyō*, and the most remote of all by *yeū*.

§ 19. Person

The distinction between the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, is made by means of the personal pronouns. The signs of the subject incorporated in the verb are not all to be connected with certainty with the independent pronouns. The pronouns for the first two persons seem to be different in some particulars from those of the third person, which also classify the objects or persons to which they refer. Taking with this fact the frequent absence of any sign for the subject or the object in the third person of the verb, it seems probable that originally there were personal pronouns only for the first and second persons, and that demonstratives were used for the third person.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 20-88)

Nouns (§§ 20-27)

§ 20. Structure

The nouns of the Hupa language, when classified according to their formation, fall into five classes:

(1) There are many monosyllabic nouns, for the most part the names of common material objects and elements. These words are

§§ 18-20

mostly common to all the cognate languages, and clearly point to the monosyllable as the probable form of the Athapascan noun.

(2) Closely connected with these are the names of the parts of the body, terms of relationship and intimate possession, which have a single syllable for their substantive part, but always occur with a possessive prefix.

(3) There are a considerable number of nouns, consisting of two or more syllables, which are not easily analyzed and do not seem to have a descriptive meaning at present. They seem originally to have been derived from verbs, or formed by composition.

(4) A large and increasing number of nouns, formed by means of suffixes and by compounding, have a descriptive force which is ever present in the Hupa mind.

(5) Verbs in the third person singular of the active or passive voice, with or without an object or limit of motion, are employed as nouns.

§ 21. *Formative Elements*

As far as is known, the only prefixes employed in noun-formation are the possessive prefixes, which are proclitic forms related to independent pronouns. They may be employed with any noun to denote possession, but must be employed with the names of the parts of the body and terms of relationship. That words of this class require such prefixes is not necessarily due to a lack of mental abstraction, as has been sometimes assumed, but to a habit of speech. The necessity for their use without a possessive seldom occurs.

The suffixes employed in noun-building are not numerous. For the most part, they are used to distinguish one thing from another which it resembles by mentioning its size, color, or other physical character, or by indicating the place where the plant grows or which the animal frequents. The principal suffixes are the following:

1. **-xoi** INHABITING; added to the name of a place.

Lōmitta'xoi glades among people (the New River people)

2. **-tau** FREQUENTS. Used of plants or animals.

xaslintau ruffles he frequents (the crane)

3. **-kyō** LARGE, an augmentative.

koskyō bulb large (*Chlorogalum pomeridianum*, the soap-root)

4. **-itc, -tc** SMALL, the diminutive suffix.*medilitc* canoe small (from *medil* canoe) 102.9*djelōtc* small storage-basket 158.135. **-yauw** SMALL, YOUNG. Used of trees.*nittūkya^w* young black oaks (from *nittūk* black oak)6. **-newan** RESEMBLING. This has furnished many new names.*qōnewan* worms like (rice, from its resemblance to white grubs)*xonnewan* fire like 329.107. **-diñ** PLACE.*tsēdiñ* brush-place (a grave)8. **-ta'** PLACES.*milla^εkinta'* its hands bases places (its wrists)9. **-kūt** ON.*miskūt* a landslide on (the name of a village)*denōkūt* the sky (this us on) 286.12§ 22. *Compounds*

There are five classes of compound nouns:

(1) A few nouns stand in juxtaposition without a subordinating possessive prefix. In a few cases the second noun seems to qualify the first: for example, *Lūw^εran* SNAKE RIVER (an eel). If these compounds are introduced by a possessive prefix, the first noun qualifies the second: for example, *kixxak^εkin* ITS NET POLE.

(2) When the second of two nouns forming a compound has a possessive prefix, the first qualifies the second and is subordinate to it: for example, *dindai^ε mitctewō* FLINT ITS GRANDMOTHER (a bird).

(3) A few compounds which are true substantives have the first element a noun, and the second an adjective qualifying it. An example of such is *yaūlkai* LOUSE WHITE (a grayback).

(4) Compounds of nouns and qualifying adjectives are sometimes introduced by possessive prefixes. While they serve as substantives, they really qualify a subject understood: as in *missa^εniltcwiñ* ITS MOUTH STINKS, the bird having a stinking mouth (a buzzard).

(5) Compounds similar to the last have for their last element words indicating abundance or lack of the quality named by the first part of the compound. Examples are: *mūxxai^εxōlen* ITS CHILDREN HAVING (doe), *mitcljeēdin* ITS MIND LACKING (an infant).

§ 23. Verbs as Nouns

Many verbs in the third person present of the active or passive voice are used as nouns. Examples of the active voice so used are:

nañya it comes down (rain)
nilliñ it flows (a creek)
nündil they come down (snow)

For the passive voice the following may be cited:

willoi it has been tied (a bundle)
naxōwilloi it is tied around him (a belt)
Lenawilla they have been laid together (a fire)
talkait over the water it has been pushed (a fishing-board)

Sometimes a substantive is formed by a verb with a noun preceding it as its object or limit of motion: for example:

nax-kekōs-nadūwūl two its necks waving about (*nax* two: *ke* its; *kōs* neck; *waL* to strike [a monster])
sa^hxawu in the mouth a liquid is put (acorn-soup)

Adverbial prefixes of place, instrument, accompaniment, and manner make substantives of verbs. Of this sort are the following:

miłtcōlwūl with he chops (an axe)
kilnadil with them they travel (wolves)

Suffixes of location added to verbs, furnish names of places:

nanatūldiñ stepping-down place (the name of the place in the sweat-house at the foot of the ladder)

§ 24. Plural of Nouns

Only a few Hupa nouns change their form to indicate the plural. They are those which classify human beings according to their sex and state of life, and a few terms of relationship. The following are all that have been found:

Singular	Plural	
<i>keltsan</i>	<i>keltsūn</i>	virgin, maiden
<i>tsūmmeslōn</i>	<i>tsūmmesLon</i>	a fully grown woman
<i>xūxai</i>	<i>xūxai</i>	a child
<i>hwittsoi</i>	<i>hwittsoixai</i>	my grandchild
<i>nikkil</i>	<i>nikkilxai</i>	your younger brother
<i>xōltistce</i>	<i>xōltistce^hxai</i>	his sister

§ 25. Possession

Possession is indicated by prefixes which are shortened forms of pronouns. These vary according to the person and number of the

limiting noun or pronoun. Many nouns, upon taking the prefixes, add a syllable to the end, which seems to have no other office than the preservation of the symmetry of the word in some way. This added syllable has *e* for its vowel, but is preceded by various consonants, apparently suggested by the final sound of the original word.

millitde its smoke (from *lit* smoke)

nōliñke our pets (from *liñ* a pet, a dog)

xōhwinne her song (from *hwin*, a song)

It will be noticed that in some of the examples given, *L*, the surd lateral consonant, becomes the sonant *l*.

§ 26. Locative Suffixes

There are several suffixes employed in Hupa which might be looked upon as case-endings, since they are not permanent parts of the nouns to which they are attached, but indicate varying relations of position or direction. Some of these suffixes are also post-positions; but when so used they follow a pronominal prefix. Examples of suffixes showing place-relations are the following:

1. **-me^e** IN.

Lōhwinme^e glade only in (a prominent hill)

tseyeme^e in (under) a rock

2. **-diñ** AT.

mikkindiñ its base at (the name of the place by the back of the house)

3. **-tciñ** TOWARD.

Lōhwinñkūtciñ glade only on toward

4. **-kai** ALONG.

xottselkai his forearm along

5. **-kūt** ON.

Lōhwinñkūt glade only on

§ 27. Tense

By the use of suffixes the time of the noun's existence may be indicated. This process practically gives tenses to nouns. For the past, *-neen* is employed: for example, *xōūtneen* HIS WIFE USED TO BE (she is now dead). The same form might mean only that the possession of her had ceased. The future, as in verbs, is indicated by *-te*: for example, *mītLōwete* THEIR MEDICINE IT WILL BE (Indians who are to possess it have not yet come into existence).

Verbs (§§ 28-75)

§ 28. *Structure*

The verb in Hupa, as in other Athapascan languages, presents many difficulties. It contains in itself all the elements of the sentence. For example, *xanaĩsdiyade^s* IF SHE COMES BACK UP has, first an adverbial prefix *xa-*, denoting that the motion is up the side of a hill; next is found the particle *-na-*, having an iterative force, showing that the act is done a second time (in this case it is only intended to show that the path from the river is passed over a second time); the syllable *-is-*, by the consonant it contains, shows that the act is thought of as progressive over the surface of the ground. The fact that *s* following *i* forms a syllable by itself, indicates that the act is thought of as performed by an adult Hupa, otherwise *s* would have been joined to the preceding *na-*. The lack of a sign of person or number at this point in the verb allows no other conclusion than that the third person singular is intended. The syllable *-di-*, of which *d* seems to be the essential part, usually follows the iterative prefix *-na-*, the two being equivalent, perhaps, to English BACK AGAIN. The next syllable, *-ya-*, may be called the root, since it defines the kind of act. It is used of the locomotion of a single human being on his feet at a walk, and also of the coming of non-material things. Had this verb been in the plural, the root would have been *-deL*. Had the pace been more rapid, *-la* would have been employed. Had some animal been the subject, the root would probably have characterized the gait of the animal. The final suffix *-de^s* indicates a future contingency.

Formative Elements (§§ 29-50)

§ 29. GENERAL REMARKS

The more extended forms of the verb have one or more prefixes preceding the root, and one or more suffixes following it. By means of the prefixes, the direction of the motion in space, its manner and purpose, whether repeated or not in time, and whether conceived as continuous, beginning, or completed, are expressed. By changes in a single syllable, that which usually directly precedes the root, the person and number of the subject are indicated. These changes almost amount to inflection. By variations in the form of the root, the number of the subject in intransitive verbs, and of the object in

transitive verbs, is shown; and also whether the act or state is one and definite in time, or repeated and continuous. By the suffixes which follow the root, the action is further limited as to its time, continuance, or likelihood.

PREFIXES (§§ 30-37)

§ 30. Classification of Prefixes according to their Position and Significance

The prefixes employed in the verb have a fixed order, in accordance with the class of ideas they express. They may be classified as—

- (1) Adverbial prefixes, first position.
- (2) Adverbial prefix, second position.
- (3) Deictic prefixes, third position.
- (4) First modal prefixes, fourth position.
- (5) Second modal prefixes, fifth position.
- (6) Pronominal prefixes, sixth position.
- (7) Third modal prefixes, seventh position.

§ 31. Adverbial Prefixes, First Position

These are adverbial prefixes showing the position of persons or things at rest, and the place, limit, or origin of motion. The most important of these follow:

1. *ya-* (1) is used of the position of one sitting, of picking things up from the ground, and of motion wholly or partly through the air, as the carrying of objects and the flight of birds. The primary meaning seems to be IN THE AIR, above the surface of the ground.

yawiñ^{ea} he was sitting 162.11 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 *b*; § 54; *ea* to be in a position)

yawiñ^{ean} he picked up a stone 342.1 (definite, class I, conjugation 1 *b*, § 54; *ean* to transport several round things)

yawil^{kas} he threw up 96.3 (definite, class II, conjugation 1 *b*; § 64; *kas* to throw)

• *yawiñen* he carried it (*wen* to carry)

2. *ya-* (2) seems to have the meaning of the object being reduced to many pieces.

yanakisdimillei she smashed it 152.16 (*na-* again, § 32; *k-*, § 34; *s-*, § 35; *-d*, 3d modal, after *na-* § 32, p. 116; *mil-* to throw several things; *-ei* suffix, § 40)

yanuiskil he split 142.3 (*na-* again, § 32; *s-*, § 35; *kil-* to split)

3. *ye-* is used of motion into houses, beds of streams, and spaces however slightly enclosed, and also into smaller objects, as canoes and baskets.

yenawityai he went into (a house) 98.15

yenawilmen he made it swim into (a river from the ocean) 266.2

yeintûlne^e you must step into (a canoe) 209.2 (*tal* to step)

yetceiLkas he threw into (a basket) 288.7

4. *wa-* (1) seems to mean THROUGH with verbs of cutting and burning.

wakinnillitxōlan they were burned through 119.3 (*lit* to burn)

wakinninkats he cut through

5. *wa-* (2) is employed with verbs of handing or giving something to a man or an animal.

xōwaildu he handed it to him 181.13 (*xō* him)

wāimmil he always distributes them 195.8.

6. *Le-* has the general meaning of the converging or nearness of objects. It has the special meaning of building a fire from the placing-together of sticks. It is also employed of completing a circle, or a circuit in travelling.

lenaïsloi^e he tied together 210.5

lenanillai he built a fire

lenaniltēn he took it all the way around (the world)

7. *me-* (1) seems to have the meaning of position at, or motion to, against, or along the surface of, something.

menaïsdiyai he climbed (a tree) 103.12

menemen he landed him (against the shore) 162.9

meittan he stuck to it 202.3

mewiLwaL he beat on

8. *me-* (2) is similar to *ye-*, except that it usually refers to position in something, while *ye-* is employed of motion into.

metsisyen she stands in (the body of her husband) 195.11

9. *na^e-* (1)¹ is used of indefinite motion over the surface of the ground or water, and of position on the earth's surface. The primary meaning may be HORIZONTAL.

naīLits it is running about 294.4 (*its* to run)

na^ewimme^e he swam

na^eiūnLū I paint (my body) 247.12

¹ The glottal stop probably belongs with the prefix. It appears in some forms and is absent in others.

10. *na-* (2) or *nana* expresses motion downward or toward the earth. The second *na* may be the iterative particle, since whatever or whoever comes down must previously have gone up.

naññxūt it dropped down 115.14

nanawityai he came down 138.15

11. *na-* (3) is used of horizontal motion or position, as a line stretched, or in crossing a stream.

nananindeL they went over (the river) 267.6

nanūwilxūt it was hung for a door 171.1

12. *nō-* is employed of the cessation of motion, as in placing something in a position of rest, of reaching the end or limit of something, or of completing a task.

nōyanindeL they sat down 280.5

nōñauñne^e you must put it down 210.7 (*auw* to handle round objects)

noiniñyanne that far they ate 347.17

13. *xa-* has the general meaning of UP. It is found employed of movement up a hillside when the speaker's standpoint is at the top of the hill, the digging of objects out of the ground, and of motion out of the top of receptacles or of houses.

xāñslai she brought up 98.16

xawillai she dug it out 242.5

xawitqōt he jumped out (of the smoke-hole) 329.13

14. *xee-* in the sense of AWAY FROM, as in blowing and pushing.

xeeilyōl he blows away 296.15

xeenāilkis she pushed it away 185.3.

15. *xotda-*, with the general meaning of DOWN, expresses motion down a hill or stream.

xotdailhas he threw down (from a tree) 138.8

xotdāñcen they floated down 216.5

16. *xōtde-* is used of one person's meeting another where the movement of only one person is of interest. When one wishes to say they came toward each other, *Le-* is employed.

xōtdeisyai he met him 105.14

xōtdeyāisdeL they met them 110.8.

17. *sa^e-* is employed of motion into the mouth, as in eating, drinking, or biting.

sa^ewiñwan he put it into her mouth 278.10

sa^ewillai he put in his mouth 119.6.

18. **da-** refers to a bank, bench, shelf, or something higher than the ground, on which the person or object is at rest or comes to rest.
danintsa be seated (on a chair) 107.12
daûñxûs fly upon a tree 114.2
19. **de-d-** is employed of motion toward or of position in fire. The second syllable, which is completed according to the sound which follows it, may be separated from the first syllable.
denadeiûmil I put in the fire 247.9
dedûwimmeL he threw into the fire 165.10
20. **dje-** expresses the separation of a mass, as in splitting wood.
djewitlseL he pounded it open 108.11
21. **dû-** signifies OFF, AWAY FROM.
dûwiñxûts it came off (the umbilical stump) 157.7
22. **ta-** (1) is employed of motion toward or away from a body of water with special regard to its surface.
tanaïstan he took it out of the water 325.4
tawes^a a mountain will project into the water 255.2
taidinnûñ let us drink water 179.3
23. **ta-** (2) is used with verbs meaning TO DESERT, TO LEAVE A PLACE PERMANENTLY.
tasyahgûñ one ought to go away 215.8 (*ya* to go)
24. **te-** refers to motion into water and under its surface (see no. 22).
tewiltseit a canoe sank 153.17
tetcûwintan he put it into the water 101.14
25. **tsiñ-** means AWAY FROM in expressions of fleeing.
tsintetesdildeL we ran away 198.10
26. **tce-** has the meaning of OUT OF, and is employed of motion out of a house or small receptacle, but also of less definitely enclosed spaces, as brushy places or the bed of a stream (see no. 3).
tce^anamil throw them out (of the house) 301.13
tce^aniñ^aan he took out (from his quiver) 119.15
tceïlat he jumped out (of ambush) 106.2
tcewillindiñ where it flows out 175.10
27. **ke-** seems to refer to motion or position against or along a vertical surface.
keïsyai he climbed up 137.17
kenaniñ^a it was leaning up 99.5

There are three prefixes which indicate the pursuit or search for a person or thing, or, in a secondary sense, the attempt to do a thing.

28. *wân-* (*wa* + *n* ?) is used of looking for a thing the position of which is unknown, as in hunting game. It also means to attempt something by persistent effort.

wânnāšya he started to make 319.3

wânnadixte they will hunt 311.14

29. *na-* is employed when there is a track to be followed. It is likely connected with the iterative particle *na-* AGAIN, since the meaning may be that of going over the trail again.

nayaṣōtelxe they tracked him 170.3

30. *xa-* implies the going-after with the intention of getting the thing sought and bringing it back.

xanetete I am going to look for it 336.10

31. *a-* is used to introduce verbs of SAYING, THINKING, DOING, and APPEARING. It seems to have no definite meaning; but, since it is omitted when a direct object precedes a verb of thinking or saying, it may be an indefinite object for the verb.

adenne he said 97.15

a'lene you must do it 100.18

§ 32. Adverbial Prefixes, Second Position

1. *na-*, the prefix of iteration, expresses the undoing of anything or the retracing of one's steps, as well as the repeating of an act. It is often employed where in English the repetition is taken for granted, as in the customary acts of daily life, eating, drinking, sleeping, etc. Sometimes the prefix requires *d* or *t* preceding the root, and in other cases it is used without either.

menanixtwit he pushed it back 163.1

nanaitwū he used to carry it back 237.8

nanōdiya let it come back 233.5

anatcillau he did it again 106.8

2. *xa-*, the prefix of identity, refers to any act previously described that is repeated by the same or a different person.

xaatcillau he did the same thing 211.1

xadiyate it will do that 254.10

xaülle do that 165.19

xaatcityau he did that 280.12

§ 33. Deictic Prefixes, Third Position

For the third person, in Hupa, two forms occur. The first form is that used when speaking of adult Hupa. The second form is used when speaking of Hupa children and sometimes of very aged people, of members of others tribes and races, and of animals. The first form begins with *tc-*, and is completed according to the sound which follows. The second form has *y-* for its beginning, and is also completed according to the following sounds. After many of the prefixes, these signs do not appear; but a hiatus¹ marks the absence of the first form; and contraction or lengthening, often involving diphthongization, the second. There are no pronouns with which these may be connected, and demonstrative sources are to be expected. The third person has a dual whenever the root by its displacement has the power of showing plurality. In that case the same signs—or their absence—indicate the dual as the singular, the forms differing only in the root. The plural is invariably indicated by the syllable *-ya-*, which has the hiatus after it, for the first class of persons, and lengthening or contraction for the second.

yetcilda he is carrying a large object

yeyilda he (not an adult Hupa) is carrying a large object

§ 34. First Modal Prefixes, Fourth Position

Several elements appear as prefixes in many verbs for which no definite and satisfactory meaning has been found.

1. *k-*, *ky-*, is phonetically weak, the remainder of the syllable being supplied from the sound which follows. Only occasionally has a meaning been found for it, and the meanings which do appear are not reconcilable. It is probable that it supplies an indefinite object for verbs of eating, and perhaps some others.² In a few cases it has the meaning of LEAVING AS A GIFT rather than LEAVING FOR A TIME. In many cases a sense of indefiniteness is present in the verb as regards the time occupied and the number of acts required for the complete operation.

nakiñyûñ eat again (without mentioning what is to be eaten) 153.9

yakiñwûw carry it 105.18

yekyûwestce the wind blew in 270.4

¹ The hiatus in this case does not seem to be due to a full glottal stop, but to a lessening of the force of the breath. It is very likely brought about by the disappearance of *tc-*. The lengthening and diphthongization which take place in the case of the second form are probably due to the coalescing of *y* with the preceding vowel.

² In other dialects a sound (*tc*) which almost certainly corresponds to this is regularly used when the object has not been mentioned or is unknown.

2. *te-*, the prefix of distribution, means either that the act took place here and there in space, or continuously over space; or that one person after another did the act.

natelōs she dragged it back 190.1

teltoewen it grew 96.3

tcittetowai she buried in several places 192.12

tcetedeL they went out one by one 138.5

3. *d-* occurs, for instance, with the adverbial prefix *de-* (§ 31.19), signifying INTO FIRE.

dexōdilwaL he threw him into the fire

4. *ō-* a verbal prefix, the meaning of which has not been ascertained.

dōtōwilan she will leave (*dō* not; *tc-* deictic; *ō-* first modal; *-w-* second modal; *lan* stem)

5. *-e-* CUSTOMARY. This prefix is not used throughout all the tenses or modes, as are the preceding, but has the office in itself of making a tense, as the suffixes generally have. Before vowels it generally appears as *e*, and that is probably its true form. In many cases it is connected with a consonant suggested by the following sound or another word-element, when it appears as *i*. Its use marks the act or condition as customary or habitual, or at least as occurring more than once.

tcexaxuw he is accustomed to catch with a net (*tc-* deictic; *-e* customary; *xawu* stem)

tcōexait he is accustomed to buy (*tc-* deictic; *ō-* first modal; *-e* customary; *-xait* to buy, customary tense)

6. In the same group stand all pronominal objects.

tc(ū)hūōw(i)Lxūl(i)Lte she will ask me for it (*tc-* deictic; *hū-* me; *ō-* first modal; *-w-* second modal; *-L-* third modal; *xūl* to ask, definite tense; *-L* continuously; *-te* future; the letters in parentheses represent glides)

tanaixōsdōwei it cut him all to pieces (*ta-* adverbial prefix of unknown significance; *na-* iterative; *-i* deictic; *-xō* him; *-s-* second modal; *dō* to cut; *-ei* emphatic)

7. *n-*. The use of this prefix is mostly confined to adjectives (see § 76).

§ 35. Second Modal Prefixes, Fifth Position

There are three simple sounds which by their presence indicate whether the act is viewed as beginning, ending, or progressing. These sounds are not found in all forms of the same verb, but only in those tenses which refer to the act or state as one and definite. While it

seems certain that these sounds do have the force mentioned above, it is found, by making comparisons, that they follow certain prefixes. In many cases the nature of the prefix requires the act to be thought of as beginning, ending, or progressing. The sound which is of most frequent occurrence is *w*. It stands at the beginning of a syllable, usually the one immediately preceding the root. The remainder of this syllable contains the subjective personal elements. Its initiatory force can be seen in the verbs *wiñyal* COME ON and *wiñxa* WATER LIES THERE. This last verb can not be applied to a natural body of water, like the ocean, which has had no beginning. The following prefixes require *w* in the definite tenses: *ya-*, *ye-*, *xa-*, *sa-*, *da-*, *de-d-*, *dū-*.

In a precisely parallel manner, *n* occurs as the initial of the inflected syllable under circumstances which point to the completion of the act. With *wiñyal* (above) compare *niñyai* IT ARRIVED. Most of the prefixes which require *n* to follow in the definite tenses require the act to be viewed as ending. They are the following: *wa-*, *le-*, *me-*, *na-* (3), *nō-*, *-tce-*.

Without the same exact parallelism of forms which obtains with the two mentioned above, a large number of verbs have *s* as the characteristic of the inflected syllable of the definite tenses. Most of these verbs clearly contain the idea of progression, or are used of acts which require considerable time for their accomplishment. The distributive prefix *te-* is always followed by *s*, never by either of the other signs, and some of the prefixes listed above are used with *s* with a distinction in meaning: for example,

xawīñan he took a stone out of a hole (but *xaiñyai* he came up a hill)¹

Excluding all the verbs which require one of these three sounds in the definite tenses, there remain a considerable number which have no definite tenses, and therefore no such sounds characterizing them.

For the sake of convenience, the Hupa verbs have been divided into conjugations, according as they have one or the other of these sounds in the definite tenses or lack definite tenses entirely. There are, according to this arrangement, four conjugations: the first characterized by *w*; the second, by *n*; the third, by *s*; and the fourth lacking definite tenses.

¹In one of the Eel river dialects the bringing home of a deer is narrated as follows: *yigñgin* he started carrying; *yicēgin* he carried along; *yiningin* he arrived carrying. Here we have *g* (corresponding to Hupa *w*), *s*, and *n* used with the same stem, expressing the exact shades one would expect in Hupa.

§ 36. Pronominal Prefixes, Sixth Position

Next in order are the sounds which indicate the person and number of the subject. These are sometimes changed and sometimes disappear, because of phonetic influences.

First Person

For tenses other than the definite, the sign of the first person singular is *w* or *-ūw*, which is in all cases appended to the preceding syllable. This sound is related to the initial sound of the independent pronoun of the first person singular, *hwe*, and is no doubt derived from it. In the definite tenses this form does not occur, but *-e* is found instead. The first person plural has *ɔ-* for its sign. The remainder of the syllable of which this is the initial is completed from the sound which follows it.

Second Person

In the singular the form is *-ñ* or *-iñ*. The former is found when there is a sound preceding with which it can join, and the latter when no sound precedes, or when, for some reason, it can not unite with it. The sign seems to be dropped before *l* and *l* following in the same syllable, of which there are many cases. It is reasonable to suppose that this sign is connected with the independent pronoun of the second person singular, *nñ*. In nearly all cases, in the second person plural *ō'* is found as the vowel of the inflected syllable. This *ō* is strongly aspirated. The cases in which *ō'* is not found seem to be due to contraction, which always results in an aspirated vowel. An *ō* of similar quality and with an aspiration occurs in the pronoun for the second person plural, *nōhin*.

§ 37. Third Modal Prefixes, Seventh Position

Certain prefixes are found in many verbs immediately preceding the root, and suggest transitivity or intransitivity in the verb, or in some way point out the relation between the subject, predicate, and object. As the second modal prefixes are required in most cases by the adverbial prefix which precedes them, so these are necessitated by certain roots which follow them. When, however, a root is found with different prefixes preceding it, their force becomes apparent. Compare *tcittetaL* HE STEPPED ALONG with *tcitteltaL* HE KICKED SOMETHING ALONG. The absence of a modal prefix in the first is connected

with the intransitive meaning; and *L* is connected with a transitive force. Compare also *kewintan* IT STUCK FAST (said of a bird alighting on pitch) and *kewiltan* HE PUT PITCH ON SOMETHING. The *n* which in the first of these examples precedes the root, seems to be a vestige of a prefix of this order occurring in certain forms of the third person in a class of verbs where usually none is present.

In nearly every case in which *L* is present, required by the root or not, a transitive force can be conceived for the verb, which is always active. No prefix, or *n* shown above, is found with intransitive verbs; but this is also true of a large number of transitive verbs. It is noticeable, however, that the transitive verbs which do not require a preceding *L* belong to those which, by the nature of the root, indicate the character of the object. Certain roots are always preceded by *t* or *d* (the third class), and certain others by *l* (the fourth class). But it is found that those without a sign, or with the sign *n* of doubtful character, when changed to the passive, also take *t* or *d*. In the same manner, verbs with *L* the surd, on becoming passive, change *L* to *l* the sonant.

On the basis of these prefixes the verbs have been arranged in four classes:

Class I has all intransitive and a certain class of transitive verbs, and has no characteristic prefix, unless it be *n*.

Class II is composed entirely of transitive verbs, and has *L* as its characteristic.

Class III contains the passives of Class I, and certain verbs not passive, but possibly with passive leanings.

Class IV is composed of the passives of Class II and certain other verbs which show the influence of some power outside of the apparent agent.

SUFFIXES (§§ 38-44)

§ 38. Classification of Suffixes

The suffixes employed with verbs differ from the prefixes in that their use is only occasional, while the prefixes are for the most part essential to the meaning of the verb, and are employed with all its forms. The suffixes are appended mostly to the present definite and present indefinite tense-forms. Most of them have a temporal, modal, or conjunctive force.

§ 39. Temporal Suffixes

1. **-x.** This suffix is used with the forms of the present indefinite, and indicates that the act or condition was persistent through a limited and definitely stated length of time.

wilwoeL tsisdaux until night he stayed
nailits^ax he ran around (until morning)

2. **-winte.** The suffixing of *-winte* to the forms of the present indefinite gives a meaning to the verb but little different from the customary tense, which has a prefix *e-*. It indicates that the act or condition is continuous, or at least takes place whenever cause arises. The customary may mean that the act has been done several times without regard to the regularity of the intervals.

tcilwaLwinte they always dance

3. **-neen.** This suffix is applied to nouns and verbs alike. It states that the thing, act, or condition has ceased, or is about to cease, its existence. When used with verbs, it is usually appended to the forms of the present indefinite, and means that the act or condition was habitual or continual in the past, but has now ceased.

awptinneen I used to do that
wessilyōneen you used to like (him)

4. **-te.** This is the suffix most commonly employed. It predicts a future act or condition, either as the result of the impulse of the agent, or the compelling force of some person or event. It takes the place, therefore, of English WILL and SHALL. It is appended, for the most part, to the forms of the definite present.

melūnte I am going to watch it
dedūwillate he will put it into the fire

This suffix is sometimes preceded by a syllable containing the vowel *e* standing between the root and *-te*. The prediction is said to be made with less assurance when it has this form.

tcisḍyannete she may live to be old

5. **-teL.** This suffix seems to denote events in a nearer future than those expressed by *-te*.

dūvilletel a party is coming to kill
mānesgittel it will be afraid 295.7

§ 40. Temporal and Modal Suffixes

Certain suffixes are temporal, but also have a modal force.

6. **-ei**. In myths and tales the definite past occurs very frequently with an ending *-ei*, which regularly takes over the semi-vowels and often the consonants of the preceding syllable. The younger Hupa, at least, do not seem to be conscious of any change in meaning that may be made by its addition. A comparison of the instances of its occurrence would indicate a mild emphasis, that the act, which has several times been ineffectually attempted, has been successfully accomplished, or that something which has been several times done is now done for the last time.

yawiltennei she picked him up (after several attempts)

7. **-il, -iL**. The application of the verb may be made continuous over space by adding *-L* or *-iL* for the present, and *-l* or *-il* for the past. The shorter forms are used after vowels without increasing the number of syllables; the longer forms add a syllable, often taking over the consonant which precedes.

yaxōvilxaiL going along they track him

tcōhgeiLte they will call (continually)

tcūwiLtel he was bringing

kyūwinyūñil you ate along

§ 41. Modal Suffixes

8. **-miñ**. This suffix, which is not of frequent occurrence, indicates that the verb which it follows expresses the purpose of some act
yaiLkimmiñ that they might catch it

9. **-ne^e**. The more positive and more frequent form of the imperative seems to have *-ne^e* suffixed to the regular form, implying the duty or mild necessity one is under to do the act.

ōltsaine^e dry them

yeintūlne^e you must step in

10. **-hūñ**. To express a moral responsibility or necessity, *-hūñ* is suffixed to the forms of the definite or indefinite present.

dōnēyahūñ I can not stay

tasyahūñ one ought to go away

11. **-sillen**. This suffix seems by its use to imply that the occurrence was imminent, but did not result.

yawūnxūtssillen he nearly flew

12. **-newan.** The suffix *-newan* indicates that the act is done, but with difficulty.
dōtcōwōnneḷintenewan one can hardly look at
13. **-de^e.** For the expression of a future condition, *-de^e* is employed.
adende^e if he sings
axōlade^e if it happens 808.1
14. **-detc.** This suffix, which occurs but rarely, seems to indicate a less probable and more general future condition.
tcisserwīndetc if he kills
15. **-miñinne.** For the expression of the result of supposed conditions contrary to fact, *-miñinne* is employed.
dōdaxōaṭinmiñinne (people) would never have died

§ 42. Suffixes Indicating Source of Information

Certain suffixes are used to show by which of the senses the fact stated was observed, or whether it was inferred from evidence.

16. **-e.** The vowel *-e*, standing by itself or preceded by the consonant or semi-vowel of the preceding syllable, indicates that the object or act is within the view of the speaker.
meṽinṭanne he stuck to it (he saw)
17. **-tsū, -tse.** When the act is perceived by the sense of hearing or feeling, *-tse* is appended to the present definite, and *-tsū* to the past definite.
neṽūngittse I feel afraid
adentsū he heard it say
18. **-xōlan.** A fact inferred from evidence is expressed by the suffix *-xōlan*. Since the act is viewed as already completed, the verbs often have the force of the pluperfect.
lenanillaxōlan he had built a fire (he saw)
19. **-xōlūñ.** This suffix is said to differ from the preceding only in the fact that the evidence is more certain.
xalaxōlūñ grass has grown up (the fact is certain, for the grass is there, although the growing of it was not seen)

§ 43. Conjunctive Suffixes

A few suffixes are conjunctive. Their union with the verb seems to be rather loose.

20. **-hit.** The suffixing of *-hit* to the verb has the effect of making it part of a subordinate temporal clause.

yexōnūñhit when they ran in

tceĩnsithit when he woke up

21. **-miL.** This suffix has nearly or quite the same force as *-hit*.

yĩtsiñ ee^aamiL west (the sun) used to be then

22. **-tsit.** This suffix, which occurs seldom, means that the act expressed by the verb to which it is added is to be done before some other contemplated act.

kiñyũntsit eat first

§ 44. Adverbial Suffixes

There are two suffixes which appear to be adverbial.

23. **-he.** This suffix emphasizes a negative command or a conditional statement. It is comparable to English IN THE LEAST, or French PAS, in negative clauses.

dōadūwinnehe don't say that

tcūwĩyũñilhe even if he eat it

24. **-ka, -ũk.** These suffixes signify LIKE, IN THE MANNER OF.

atenka the way they do

nesedaiũk the way I sat

VERBAL ROOTS (§§ 45-50)

§ 45. Variation of Verbal Roots

The greater number of verbal roots undergo a change of form or length, for the most part connected with the changes of mode or tense. In a few cases there is also a change within the mode or tense for the persons. For number, the change, when present, is not an alteration of the root, due to phonetic or morphological causes, but a substitution, in the dual and plural, of a root altogether different from that in the singular.

Sometimes the changes in the root mark off the definite tenses from the indefinite; in other cases the customary and impotential are different also in the form of the root from the present indefinite and imperative; and in a few cases, the impotential alone has a form longer than or different from that found elsewhere in the verb. The indefinite present and imperative are the weakest of all in the form of their roots. Of the definite tenses, the past is usually longer than the present, and

is characterized by stronger vowels: for example, *a* is found in the past instead of *u*, and *e* instead of *i*; and the diphthong *ai* and *au* appear for *a*. Some roots which end in *t* in the past do not have that ending in the present.

A number of roots, many of them containing the vowel *i*, do not change in form or length.

It is extremely difficult to trace these variations of the root to their causes. It is altogether probable that *-w*, which is the final sound in many roots of the indefinite tenses, is to be connected with *-c* (*sh*) or *-s* (which occurs in the same roots and the same tenses in Tolowa and other Athapascan dialects). It is therefore, in all likelihood, the remains of a former suffix. It is most likely that *-n* and *-ñ*, which are so characteristic of the definite tenses, are not original parts of the root. In fact, what seems to be the same root often occurs without the nasals. The difference between the past and present definite is almost certainly due to the accent, which is on the root in the past and on the syllable preceding the root in the present. This in turn may be due to the fact that the latter is often used with suffixes.

The most important verbal roots are given below with their variations and what is deemed the most characteristic meaning of each.

§ 46. Roots with Four Forms

The following roots have the past definite in *-en*; the present definite, in *-iñ*; the impotential, customary, and present indefinite and unexcepted forms of the imperative, in *-ūw*; and the third person imperative, in *-e*.

-wen, *-wiñ*, *-wūw*, *-we* (3d imp.) to carry on the back

-wen, *-wiñ*, *-wūw*, *-we* (3d imp.) to move or to wave fire

-ten, *-tiñ*, *-tūw*, *-te* (1st and 3d imp.) to lie down

Two roots have *-ū* for the impotential and customary, with *-e* for present indefinite and imperative.

-len, *-liñ*, *-lū*, *-le* to become, to be, to be transformed

-lau, *-la*, *-lū*, *-le* to do something, to arrange according to a plan

§ 47. Roots with Three Forms

The following have the first form for the past definite, the second form for the present definite, and the third form for the indefinite tenses. Some exceptions are noted.

-εan, *-εuñ*, *-εaww* to transport round objects

-an, *-uñ*, *-aww* to run, to jump (with plural subject only)

- yan*, -*yûñ*, -*yauw* to eat
- xan*, -*xûñ*, -*xauw* to move in a basket or other vessel any liquid or small divided substance, to catch with a net
- tan*, -*tûñ*, -*tūw* to handle or move a long object
- tan*, -*tûñ*, -*tūw* to split
- wen*, -*wiñ*, -*we* to kill
- ten*, -*tiñ*, -*tūw* to move or to carry in any way a person or animal
- tcwen*, -*tcwiñ*, -*tcwe* to make, to arrange, to grow, to become
- yai*, -*ya*, -*yauw* to go, to come, to travel about (1st and 3d imp. in -*ya*)
- lai*, -*la*, -*lūw* to move or transfer a number of objects
- lai*, -*la*, -*lūw* to travel by canoe, to manage a canoe
- hwa*, -*hwa*, -*hauw* to walk, to go, to come (imp. has -*hwa*)

The following have the definite tenses with -*L*, the customary impotential with -*l*, and the present indefinite and imperative with -*L*:¹—

- waL*, -*wâl*, -*wûL* to strike, to throw, to scatter
- weL*, -*wîl*, -*wîL* relating to the passing of night
- meL*, -*mîl*, -*mîL* to strike, to throw, to drop
- deL*, -*dîl*, -*dîL* to go, to come, to travel (plural only)
- deL*, -*dîl*, -*dîL* to strike
- taL*, -*tâl*, -*tûL* to step, to kick, to do anything with the foot
- tseL*, -*tsîl*, -*tsîL* to pound, as with a hammer or maul

§ 48. Roots with Two Forms

These roots, with a few exceptions, have the past definite, impotential, and customary with the first form, and the remaining tenses with the other.

First Type, -an, -ûñ

- yan*, -*yûñ* to live, to pass through life
- yan*, -*yûñ* to spy upon, to watch, to observe with suspicion
- wan*, -*wûñ* to sleep
- lan*, -*lûñ* to quit, to leave, to desist
- lan*, -*lûñ* to be born
- nan*, -*nûñ* to drink
- xan*, -*xûñ* to be sweet or pleasant to the taste
- tan*, -*tûñ* to eat (3d person singular only)
- tan*, -*tûñ* relating to any wax or waxlike substance
- tsan*, -*tsûñ* to find, to see
- tcwan*, -*tcwûñ* relating to the eating of a meal in company
- kan*, -*kûñ* to put on edge, to lean up

¹ That the form with *L* is due to a final aspiration and that with *l* to glottal action seems reasonable. The cause of this, if not due to vanished suffixes, must be looked for in accent.

Second Type, -en, -iñ

- en, -iñ to look
- en, -iñ to do, to act, to deport one's self
- yen, -yiñ to stand on one's feet
- len, -liñ to flow, to run (said of any liquid)
- men, -miñ to fill up, to make full
- hwen, -hwiñ to melt
- sen, -siñ to think, to know (1st and 2d persons only)
- den, -diñ to travel in company
- den, -diñ to be light, to blaze
- ten, -tiñ to do, to perform an act
- tcwen, -tcwiñ to smell, to stink, to defecate
- tcwen, -tcwiñ to want food or sexual gratification, to desire

Third Type, -ai, -a

- ε*ai (impoten. and past), -*ε*a to be in position
- yai (impoten.), -ya to move about, to undertake
- wai (impoten.), -wa to go, to go about (3d person only)
- dai (impoten. and past def.), -da to sit, to stay, to remain, to fish
- tcwai (impoten. and past def.), -tcwa to handle or move many small pieces, to dig, to bury, to paw the ground
- k*ai (impoten. and cust.), -*k*a to get up from a reclining or sitting position

Fourth Type, -au, -a¹

- au, -a to sing
- yau, -ya to do, to follow a line of action, to be in a plight
- dau, -da to melt away, to disappear
- tau, -ta to hover, to settle, to fly around

Fifth Type, -ū, -e¹

- lū, -le to make an attack, to form a war-party
- lū, -le to dive, to swim under water
- Lū, -Le to handle or to do anything with a semi-liquid, dough-like substance
- nū, -ne to do, to happen, to behave in a certain way
- xū, -xe to finish, to track, to overtake
- djeū, -dje to fly in a flock
- tū, -te to sing in a ceremony
- tēū, -tse to squirm, to writhe, to roll, to tumble
- tcwū, -tcwe to cry, to weep

¹Originally -ag -a', and -eg -e'; therefore similar to the following -at -a.

Sixth Type, -at, -a

- wat*, -*wa* to shake itself (said of a dog)
- lat*, -*la* to float
- lat*, -*la* to run, to jump
- xait*, -*xai* to buy
- tcat*, -*tca* to be sick, to become ill
- kait*, -*kai* to cause to project, to push, to pole a canoe, to shoot,
to fall forward from weakness (i. e., to starve)
- kyōt*, -*kyō* to flee, to run away
- tsut*, -*tša* to sit down

Seventh Type, -i, -l

- il*, -*iL* to swim, to dive (plural only)
- yōl*, -*yōL* to blow with the breath
- wal*, -*wal* to shake a stick, to dance
- lal*, -*lal* to dream, to sleep
- nel*, -*nel* to play
- nōl*, -*nōL* to blaze
- hwal*, -*hwal* to fish for with a hook, to catch with a hook
- hwil*, -*hwil* to call by name, to name
- xal*, -*xal* to dawn
- dil*, -*dil* to ring, to give a metallic response to a blow
- tseL*, -*tseL* to be or to become warm
- kil*, -*kil* to split with the hands
- qōl*, -*qōL* to crawl, to creep

Eighth Type, -ts, -s

- mats*, -*mas* to roll, to coil
- xūts*, -*xūs* to pass through the air, to fly, to fall, to throw
- tats*, -*tūs* to cut a gash, to slit up, to cut open. to dress eels

Ninth type, -tc, -w

- atc*, -*aww* to move in an undulating line
- qōtc*, -*qōw* to throw, like a spear
- qōtc*, *qōw* to run like a wolf

§ 49. Roots with One Form

A few of these vary in length, but those having the vowels *i* and *ū* and some others do not.

- eL* to have position (plural only)
- iūw* to drop
- its* to shoot an arrow
- its* to wander about
- ūt* to move flat flexible objects
- ya* to stand on one's feet (plural only)

- ye* to dance
- yeũw* to rest
- yeũw* to rub, to knead
- yits* to entangle
- yō* to like
- yōw* to flow, to scatter
- yōt* to chase, to bark after
- waunw* to talk, to make a noise (plural only)
- was* to shave off
- wis* to twist, to rotate
- witc* to rock sidewise
- le* to feel with the hands
- lel* to carry more than one animal or child in the hands
- lel* to bother
- lit* to burn
- litc* to urinate
- lik* to relate, to tell something
- loi^e* to tie, to wrap around
- lōs* to drag, to pull along
- lūw* to watch, to stand guard over
- Lit* to cause to burn
- me^e* to swim
- men* to cause to swim
- medj* to cook by boiling
- mit* to turn over, to place one's self belly up or down
- mūt* to break out (as a spring of water), to break open
- na* to cook by placing before the fire
- na* to move
- ne* to gather nuts (from the ground)
- nūw* to hear
- hwe^e* to dig
- xa* to have position (said of water or a liquid)
- xūt* to hang
- xūt* to tear down
- xūts* to bite, to chew
- sit* to wake
- da^e* to be poor in flesh
- da^e* to carry, to move (said of a person or animal)
- dai^e* to bloom
- dik* to peck
- dits* to twist into a rope
- dō* to cut, to slash
- dō* to dodge, to draw back
- djiñ* to mind, to be bothered by something
- te^e* to look for, to search after
- te^e* to carry around

- te* to remain in a recumbent position
- tetc* to lie down (plural only)
- tits* to use a cane
- tō^e* referring to the movement or position of water
- tōt* to drink
- tū* to beg
- tūw* to split
- tūk* to count
- te^e* to have some particular form, appearance, or nature
- tik* to tie with a string
- tō* relating to mutual motions of two objects by means of
which one is inserted into or withdrawn from the other
- tsai* to be or to make dry
- tsas* to swing a stick about, to whip
- tse^e* to open or shut a sliding door
- tse^e* to stay, to live (plural only)
- tsis* to be hanging
- tsis* to find, to know
- tsit* to know a person or some fact or legend
- tsit* to fall, to sink
- tsit* to soak acorn-meal
- tsit* to pull out a knot
- tsit* to wait
- tce^e* to blow (said of the wind)
- tcit* to die
- tcūt* to strip off, to take bark from a tree
- tcwit* to push, to pull off leaves, to shoot, to rub one's self
- tcwōg* to sweep
- tcwūw* to smell of
- git* to be afraid of, to be frightened
- git* to travel in company
- kas* to throw
- ket* to creak
- kis* to put one's hand on, to stab, to spear
- kit* to catch with the hands, to take away
- kit* to hang, to spread, to settle (said of fog)
- kit* to feed, to give food to any one
- kūtc* to make the stroke or throw in playing shinny
- kya^e* to wear a dress
- kya* to perceive by any of the senses
- kyas* to break, to cause to break
- kyōs* to handle or to move anything that is flat and flexible
- gal* to walk (3d person only)
- qōt* to push a pointed instrument into a yielding mass, to stick,
to poke
- qōt* to dodge, to tumble, to flounder about helplessly

§ 50. Meaning of Roots

In regard to meaning, roots fall into at least three classes.

(1) A few monosyllabic nouns, occupying the position in the verb which belongs to the root, name the means employed; while the general nature of the act is suggested by that part of the verb which precedes the root. For example, *-tits* (a verbal root identical with the noun *tits* A CANE) occurs in the verb *tcittetits* HE WALKED WITH A CANE.

(2) A rather large number of roots, while not definitely naming the object, indicate the class to which it belongs as regards its size, shape, or physical character. The most important of these are the following:

- εan*, -*εûñ*, -*εauw* round objects
- ût* flat and flexible
- wen*, -*wiñ*, -*wûw* fire
- lai*, -*la*, -*lûw* several of any kind
- lel* several children or animals
- Lû*, -*Le* dough
- xan*, -*xûñ*, -*xauw* liquid
- da* a person or animal
- tan*, -*tûñ*, -*tûw* a long object
- ten*, -*tîñ*, -*tûw* person, animal, or animal product
- tan*, *tûñ* wax or waxlike
- tcwai* the soil
- kyôs*, flat and flexible object

These verbal roots are rigidly restricted in their applicability to objects of definite form, including in this category number. This classification has reference to the appearance of objects as ROUND, FLAT AND FLEXIBLE, LONG AND SLIM, ANIMATE, PLURAL. In the intransitive verb this has reference to the form of the subject; in the transitive verb, to the form of the object.

(3) Most if not all the remaining roots indicate more or less exactly the nature of the act itself. It has been impossible, with no knowledge of the past history of the Hupa language and but little access to the related languages, to define exactly the meaning of many of the roots.

§ 51. Analysis of Verbal Forms

A few of the more complex forms are analyzed in the following table in accordance with the general discussion of the formative elements contained in the preceding sections.

ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS.

1. Adverbs, object.	2. Deictic.	3. First modals.	4. Second modals.	5. Pronouns, subject.	6. Third modals.	7. Stem.	8. Suff.
	<i>tc</i>	<i>k, ɔ, ɛ, d, n.</i>	<i>w, n, s</i>		<i>n, L, l, de</i>		
<i>da</i>			<i>w</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ean</i>	
<i>nɔ na</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɛdn</i>	
<i>da, na, zɔ</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>w</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>an</i>	he placed it 210.6. one should leave it 215.8. they ran back 181.6.
<i>da na</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>l for L</i>	<i>ɛL</i>	I lay them crosswise 247.5.
<i>na</i>	<i>ne</i>		<i>w</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>ɣa</i>	we will look at 216.18. they stand in water 310.4.
<i>te, na</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>ɣai</i>	he came out again 102.13.
<i>te, na</i>			<i>s</i>	<i>e</i>		<i>ɣa</i>	I will go with you 187.4.
<i>nɪL</i>	<i>te</i>					<i>ɣa</i>	he used to come 306.7.
	<i>tc</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɣa</i>	he was walking along, he saw 185.13.
<i>Le</i>	<i>tc</i>		<i>s</i>			<i>ɣa</i>	they will tie together 151.10.
<i>te zɔ</i>	<i>k</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>L</i>	<i>ɣds</i>	he pulled him out 106.17.
<i>zɔ</i>	<i>te</i>		<i>w</i>		<i>L</i>	<i>waL</i>	he went to sleep—it slept him 203.1.
<i>ɣɣ</i>	<i>k</i>				<i>n</i>	<i>ɣan-uau</i>	I will spend the night; the night passed 343.2. don't bring them to me 230.13.
<i>dɔ, ɣɣ, wɪn</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>		<i>l</i>	<i>weL</i>	with him it floated back to shore 315.6.
<i>zɔL, me, na</i>					<i>l-i</i>	<i>lai</i>	I will watch again 287.17.
<i>me, na</i>					<i>n d</i>	<i>lat</i>	I leave it 247.3.
<i>nɔ na</i>	<i>e</i>			<i>ɣ</i>		<i>lɔɣ</i>	they left food 110.9.
<i>nɔ na</i>	<i>ɣa</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ɣ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɣauɣ</i>	they took away 171.14.
<i>da</i>	<i>ɣa</i>		<i>w</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>ean</i>	one could see 242.13.
<i>da, zɔ</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>w</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>en</i>	we will look at 216.18.
<i>na</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>tn</i>	he completed the circuit 220.8.
<i>Le na</i>			<i>n</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>ɣai</i>	

§ 52. *Tenses and Modes*

While the time, reality, and definiteness of the act or condition may be expressed by means of suffixes and variations in the root, the same distinctions of meaning are drawn from the form of the complete verb. Without taking into account the suffixes, the following tense or mode forms exist: present indefinite, imperative, impotential, customary, present definite, and past definite. The first four of these are clearly marked off from the last two, in meaning, by the fact that they do not refer to a single definite act. They differ in form, in most cases, in the root and in the sign of the first person singular.

The name of present indefinite has been chosen to distinguish the present of wider use and of less discrimination as to the time of the action, from the present definite, which affirms a single act as just completed. The former is used of acts in progress but not completed, when such acts consume appreciable time, or of acts desired or intended.

The real imperative forms, the second person singular and plural, are identical with those of the indefinite present, while the forms of the third person, expressing the wish that some person be compelled to perform the act, are different from those of the indefinite present.

The impotential deals with future negative acts in a sweeping way, implying that it is impossible that they should take place. Part of this force is given the form by *dōxōlin*, which precedes the verb, meaning IT IS NOT. The form of the verb itself in this mode-tense is not different from the present indefinite, except that it often has a longer or stronger form of the root.

The customary differs from the present indefinite in the presence of an element (consisting of a single vowel, probably -e-) which stands before the signs of person and number, and sometimes in form of the root. Its meaning, as the name implies, is that the act is habitual, or at least several times performed. It is used almost entirely of past acts.

The definite present and past differ from each other only in the form and length of the root. The past has the longer and stronger form of the root, if it be variable at all. The accent seems to rest on the root in the past, and on the syllable before the root in the present. They refer to individual, completed acts,—the present as just completed; and the past, of more remote time. On the forms of the present definite by means of suffixes, the future, future conditional, and other tenses and modes are built.

Conjugations (§§ 53-75)

§ 53. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1A

tcexauw HE IS CATCHING

<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>ĩũw̃xauw</i>	<i>ĩtdexauw</i>
2. <i>ĩñxauw</i>	<i>õ'xauw</i>
3. <i>tcexauw</i>	<i>yaxauw</i>
3a. <i>yĩxauw</i>	<i>yaiexauw</i>
<i>Imperative</i>	
Singular	Plural
3. <i>tcõxauw</i>	<i>yatcõxauw</i>
3a. <i>yõxauw</i>	<i>yaiyõxauw</i>
<i>Customary</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>ẽĩũw̃xauw</i>	<i>ẽĩtdexauw</i>
2. <i>ẽĩñxauw</i>	<i>ẽõ'xauw</i>
3. <i>tceexauw</i>	<i>yaxexauw</i>
3a. <i>yexexauw</i>	<i>yaiexexauw</i>
<i>Definite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>wexũñ</i>	<i>wĩtdexũñ</i>
2. <i>wĩñxũñ</i>	<i>wõ'xũñ</i>
3. <i>tcũwĩñxũñ</i>	<i>yawĩñxũñ</i>
3a. <i>yũwĩñxũñ</i>	<i>yaiwĩñxũñ</i>

§ 54. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1B

yamas HE IS ROLLING OVER

<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yauw̃mas</i>	<i>yadimmas</i>
2. <i>yũmmas</i>	<i>ya'mas</i>
3. <i>yamas</i>	<i>yayamas</i>
3a. <i>yāmas</i>	<i>yayāmas</i>
<i>Customary</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yaiũw̃mas</i>	<i>yaiĩtdimmas</i>
2. <i>yaimmas</i>	<i>yaiõ'mas</i>
3. <i>yaimmas</i>	<i>yayaimmas</i>
3a. <i>yaimmas</i>	<i>yayaimmas</i>
<i>Definite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yaimas</i>	<i>yawĩtdimmas</i>
2. <i>yawimmas</i>	<i>yawõ'mas</i>
3. <i>yawimmas</i>	<i>yayawimmas</i>
3a. <i>yāwimmas</i>	<i>yayāwimmas</i>

§ 55. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1C

In this division of the conjugation there is a contraction in the 2d person singular of the definite tenses.

naLit HE IS CHARRING

	<i>Definite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>naLiLit</i>		<i>nawitdiLiLit</i>
2. <i>naLiLit</i>		<i>nawō'LiLit</i>
3. <i>nawinLiLit</i>		<i>nayawinLiLit</i>
3a. <i>naiwinLiLit</i>		<i>nayaiwinLiLit</i>

§ 56. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1D

kittūs HE CUTS OPEN

	<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>kyūritūs</i>		<i>kitdittūs</i>
2. <i>kintūs</i>		<i>kyō'tūs</i>
3. <i>kittūs</i>		<i>yakittūs</i>
3a. <i>yikittūs</i>		<i>yaikittūs</i>
	<i>Imperative</i>	
Singular		Plural
3. <i>kyōtūs</i>		<i>yakyōtūs</i>
3a. <i>yikyōtūs</i>		<i>yaikyōtūs</i>
	<i>Customary</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>keiūritūs</i> , etc.		<i>keitlitūs</i> , etc.
	<i>Definite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>ketats</i>		<i>kyūritdittats</i>
2. <i>kyūwinats</i>		<i>kyūwō'tats</i>
3. <i>kintats</i>		<i>yakintats</i>
3a. <i>yikintats</i>		<i>yaikintats</i>

§ 57. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 1E

tcōxai HE IS BUYING

	<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>ōūxai</i>		<i>ōdexai</i>
2. <i>ōñxai</i>		<i>ō'xai</i>
3. <i>tcōxai</i>		<i>tcōyaxai</i>
3a. <i>yōxai</i>		<i>yōyaxai</i>
	<i>Customary</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>ōiūxait</i>		<i>ōitdexait</i> , etc.

	Singular	Definite	Plural
1.	<i>oixai</i>		<i>ōwīdɛxai</i>
2.	<i>ōñxai</i>		<i>ōwō'xai</i>
3.	<i>tcōñxai</i>		<i>tcōyañxai</i>
3a.	<i>yōñxai</i>		<i>yōyañxai</i>

§ 58. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2

The several conjugations differ from one another in regard to the definite tenses only.

nōniñūt HE PUT A BLANKET DOWN

	Singular	Definite	Plural
1.	<i>nōnaūt</i>		<i>nōndaūt</i>
2.	<i>nōniñūt</i>		<i>nōnō'ūt</i>
3.	<i>nōniñūt</i>		<i>nōyaniñūt</i>
3a.	<i>noiniñūt</i>		<i>nōyainiñūt</i>

§ 59. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 2, WITH A CHANGED ROOT

tceniñya HE IS COMING OUT

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.	<i>tcenēya</i>	<i>tcenedeL</i>	<i>tcenedeL</i>
2.	<i>tceniñya</i>	<i>tcenō'deL</i>	<i>tcenō'deL</i>
3.	<i>tceniñya</i>	<i>tceniñdeL</i>	<i>tceyanindeL</i>
3a.	<i>tcīñya</i>	<i>tcindeL</i>	<i>tceyūndeL</i>

§ 60. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3A

tcisloi^e HE IS TYING

	Singular	Definite	Plural
1.	<i>seloi^e</i>		<i>sītdilloi^e</i>
2.	<i>silloi^e</i>		<i>sō'loi^e</i>
3.	<i>tcisloi^e</i>		<i>yaīsloi^e</i>
3a.	<i>yisloi^e</i>		<i>yaiīsloi^e</i>

§ 61. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 3B

tcittetaL HE IS STEPPING ALONG

	Singular	Definite	Plural
1.	<i>tesetaL</i>		<i>tesdittaL</i>
2.	<i>tesintaL</i>		<i>tesō'taL</i>
3.	<i>tcittetaL</i>		<i>yatetaL</i>
3a.	<i>yittetaL</i>		<i>yaitetaL</i>

§ 62. CLASS I, CONJUGATION 4

na^εa HE HAS IT

<i>Present</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>na^εwa^εa</i>	<i>nada^εa</i>
2. <i>na^εñ^εa</i>	<i>na'εa</i>
3. <i>na^εa</i>	<i>naya^εa</i>
3a. <i>nai^εa</i>	<i>nayai^εa</i>
<i>Imperative</i>	
Singular	Plural
3. <i>natc^εō^εa</i>	<i>nayatc^εō^εa</i>
3a. <i>nay^εō^εa</i>	<i>nayay^εō^εa</i>
<i>Customary</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>naï^εū^εa</i>	<i>naïtda^εa</i>
2. <i>naïñ^εa</i>	<i>naō'εa</i>
3. <i>naa^εa</i>	<i>nayaa^εa</i>
3a. <i>naia^εa</i>	<i>nayai^εa</i>

§ 63. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1A

*yetcīlda^ε*¹ HE IS CARRYING IN A LARGE OBJECT

<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yēiū^εda</i>	<i>yēitdīlda</i>
2. <i>yēīlda</i>	<i>yēōlda</i>
3. <i>yetcīlda</i>	<i>yeyai^εlda</i>
3a. <i>yeyīlda</i>	<i>yeyaii^εlda</i>
<i>Imperative</i>	
Singular	Plural
3. <i>yetcōlda</i>	<i>yeyatcōlda</i>
3a. <i>yeyōlda</i>	<i>yeyaiyōlda</i>
<i>Customary</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yēēiū^εda</i>	<i>yēēitdīlda</i>
2. <i>yēēīlda</i>	<i>yēēōlda</i>
3. <i>yetcēīlda</i>	<i>yeyai^εlda</i>
3a. <i>yeyēīlda</i>	<i>yeyaii^εlda</i>
<i>Definite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yewēlda</i>	<i>yewitdīlda</i>
2. <i>yewīlda</i>	<i>yewōlda</i>
3. <i>yetcūwīlda</i>	<i>yeyawīlda</i>
3a. <i>yeyūwīlda</i>	<i>yeyaiwīlda</i>

¹It is probable but not quite certain that the glottal stop occurs finally in the root in all forms of the verb.

§ 64. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 1C

yaiLwól HE THREW INTO THE AIR

<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yauLwól</i>	<i>yadilwól</i>
2. <i>yólwól</i>	<i>yalwól</i>
3. <i>yaiLwól</i>	<i>yayaiLwól</i>
3a. <i>yaiLwól</i>	<i>yayaiLwól</i>
<i>Imperative</i>	
Singular	Plural
3. <i>yatcōLwól</i>	<i>yayatcōLwól</i>
3a. <i>yaiōLwól</i>	<i>yayaiōLwól</i>
<i>Customary</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yaiūwól</i>	<i>yaitdilwól</i>
2. <i>yaiLwól</i>	<i>yaōLwól</i>
3. <i>yaiLwól</i>	<i>yayaiLwól</i>
3a. <i>yaiiLwól</i>	<i>yayaiiLwól</i>
<i>Definite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yaiLwaL</i>	<i>yawitdilwaL</i>
2. <i>yaiLwaL</i>	<i>yaoōLwaL</i>
3. <i>yawilwaL</i>	<i>yayawilwaL</i>
3a. <i>yaiwīLwaL</i>	<i>yayaiwīLwaL</i>

§ 65. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 2

meiLxe HE IS FINISHING

<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>mūLxe</i>	<i>medilxe</i>
2. <i>miLxe</i>	<i>meLxe</i>
3. <i>meiLxe</i>	<i>mayaiLxe</i>
3a. <i>miLxe</i>	<i>meyaiLxe</i>
<i>Imperative</i>	
Singular	Plural
3. <i>metcōLxe</i>	<i>meyatcōLxe</i>
3a. <i>meyōLxe</i>	<i>meyayōLxe</i>
<i>Customary</i>	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>meiūLxū</i>	<i>meitdilxū</i>
2. <i>meiLxū</i>	<i>meōLxū</i>
3. <i>meiLxū</i>	<i>meyaiLxū</i>
3a. <i>miLxū</i>	<i>meyaiiLxū</i>

		Definite	
		Singular	Plural
1.	<i>menēLxē</i>		<i>mindilxē</i>
2.	<i>meniLxē</i>		<i>menōLxē</i>
3.	<i>meniLxē</i>		<i>meyaniLxē</i>
3a.	<i>mīniLxē</i>		<i>meyainiLxē</i>

§ 66. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3A

The indefinite tenses do not differ from Conjugation 1.

naixūt HE IS TEARING DOWN

		Definite	
		Singular	Plural
1.	<i>naseLxūt</i>		<i>nasdilxūt</i>
2.	<i>nasilxūt</i>		<i>nasōLxūt</i>
3.	<i>naixūt</i>		<i>nayaixūt</i>
3a.	<i>naixūt</i>		<i>nayaixūt</i>

§ 67. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 3B

tcisselwiñ HE IS KILLING

		Definite	
		Singular	Plural
1.	<i>seseLwiñ</i>		<i>sesdilwiñ</i>
2.	<i>sesilwiñ</i>		<i>sesōLwiñ</i>
3.	<i>tcisselwiñ</i>		<i>yasselwiñ</i>
3a.	<i>yisselwiñ</i>		<i>yaiselwiñ</i>

§ 68. CLASS II, CONJUGATION 4

naĩLtsũñ HE IS FINDING

		Present	
		Singular	Plural
1.	<i>naũptsũñ</i>		<i>nadĩLtsũñ</i>
2.	<i>nũLtsũñ</i>		<i>naLtsũñ</i>
3.	<i>naĩLtsũñ</i>		<i>nayaiLtsũñ</i>
3a.	<i>naĩLtsũñ</i>		<i>nayaiLtsũñ</i>

		Imperative	
		Singular	Plural
3.	<i>nateōLtsũñ</i>		<i>nayateōLtsũñ</i>
3a.	<i>naōLtsũñ</i>		<i>nayaōLtsũñ</i>

		Customary	
		Singular	Plural
1.	<i>naĩũptsan</i>		<i>naĩdĩLtsan</i>
2.	<i>naĩLtsan</i>		<i>naōLtsan</i>
3.	<i>naĩLtsan</i>		<i>nayaiLtsan</i>
3a.	<i>naĩLtsan</i>		<i>nayaiLtsan</i>

§ 69. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 1

yadeqōt HE IS DODGING*Present Indefinite*

Singular	Plural
1. <i>yauwdeqōt</i>	<i>yadūkqōt</i>
2. <i>yūndeqōt</i>	<i>ya'deqōt</i>
3. <i>yadeqōt</i>	<i>yayadeqōt</i>
3a. <i>yadūkqōt</i>	<i>yayadūkqōt</i>

Imperative

Singular	Plural
3. <i>yatcōdeqōt</i>	<i>yayatcōdeqōt</i>
3a. <i>yādeqōt</i>	<i>yayaōdeqōt</i>

Customary

Singular	Plural
1. <i>yaiūwdeqōt</i>	<i>yaitdeqōt</i>
2. <i>yaindeqōt</i>	<i>yaō'deqōt</i>
3. <i>yaitqōt</i>	<i>yayaitqōt</i>
3a. <i>yaitqōt</i>	<i>yayaitqōt</i>

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. <i>yauwdeqōt</i>	<i>yawitdeqōt</i>
2. <i>yandeqōt</i>	<i>yano'deqōt</i>
3. <i>yawitqōt</i>	<i>yayawitqōt</i>
3a. <i>yatqōt</i>	<i>yayatqōt</i>

§ 70. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 2

nanit^eauw HE IS BRINGING IT BACK*Present Indefinite*

Singular	Plural
1. <i>nauwde^eauw</i>	<i>nanede^eauw</i>
2. <i>nande^eauw</i>	<i>nanō'de^eauw</i>
3. <i>nanit^eauw</i>	<i>nayanit^eauw</i>
3a. <i>nainit^eauw</i>	<i>nayainit^eauw</i>

Imperative

Singular	Plural
3. <i>nanōde^eauw</i>	<i>nayanō'de^eauw</i>
3a. <i>naīnōde^eauw</i>	<i>nayainōde^eauw</i>

Customary

Singular	Plural
1. <i>nañiūwde^eauw</i>	<i>naneede^eauw</i>
2. <i>nañinde^eauw</i>	<i>nanōō'de^eauw</i>
3. <i>nañeīt^eauw</i>	<i>nayaneīt^eauw</i>
3a. <i>nañeīt^eauw</i>	<i>nayaineīt^eauw</i>

	<i>Definite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>nanwede^εũñ</i>		<i>nanede^εũñ</i>
2. <i>nande^εũñ</i>		<i>nano'de^εũñ</i>
3. <i>naĩnde^εũñ</i>		<i>nayaiĩnde^εũñ</i>
3a. <i>naininde^εũñ</i>		<i>nayaininde^εũñ</i>

§ 71. CLASS III, CONJUGATION 3

The forms for the definite tenses are like those given for Class III, Conjugation 1.

naĩsdeqōt HE IS TUMBLING ABOUT

	<i>Definite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>nasdũkqōt</i>		<i>nasedeqōt</i>
2. <i>nasindeqōt</i>		<i>nasō'deqōt</i>
3. <i>naĩsdeqōt</i>		<i>nayaiĩsdeqōt</i>
3a. <i>nasdũkqōt</i>		<i>nayasdũkqōt</i>

§ 72. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 1

naĩlyeũw HE RESTS

	<i>Present Indefinite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>nanwyeũw</i>		<i>nadĩlyeũw</i>
2. <i>naĩlyeũw</i>		<i>naLyēũw</i>
3. <i>naĩlyeũw</i>		<i>nayaiĩlyeũw</i>
3a. <i>nalyeũw</i>		<i>nayalyeũw</i>
	<i>Imperative</i>	
Singular		Plural
3. <i>natcōlyeũw</i>		<i>nayatcōlyeũw</i>
3a. <i>nayōlyeũw</i>		<i>nayayōlyeũw</i>
	<i>Customary</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>naĩwryeũw</i>		<i>naĩtdĩlyeũw</i>
2. <i>naĩlyeũw</i>		<i>naōLyēũw</i>
3. <i>naĩlyeũw</i>		<i>nayaiĩlyeũw</i>
3a. <i>naĩlyeũw</i>		<i>nayaiĩlyeũw</i>
	<i>Definite</i>	
Singular		Plural
1. <i>nanwryeũw</i>		<i>naĩwtdĩlyeũw</i>
2. <i>nalyeũw</i>		<i>naĩwōLyēũw</i>
3. <i>naĩwilyeũw</i>		<i>nayaiĩwilyeũw</i>
3a. <i>nalyeũw</i>		<i>nayalyeũw</i>

§ 73. CLASS IV, CONJUGATION 3

nadiliñ HE IS WATCHING FOR IT*Present Indefinite*

Singular	Plural
1. <i>nadūwīñ</i>	<i>naditdiliñ</i>
2. <i>nadiliñ</i>	<i>nadōliñ</i>
3. <i>nadiliñ</i>	<i>nayadiliñ</i>
3a. <i>naidiliñ</i>	<i>nayaidiliñ</i>

Imperative

Singular	Plural
3. <i>nadōliñ</i>	<i>nayadōliñ</i>
3a. <i>naidōlin</i>	<i>nayaidōliñ</i>

Customary

Singular	Plural
1. <i>nadeīwīwen</i>	<i>nadeītdilen</i>
2. <i>nadeīlen</i>	<i>nadōōlen</i>
3. <i>nadeīlen</i>	<i>nayadeīlen</i>
3a. <i>naideīlen</i>	<i>nayaideīlen</i>

Definite

Singular	Plural
1. <i>nadūwesīñ</i>	<i>nadūwesdiliñ</i>
2. <i>nadūwesiliñ</i>	<i>nadūwesōliñ</i>
3. <i>nadūwesīñ</i>	<i>nayadūwesīñ</i>
3a. <i>naidūwesīñ</i>	<i>nayaidūwesīñ</i>

§ 74. OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION

yahwilitūw HE IS PICKING ME UP*Present Indefinite*

Subject:	First person singular (object)	Second person singular (object)	Third person singular (object)
Singular...	1. ———	<i>yánniūwtūw</i>	<i>yazōwtūw</i>
	2. <i>yahwilitūw</i>	————	<i>yazōlitūw</i>
	3. <i>yahwilitūw</i>	<i>yánnelcilitūw</i>	<i>yazōlitūw</i>
	3a. <i>yaihwilitūw</i>	<i>yánnilitūw</i>	<i>yaižōlitūw</i>
Plural	1. ———	<i>yánniūwilitūw</i>	<i>yazōwilitūw</i>
	2. <i>yahwōlitūw</i>	————	<i>yazōlitūw</i>
	3. <i>yayahwilitūw</i>	<i>yayánnelcilitūw</i>	<i>yayazōlitūw</i>
	3a. <i>yayaihwilitūw</i>	<i>yaiyánnilitūw</i>	<i>yayaižōlitūw</i>

Imperative

Singular...	3. <i>yahwōlitūw</i>	<i>yánnnelcōlitūw</i>	<i>yazōlitūw</i>
	3a. <i>yaihwōlitūw</i>	<i>yánnōlitūw</i>	<i>yaižōlitūw</i>
Plural	3. <i>yayahwōlitūw</i>	<i>yayánnnelcōlitūw</i>	<i>yayazōlitūw</i>
	3a. <i>yayaihwōlitūw</i>	<i>yaiyánnōlitūw</i>	<i>yayaižōlitūw</i>

Customary

Singular...	1. ———	<i>yánnelūwtūw</i>	<i>yazōūwtūw</i>
	2. <i>yahwēilitūw</i>	————	<i>yazōilitūw</i>
	3. <i>yahwēilitūw</i>	<i>yánnnelcēilitūw</i>	<i>yazōilitūw</i>
	3a. <i>yaihwēilitūw</i>	<i>yánnelitūw</i>	<i>yaižōilitūw</i>
Plural	1. ———	<i>yánnelūwilitūw</i>	<i>yazōūwilitūw</i>
	2. <i>yahwōilitūw</i>	————	<i>yazōilitūw</i>
	3. <i>yayahwēilitūw</i>	<i>yayánnelcēilitūw</i>	<i>yayazōilitūw</i>
	3a. <i>yayaihwēilitūw</i>	<i>yaiyánnelcēilitūw</i>	<i>yayaižōilitūw</i>

Definite

Singular...	1. ———	<i>yánnelitiā</i>	<i>yazōelitiā</i>
	2. <i>yahwūwilitiā</i>	————	<i>yazōwilitiā</i>
	3. <i>yahwilitiā</i>	<i>yánnnelcilitiā</i>	<i>yazōlitiā</i>
	3a. <i>yaihwilitiā</i>	<i>yánnnilitiā</i>	<i>yaižōlitiā</i>
Plural	1. ———	<i>yánnnūwilitiā</i>	<i>yazōwilitiā</i>
	2. <i>yahwōwilitiā</i>	————	<i>yazōwōlitiā</i>
	3. <i>yayahwilitiā</i>	<i>yayánnnelcilitiā</i>	<i>yayazōlitiā</i>
	3a. <i>yayaihwilitiā</i>	<i>yaiyánnnilitiā</i>	<i>yayaižōlitiā</i>

OBJECTIVE CONJUGATION—Continued.

yahwiltūw HE IS PICKING ME UP*Present Indefinite*

Subject:	First person plural (object)	Second person plural (object)	Third person plural (object)
Singular...	1. ———	<i>yánnōhŭcūwŭŭ</i>	<i>yayazōwŭŭ</i>
	2. <i>yánnōhōllūw</i>	———	<i>yayazōllūw</i>
	3. <i>yánnōtcillūw</i>	<i>yánnōtcillūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>
	3a. <i>yánnōhŭllūw</i>	<i>yánnōhŭllūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>
Plural	1. ———	<i>yánnōhŭdillūw</i>	<i>yayazōdillūw</i>
	2. <i>yánnōhō'lūw</i>	———	<i>yayazō'lūw</i>
	3. <i>yayánnōtcillūw</i>	<i>yayánnōtcillūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>
	3a. <i>yaiyánnōhŭllūw</i>	<i>yaiyánnōhŭllūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>

Imperative

Singular...	3. <i>yánnōtcōllūw</i>	<i>yánnōtcōllūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>
	3a. <i>yánnōhōllūw</i>	<i>yánnōhōllūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>
Plural	3. <i>yayánnōtcōllūw</i>	<i>yayánnōtcōllūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>
	3a. <i>yaiyánnōhōllūw</i>	<i>yaiyánnōhōllūw</i>	<i>yayazōllūw</i>

Customary

Singular...	1. ———	<i>yánnōheŭŭŭŭŭ</i>	<i>yayazōtŭŭŭŭŭ</i>
	2. <i>yánnōheŭllūw</i>	———	<i>yayazōtŭllūw</i>
	3. <i>yánnōtceŭllūw</i>	<i>yánnōtceŭllūw</i>	<i>yayazōtŭllūw</i>
	3a. <i>yánnōheŭllūw</i>	<i>yánnōheŭllūw</i>	<i>yayazōtŭllūw</i>
Plural	1. ———	<i>yánnōheŭtŭdillūw</i>	<i>yayazōtŭdillūw</i>
	2. <i>yánnōheō'lūw</i>	———	<i>yayazōō'lūw</i>
	3. <i>yayánnōtceŭllūw</i>	<i>yayánnōtceŭllūw</i>	<i>yayazōtŭllūw</i>
	3a. <i>yaiyánnōheŭllūw</i>	<i>yaiyánnōheŭllūw</i>	<i>yayazōtŭllūw</i>

Definite

Singular...	1. ———	<i>yánnōhela</i>	<i>yayazwella</i>
	2. <i>yánnōwilla</i>	———	<i>yayazōwilla</i>
	3. <i>yánnōtcilla</i>	<i>yánnōtcilla</i>	<i>yayazōlla</i>
	3a. <i>yánnōhilla</i>	<i>yánnōhilla</i>	<i>yayazōlla</i>
Plural	1. ———	<i>yánnōwŭdilla</i>	<i>yayazōwŭdilla</i>
	2. <i>yánnōwō'la</i>	———	<i>yayazōwō'la</i>
	3. <i>yayánnōtcilla</i>	<i>yayánnōtcilla</i>	<i>yayazōlla</i>
	3a. <i>yaiyánnōhilla</i>	<i>yaiyánnōhilla</i>	<i>yayazōlla</i>

The past definite has *-lai* for its root.

§ 75. PASSIVE VOICE

yaxōwiltiñ HE IS CARRIED OFF

The present indefinite seems to have no forms for the passive voice.

Impotential	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>dōxōliñ yahweldittūw</i>	<i>dōxōliñ yūnnōhitlūw</i>
2. <i>yūnneldittūw</i>	<i>yūnnōhitlūw</i>
3. <i>yaxōldittūw</i>	<i>yayaxōtlūw</i>
3a. <i>yāldittūw</i>	<i>yayatlūw</i>

Customary	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yahwēildittūw</i>	<i>yūnnōheittlūw</i>
2. <i>yūnēildittūw</i>	<i>yūnnōheittlūw</i>
3. <i>yaxōwēildittūw</i>	<i>yayaxōiittlūw</i>
3a. <i>yawēildittūw</i>	<i>yayaittlūw</i>

Definite	
Singular	Plural
1. <i>yahwūwiltiñ</i>	<i>yūnnōwitla</i>
2. <i>yūnnūwiltiñ</i>	<i>yūnnōwitla</i>
3. <i>yaxōwiltiñ</i>	<i>yayaxōwitla</i>
3a. <i>yaltiñ</i>	<i>yayatla</i>

Adjectives (§§ 76-78)

The qualifying adjectives in Hupa are very closely linked with the verbs. They are fully conjugated, indicating by internal changes the person and number of the subject qualified, and by changes of tense whether the quality is predicated of the present, past, or future.

§ 76. Prefixes of Adjectives

The prefixes of the adjectives consist of a single sound, and are found only in the present. They seem to classify the adjectives according to the degree of connection of the quality with the noun. The principal prefixes are the two following:

1. *n-* used mostly of inherent qualities, such as dimensions.

nūwnes I am tall*nūwhwōñ* I am good*nūwdas* I am heavy*nūwteł* I am broad*nūwtcwiñ* I am dirty*nūwkyāō* I am large

2. *L-* used for the more accidental qualities, such as color, and condition of flesh.

Lūwkai I am white*Lūwkau* I am fat*Littsō* it is blue, yellow, or green*Lūhwīn* it is black

§ 77. Comparison of Adjectives

The superlative, the only form employed, is expressed by prefixing *dad-*, the second syllable being completed in harmony with the following sound:

hai dadinnes the longest

hai dadittsit the shortest

hai dadilLúkkau the fattest

hai dadikkyāō the largest, etc.

§ 78. Conjugation of Adjectives

nitdas IT IS HEAVY

Present Definite

Singular	Plural
1. <i>nūṇdas</i>	<i>nitditdas</i>
2. <i>nindas</i>	<i>nō'das</i>
3. <i>tcindas</i>	<i>yaṇdas</i>
3a. <i>nitdas</i>	<i>yanitdas</i>

Imperative

Singular	Plural
1. <i>iūṇdas</i> ¹	<i>itditdas</i>
2. <i>indas</i>	<i>ō'das</i>
3. <i>tcōdas</i>	<i>yatcōdas</i>
3a. <i>yōdas</i>	<i>yayōdas</i>

Customary

Singular	Plural
1. <i>eīṇdas</i> ²	<i>eītditdas</i>
2. <i>eīndas</i>	<i>eō'das</i>
3. <i>tceītdas</i>	<i>yaītdas</i>
3a. <i>eītdas</i>	<i>yaeītdas</i>

Past

Singular	Plural
1. <i>wūṇdas</i> (or <i>wedas</i>)	<i>witditdas</i>
2. <i>windas</i>	<i>wō'das</i>
3. <i>tcūwindas</i>	<i>yawindas</i>
3a. <i>windas</i>	<i>yandas</i>

Syntactic Particles (§§ 79-86)

§ 79. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in their independent form are used chiefly for emphasis and in replying to questions. The incorporation of the object into the verb, and its inflection to show the subject, reduce to the minimum the need of pronouns as independent words.

¹ Let me be heavy.

² I become heavy (each season).

The pronoun for the first person singular is *hwe*, which serves for both subject and object. All other Athapascan languages have a word phonetically related to this. In Tolowa the word is *cī*; in Carrier, *sī*; and in Navaho, *cī*. The plural of the first person is *nehe*. It may be used of the speakers when more than one, or of the speaker and the person spoken to. Instead of *hwe* and *nehe*, longer forms (*hweeñ* and *neheeñ*) often occur. These seem to be formed by the addition of the particle *eñ*, which points to a person, contrasting him with another.

The second person singular is *niñ*, and the plural *nōhin*.

It is probable that originally there was no personal pronoun for the third person, its place being taken by the demonstratives and by incorporated and prefixed forms. In speaking of adult Hupa, when emphasis is required *xōñ* occurs. This appears to be *xō-*, the incorporated and prefixed form, and *eñ* mentioned above. For the plural, *yaxwoen* is sometimes heard.

§ 80. Possessive Pronouns

Weak forms of the personal pronouns are prefixed to the qualified noun to express possession. For the first and second person, *hwe* and *niñ* are represented by *hw-* and *n-*, which are completed according to the sounds which follow them. The first and second persons plural are represented by one and the same syllable, *nō-*, which may be prefixed without changing its form to any noun. The third person singular has *xō-* prefixed when an adult Hupa is referred to, but *m-* (receiving the same treatment as *hw-* and *n-* above), when the reference is to a Hupa child or very aged person, or to a person of another tribe or race. For animals and inanimate things, *m-* is also sometimes used, but for the former *k-* seems to be more frequent. When the possessor of the object is not known, *k-* is also employed.

A reflexive possessive is used where a chance for ambiguity exists. The form is *ad-* of which *d* is the initial sound of a syllable completed according to the sound which follows it.

§ 81. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns for the nearer person or object, which must be in sight, are *ded*, *haided*, and *haide*, which do not differ in meaning. The more remote object or person, whether in sight or not, is referred to by *yō* or *haiyō*. Still more remote is *yōū*, which is employed of places rather than of persons.

The Hupa employ *hai* referring to persons or things, singular or plural, in a manner that falls between our use of *that* (the demonstrative) and *the* (the definite article). It is employed before the third person of the possessive where our idiom does not require an article.

§ 82. Adjective Pronouns

There are a number of words, equivalent in meaning to ALL, EVERY, SEVERAL, etc., which stand alone, the person or thing limited by them being understood from the context.

The most important of these are the following:

<i>a'tiñ</i> all	<i>dūñhwee</i> nobody
<i>a'tinne</i> all people	<i>dūñhweō</i> somebody
<i>a'tinxō^eūnte</i> everything	<i>dīhweō</i> something
<i>a'tiñka^eūnte</i> every kind	<i>dīhwee</i> nothing
<i>a'tindiñ</i> every place	<i>dūñlūñhweōn</i> several people
<i>xōdaidehe</i> anything	<i>dūñlūñhweō^e</i> several things

§ 83. Numerals

The numerals to four are common to the Athapascan languages, most of which have cognate words for five also. From five to nine the Hupa numerals are not easily analyzed. Ten (*minlūñ*) means ENOUGH FOR IT. The numerals above ten are made by expressing addition for the numbers lying between the decimal terms and by multiplication for those terms. The meaning of *la^eitdikkīn*, one hundred, is not evident. No higher numbers exist, but the hundreds may be enumerated to a thousand or more.

A special termination is used when enumerating people. This seems to be an old suffix, *-nā* or *-ne*, meaning PEOPLE. Compare *la^e* and *lūwān*, *nax* and *nanin*, *tak* and *takūn*, *dīñk* and *dīñkin*, and *tcwōla^e* and *tcwōlane*, the numerals from one to five, for things and people respectively.

§ 84. Adverbs

Notwithstanding that place and time relations are freely expressed by means of verbal prefixes, a large number of adverbs are employed. These are for the most part closely connected with demonstrative pronouns in their meaning and the elements from which they are formed. Of the formative elements which do not also occur in demonstratives are those employed in expressing directions. These have a

common initial, *yĩ-*, which may after all be connected with the pronoun *yō*. The final elements are:

- <i>nũk</i> south or up stream	- <i>tsiñ</i> west or down a hill
- <i>de^e</i> north or down stream	- <i>mañ</i> the opposite side of a
- <i>dũk</i> east or up a hill	stream or the ocean

Besides the demonstrative source already mentioned, many adverbs are formed from nouns, adjectives, and verbs by means of suffixes indicating place, time, and manner. Some of these suffixes are the following:

- <i>diñ</i> and - <i>tcĩñ</i> (place)	- <i>ka</i> and - <i>xō</i> , - <i>ũx</i> (manner)
- <i>dũñ</i> and - <i>diñ</i> (time)	

§ 85. Post-positions

The post-positions not only follow the nouns which they limit, but they are joined to pronominal prefixes which stand for the limited noun whether it be expressed or not. The most important post-positions follow:

- <i>a</i> for, for the benefit of	- <i>nat</i> around
- <i>e^e</i> in	- <i>xa</i> after
- <i>ēdin</i> without, lacking	- <i>xũts</i> beside
- <i>an</i> out of	- <i>ta'</i> among
- <i>ũ</i> under, near	- <i>tis</i> over
- <i>ye</i> at the foot of	- <i>tũk</i> between
- <i>winna</i> around, encircling	- <i>ka</i> , - <i>kai</i> along
- <i>wũñ</i> toward or from	- <i>tcĩñ</i> toward
- <i>lan</i> with the help of	- <i>tcĩña</i> in front of
- <i>lai^e</i> on top	- <i>ka</i> , - <i>kai</i> after, following
- <i>L</i> with	- <i>kya</i> away from
- <i>na</i> after	- <i>kũt</i> on
- <i>naL</i> in the presence of	

§ 86. Conjunctions

The conjunctions in Hupa seem to be made from demonstratives, or adverbs derived from demonstratives. They usually end with the syllable *-ũñ*. For examples compare the following:

<i>haiũñ</i> <i>haiyaL</i> <i>haiyaLũñ</i> <i>haiyamĩL</i> <i>haiyamĩLũñ</i>	} and	<i>haiyahitdjitũñ</i> <i>haiyadetc</i>	} and then
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§ 87. Character of Sentence

The Hupa sentence expresses place and direction with very great minuteness and care. This is done both by the prefixes of the verb and by independent adverbs and adverbial phrases. In actual use these sentences are also accompanied by many gestures which might in themselves indicate all that is needful. That the act is repeated, is always stated, and frequently with redundancy, an adverb being employed in addition to the iterative prefix which the verb contains. Usually great care is taken, in making quotations, to state definitely who said or thought the matter quoted. Sequence of time is amply expressed, but other relations are often left to be inferred.

One hesitates to say whether the sentences are all very short or that there are none, but paragraphs instead. One short statement follows another, usually co-ordinate with it but still closely connected in the temporal sequence which carries with it purpose, cause, and result. The synthetic, holophrastic verb is often complete in itself, the other words in the sentence being employed to add distinctness or emphasis.

The greater burden in a Hupa discourse is on the speaker, who expresses with great exactness most of the concepts and their relations, leaving little to be inferred by the listener. Some of the younger generation, who are nearly or quite bilingual, employ Hupa in giving directions about work to be done, or in relating events in which they wish place-relations to be plain, but English for ordinary social discourse.

§ 88. Character of Vocabulary

The vocabulary of Hupa, although it contains words of considerable length, is not far from monosyllabism. It contains many monosyllabic nouns and particles, but a much larger number of polysyllabic verbs, and nouns and other parts of speech derived from verbs. These long words, however, are made up of elements possessed for the most part of great clearness of form and meaning. On the other hand, some of the monosyllables other than nouns and pronouns lack distinctness of meaning, and in some cases of form. In writing the language there is difficulty, therefore, to know just what should constitute a word, and whether certain elements are to be taken with the word before them or the one after them. In a language in which the accent is strong, words are set off from each other by it. In Hupa

the accent is not strong, and in most cases does not belong to the word, but to the sentence.

Nouns and pronouns are clear cut. They are capable of calling up definite and complete mental visions without the aid of associated words and word-elements. The large number of monosyllabic nouns in Hupa, and the still larger number in related languages, which do not occur in Hupa, points to the fact that the original form of Athapascan nouns was monosyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns have given place to polysyllabic ones in Hupa constantly for years, perhaps for centuries. This may have been due to the pleasure which the Hupa find in poetical descriptive names, but it was certainly due, in part, to the dropping of nouns out of the language at the death of persons who had had them for names. These dropped words were replaced by longer descriptive words coined for the purpose.

Only one word has been found in the language which appears to be reduplicated. The aboriginal flute is called *milimil* or *milmil* in Hupa, and in related dialects *balbál*. It is possible that some etymology will appear to explain this apparent exception.

Very few words or word-parts seem to be onomatopoeic in their origin. There is a verb, *kyūwindil* IT RANG, the root of which, *-dil*, no doubt represents the sound of striking metals. Another verb closely resembling this is *kyūwiñket*, which is used of the creaking of trees. The sounds of nature which occur may be represented, but they have no other meaning. They do not stand for the thing or animal which makes them: for example, *dil dūwenne* (*dil* IT SOUNDED) is said of an arrow striking the sky; *dál dūwenne* (*dál* IT SOUNDED), of a ball of wood striking a wall of obsidian; and *ka ka dūwenne* (*ka ka* IT SAID), of the cawing of a crow.

For the most part, both the monosyllabic words and the elements of the longer words are to all appearances the ultimate facts of the language. They express fundamental concepts and relations, which are no more resolvable into parts than are the syllables which express them. These elements, simple words, roots, prefixes, and suffixes, are not very numerous (probably less than a thousand), but the combinations of which they are capable are very great. Many combinations theoretically possible are not logically possible, and of these only those for which there was a frequent need in the life of the people really existed as words.

TEXT

THE ME^dDILDIÑ POOR MAN

Meedildĩn ¹	dedin ²	tcitteltcwen ³	haiũn ⁴	kittēkin ⁵	nikkyaō ⁶
Medildĩñ	poor	he grew.	And	spoon	large
tcil ⁷ an ⁷	haiũn ⁴	takeĩmmil ⁸	haiũn ⁴	laaiũx ⁹	hai ¹⁰ xōkittēkin ¹¹
he had.	And	she used to make soup.	And	at once	the his spoon
miL ¹²	yaaqōt ¹³	haiyō ¹⁴	takeĩmmil ⁸	miL ¹⁵	yaaxauw ¹⁶ haiũn ⁴
with	he used to poke up,	that one.	She used to make soup	then	he used to dip it up. And
aiwe ¹⁷	xōwũn ¹⁸	wakinnintats ¹⁹	haiyaL ²⁰	yauwxauw ²¹	tcōndesne ²²
away	from him	he cut a hole through.	And,	"Let me dip it up,"	he thought.
laaiũx ⁹	xō ²³	waniñqōts ²⁴	tcinnelēn ²⁵	hai	xōkittēkin laaiũx ⁹
And	in vain	it ran through.	He looked at	the	his spoon. At once

¹ meedil CANOE; -dĩñ locative suffix, PLACE OF OR PLACE AT (§§ 21, 84).

² dedin POOR, not having possessions.

³ tci- sign of 3d per. sing. (§ 33); -te- prefix, distributive as regards time or place (§ 34); -L, 3d modal in verbs, mostly transitives (§ 37); -tcwen verbal root, TO MAKE, TO DO, TO GROW; class II, con. 3, 3d per. sing.

⁴ hai- probably the article; -ũñ termination common to temporal adverbs and conjunctions.

⁵ kit- possessive prefix used of animals (§ 80); -tē HORN, the spoon was of horn.

⁶ nik- one of the prefixes of adjectives (§ 76); -tyaō root of adjective LARGE; compare *tōwĩkyaō* (note 125).

⁷ tci-, -L, see note 3; an verbal root meaning TO HAVE POSITION, hence the notion of possession.

⁸ ta-, prefix employed of soup-making, drinking, probably connected with *tō* WATER (§ 31); -ke- prefix, weak in form and of little force in meaning, it is connected with verbs requiring repeated motions for a single act (§ 34); -i- sign of customary tense (§ 34); -miL verbal root meaning TO LET FALL OR TO THROW SEVERAL SMALL OBJECTS OF THE SAME OR DIFFERENT KINDS, probably the cooking-stones in this case; class II, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

⁹ la-, the numeral ONE. There is an element of surprise at the quickness of the act.

¹⁰ hai, the article is always employed with the possessive third person.

¹¹ xō- possessive prefix of 3d per. sing. or pl., employed only of adult Hupa; see also note 5.

¹² miL pronominal prefix of 3d per. sing. when adult Hupa are not meant; -L post-position WITH.

¹³ ya- prefix used of motion up into, or horizontally through, the air (§ 31); -a sign of customary tense, a is due to the preceding a of ya; -qōt a verbal root used of pushing something into a yielding mass; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

¹⁴ hai- the article; -yō a demonstrative used of the more remote.

¹⁵ miL probably the same as in note 12, above; it is often used of time.

¹⁶ ya-, -a see note 13; -xauw verbal root referring to water or a liquid; class I, con. 1, cust., 3d per. sing.

¹⁷ aiwe AWAY, AT A DISTANCE, NOT IN THE PRESENCE OF; no connection with other words has been found.

¹⁸ xō- pronominal prefix of 3d per.; -wũñ post-position used of motion toward or away from, according to the context.

¹⁹ wa- prefix meaning THROUGH (§ 31); -kin- 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning (§ 84); -nĩn- 2d modal of completed action (§ 85); -tats verbal root TO CUT; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

²⁰ hai- probably the article; -ya- with hai- it forms an adverb there; -L perhaps the post-position (see note 12).

²¹ ya- see note 13; -ũñ sign of 1st per. sing.; class II, con. 1, pres. indef., 1st per. sing.

²² tc- deictic 3d per. sing.; -ne- 2d modal indicating progressive action; -ne verbal root, TO THINK; irregular verb, past def., 3d per. sing.

²³ xō indicates that whatever was attempted failed; it is to be construed with *yauwxauw* (see note 16).

²⁴ wa-, -nĩñ see note 19; -qōts verbal root.

²⁵ tc- deictic 3d per. sing.; -nel- contraction of -nũwĩL of which -nũ- is a 1st modal prefix of uncertain meaning and -wĩL- has w, 2d modal of inceptive action, and L, 3d modal of transitive force; -en verbal root meaning TO LOOK; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

yōneyidūka ²⁶ back of the fire up	mil from	xeekeitseL ²⁷ he threw it away.	Laaiūx At once	innafsdūkkai ²⁸ he got up.	Laaiūx At once
mitdai ²⁹ outside	teeniñyai ³⁰ he went out.	haiūñ Then	hai the	xōta ³¹ his father	haiyō xōldūwenne ³² that one said of him.
yeū ³³ Way	na teeniñyai ³⁰ across he has gone out	mūñkūtnikkyaō ³⁴ Mūñkūtnikkyaō.	haiūñ And	wūñ ³⁵ about it	xoikyūñ ³⁶ his mind
nañya ³⁷ studied	hai axōLteitdenne ³⁸ that he had said of him.	taistsē ³⁹ Sweathouse wood	mūxxa ⁴⁰ after it	tcittesyai ⁴¹ he went.	haiūñ And
xōLtelit ⁴² with him it burned.	xōLnoñillit ⁴³ With him it finished burning	mil then	yisxūñhit ⁴⁴ the next day	xōLedūñ adenne in the morning he said,	xa ⁴⁵ Well
hwa ⁴⁶ me	miñ wiñyaL ⁴⁷ for it come along.	hai The	daiditdiñ ⁴⁸ (explanation was)	haidaid tceīLauw ⁴⁹ there it always came out.	haiūñ Then

²⁶ yōn- the seat of honor back of the fire, CORNER; yī- a prefix common to names of direction; -dēt together with yī-, has the meaning of UP HILL and the derived meaning of EAST. The word as a whole applies to the bank back of the fire, where the belongings of the men are kept.

²⁷ zee- prefix meaning AWAY FROM, used with verbs of throwing; -k- first modal; -l- third modal; -seL verbal root, TO THROW, TO POUND; class II, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

²⁸ in- prefix of uncertain meaning, but employed of the act of rising from a reclining position; -na- prefix of iteration; -is- 2d modal of durative force; -dāk-, d 3d modal; -kai verbal root of acts performed with the legs (or other long instrument); class III, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

²⁹ mūdai- the space in front of the house; mil- is probably the possessive prefix; compare mūtidda (see note 131).

³⁰ tee- prefix meaning OUT OF; -yai verbal root TO GO, used only in singular; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

³¹ -ta³¹ FATHER, not used without a possessive prefix.

³² zōL- indirect object 3d per. sing.; -ne verbal root TO SAY, TO SING, TO MAKE A NOISE; irreg. past def., 3a per. sing.

³³ yeū adverb, probably from a demonstrative stem, employed of the most remote.

³⁴ mūñkūñ LAKE; -nikkyaō compare note 6. This is the name given to Trinity Summit, a mountain of 6,500 feet elevation east of Hupa valley.

³⁵ wūñ post-position which does not have a pronominal prefix for 3d per. sing., except when an adult Hupa is referred to.

³⁶ -kyūñ HEART OF VITALS, the organ of cognition.

³⁷ na- perhaps meaning DOWN, FROM ABOVE, is employed of things coming into existence; -ya verbal root TO GO, TO COME; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

³⁸ a- prefix found with verbs of thinking, saying, and doing.

³⁹ tais- probably connected with tai- of taikyūy; -te³⁹ BRUSH, SMALL SHRUBS.

⁴⁰ mūx- pronominal prefix of which only m- is constant, the remainder of the syllable depending on the sound which follows; -za post-position, AFTER.

⁴¹ tciL- deictic, 3d per. sing.; -te- distributive prefix; -s- 2d modal of durative action; -yai TO GO; class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

⁴² -lū verbal root TO BURN, in an intransitive sense only; class I, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

⁴³ -nō- prefix indicating the coming to a stop or end; -nū- for -nin-; class I, con. 2, past def., 3a per. sing.

⁴⁴ yisxūñ- apparently a verb, of which yī- deictic 3d per. sing. (not an adult Hupa), -s- 2d modal, and -xūñ the root; compare yisxan DAY; -hit conjunctive suffix WHEN.

⁴⁵ xa⁴⁵ seems to terminate a discussion and attract attention to some proposition. It is also used to give assent to a proposition.

⁴⁶ hu- pronominal prefix of 1st per. sing.; -a post-position meaning IN THE INTEREST OF, FOR THE BENEFIT OF.

⁴⁷ w- prefix found in a few presents where the inception of the act is in the mind of the speaker (compare § 28); -iñ- sign of 2d per. sing.; -ya verbal root TO GO; -L suffix indicating the continuation of the act over space; class I, con. 1, imp. 2d per. sing.

⁴⁸ daidūdiñ, the meaning of this word as a whole is more apparent than that of its parts. It is employed to introduce the explanation of a mystery. The first syllable, dai- or daid-, is apparently the element which gives the indefiniteness to interrogative and indefinite pronouns.

⁴⁹ tce- the prefix mentioned in teeniñyai (see note 30), but here it is used of coming out of the surrounding forest into a glade; -auw verbal root connected with -alc UNULATING MOVEMENT, as of a herd.

hai	xōlīñ	al̄tcitdenne ⁵⁰	xa ^ε	hwa	miñ	wiñyal	xatehe ⁵¹	xōsōlwe ⁵²
the	his brother	he told,	"Well	me	for it	come along."	"Well then,	let it kill him
hai	dihwō ^{ε 53}	niñ	eñ ⁵⁴	neskiñ	nax	tak	il̄tciñ ⁵⁵	kisxan ⁵⁶
the	something.	You	it is	first	two	three	together	stand
mittūk ⁵⁷	yeillane ^{ε 58}	haiūñ	tcittesdeL ⁵⁹	mūñkūtnikkyaō	xaīsdeL ⁶⁰			
between them	you must run in."	Then	they started.	Mūñkūtnikkyaō	they went up.			
Lōmatckūt̄tcīñ ⁶¹	teenindeL ⁶²	haiya	mikkyaqōttse ⁶³	naLauw ⁶⁴				
Lōmatckūt̄tcīñ	they came out.	There	elks	were about				
hai	Lōkūt ⁶⁵	haiūñ	axōl̄tcitdenne	niñ	dikkyūñ ⁶⁶	minna ⁶⁷		
the	glade on.	Then	he said to him,	"You	here	around		
sindañ ⁶⁸	hwe	yeū	kai	wānnaiwedate ⁶⁹	haiūñ	yaixōl̄tcwen ⁷⁰		
you stay.	I	distant	along	I will sit for them."	Then	they smelled him.		
xōkyatciñ ⁷¹	terate ⁷²	xōkūt	danakindiyan ⁷³	haiūñ	tak	tceseLwen ⁷⁴		
From him	they ran,	on him	they ran.	Then	three	he killed		

⁵⁰ *al̄tcitdenne* the form used in speaking to children or non-Hupa adults. Compare *axōl̄tcitdenne* (see note 38), which is the form ordinarily employed in speaking to adults.

⁵¹ *xa-* probably the same as *za* discussed in note 45; *-te-* is unknown; *-he* is used of concessions and negations which are sweeping.

⁵² *xō-* the object; *-s-* a prefix found in this verb only; *-ō-* regularly indicates 3d per. of imp.; *-L-* 3d modal; *-ue* verbal root TO KILL (this form of it occurs in pres. indef. and imp.), compare *-wen* in *tceseLwen* (see note 74).

⁵³ *dī-* probably connected with the demonstrative stem *de-*; *-hwe^ε* suffix often employed to give indefiniteness. This word is often used to avoid a word of ill omen.

⁵⁴ *eñ* is employed to point a contrast.

⁵⁵ *iL* has a reciprocal force; *-tcīñ* post-position, TOWARD.

⁵⁶ *-xan* verbal root employed of the standing position of trees.

⁵⁷ *mī-* pronominal prefix; *-tūk* post-position BETWEEN.

⁵⁸ *ye-* prefix INTO, the correlative of *tcē-*; *-l̄* 3d modal (*-ñ* sign of 2d per. sing. is dropped before it); *-La* verbal root TO RUN (the past has *-Lat*); *-ne^ε* suffix, often found in the imperative, having the force of duty or necessity; class IV, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

⁵⁹ *-deL* verbal root TO GO, used only of the dual or plural. Compare *tcittesyai* (see note 41); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.

⁶⁰ *xa-* prefix UP, here UP A HILLSIDE; the deictic (*tcit-*, is not used after *xa-*); class I, con. 3, past def., 3d per. dual.

⁶¹ *Lō* monosyllabic noun GRASS, LEAF; *-ma-* probably BORDER; *-tc-* diminutive suffix; *-kūt* UPON; *-tcīñ* locative suffix TOWARD.

⁶² Compare *teenīñyai* (see note 30), the singular. This is the dual.

⁶³ *mik-* possessive prefix; *-kya-* ANTLERS; *-qōttse* SHARP, POINTED (?).

⁶⁴ *na-* prefix used of indefinite motion over the ground. Compare *tcēilaug* (see note 49).

⁶⁵ *Lō* GRASS; *-kūt* ON.

⁶⁶ The position of the speaker. Compare *haiya*, the more remote position.

⁶⁷ *min-* pronominal prefix; *-na* post-position AROUND, ABOUT.

⁶⁸ *-s-* prefix found in the present of a few verbs (compare *-s-* 2d modal prefix); *-da* verbal root TO SIT, TO REMAIN; *-ñ* suffix, perhaps from *-ne^ε* (see note 58).

⁶⁹ *wān-* prefix used of pursuit or attempted action; *-w-* 2d modal of inceptive force; *-e-* sign of 1st per. sing., found only in the definite tenses; *-da-* verbal root TO SIT; *-te* suffix used to express the future.

⁷⁰ *yai-* sign of plural, employed of animals, etc. (for adult Hupa *-ya-* is used); *-xō-* object; *-tcwen* verbal root TO SMELL, it has *L* preceding it when the verb is transitive, but does not have it when it is intransitive; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. pl.

⁷¹ *xō-* pronominal prefix; *-kya-* post-position AWAY FROM; *-tcīñ* locative suffix.

⁷² *-alc* verbal root TO MOVE IN AN UNDULATING LINE. It is employed of the motion of a pack-train. The verb is singular, since the band as a whole is the subject. Class II, con. 3, past def., 3a per. sing.

⁷³ *da-* prefix which literally means ON SOMETHING HIGHER THAN THE GROUND, perhaps figurative here; *-kin-* of uncertain force; *-dī-* 3d modal; *-yan* verbal root used of the movements of deer and elk; class III, con. 1d, past def., 3a per. sing.

⁷⁴ *tcē-* sign of 3d per., a variant for *tcis-* and *tcis-* found in *tcisēLwen*, *tcisēLwen* (below); *-seL-*, *se-* is the prefix mentioned in note 68; *-s-* 2d modal, is dropped before *L* 3d modal; *-wen* verbal root TO KILL; class II, con. 3, past def., 3d per. sing.

mikkyaqöttse elks.	haiûñ Then	Lenaiyanillai ⁷⁵ they built a fire.	haiya There	xökût on them	yalweL ⁷⁶ it became night.	haiûñ Then
xôlin his brother	axôltcitdenne he said to him,	dikkyûñ "Here	tcin ⁷⁷ they say	dôn it is	dôxôlwil ⁷⁸ no one spends the night.	xa ⁷⁹ naidil ⁷⁹ Come let us go home.
menesgit ⁸⁰ I am afraid."	hai "The	dikkyûñ here	nehelweLte ⁸¹ we will spend the night."	haiûñ Then	dûnlûñhwôdin ⁸² several times	
axôltcitdenne he said it to him.	yûdinhit ⁸³ Finally	xôtcin on his account	tcûwintcwû ⁸⁴ he cried.	axôltcinne ⁸⁵ He kept telling him	mîl with	
naidil "Let us go home."	haiûñ Then	kût wilweL already it was night.	xôtesdûhwen ⁸⁶ It grew dark.	haiûñ Then	kittewestce ⁸⁷ the wind blew.	
yûdinhit Finally	axôltcitdenne he said to him,	xa ⁸⁸ tcwite "Well, firewood gather.	Lekilla ⁸⁸ Already	kût you have decided,	ainûwinsen ⁸⁹ "	
hwelweLte ⁹⁰ "I will spend the night."	haiûñ Then	kût already	Leyakillau ⁹¹ they gathered it.	Lenaiyanillai They built a fire.	xôhwôw ⁹² Some way	
akitdûwenne ⁹³ It sounded.	xôwinlit ⁹⁴ It thundered.	haiyahitdjit And then	haiyô adenne that one said,	xa ⁹⁵ naidil dau ⁹⁶ "Well, let us go home."		

⁷⁵ *Le-* prefix employed of motion mutually toward or position near each other; *-nai-* (*na*) iterative prefix often employed of habitual acts; *-ya-* sign of plural; *-nû-* for *-ntn-* because of the following *l*; *laí* verbal root employed of moving or handling more than one object; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. pl. The fire may have been ceremonial for the dressing of the elk.

⁷⁶ *ya-* sign of plural; *-l-* 3d modal, often of passive force; *-weL* form of a verbal root indicating the passing of the night. The verb may be considered as an active form with the object prefixed, the subject being some natural element or supernatural being, or as a passive form of which the subject is the young men in question.

⁷⁷ Of uncertain derivation, but probably connected with the root *-ne-n* TO SPEAK.

⁷⁸ *dô-* negative prefix; *-wil* form of the verbal root discussed above.

⁷⁹ *na-* iterative prefix used here with the meaning of returning whence they had set out; *-dil* verbal root to go, other forms of it are *-dûl* and *-deL* (see note 59); class I, con. 3, pres. indef., 1st per. dual.

⁸⁰ *me-* object; *-nes-*, of which *n-* is a prefix of uncertain meaning, and *-s-*, 2d modal (some sign for the first person singular would be expected, but a number of verbs have the first and third persons alike in form); *-gûl* verbal root TO FEAR; class IV, con. 3, pres. def., 1st per. sing.

⁸¹ *nehe-* object us, or subject of passive *we*.

⁸² *dûn-* stem or prefix found in expressions meaning SEVERAL OR NONE; *-Lûñ* MANY, MUCH; *-hûñ* expresses uncertainty or indefiniteness; *-diñ* locative suffix, but in numbers means TIMES.

⁸³ *yû-* probably connected with the demonstrative stem *yû*; *-diñ* locative suffix common with adverbs of time and place; *-hûl* conjunctive suffix THEN.

⁸⁴ *-tcwû* verbal root TO CRY, TO WEEP.

⁸⁵ *-tcin-*, *tcin-* would be expected, but the verb is quite irregular; *-ne* verbal root TO SAY; irreg., cust., 3d per. sing.

⁸⁶ *xô-* prefix giving absolute and impersonal force to the verb, used especially of weather conditions; *-te-* distribution; *-s-* 2d modal; *-d-* 3d modal; *-hûen* verbal root, no doubt connected with *-hûen* in *Lûhgin* BLACK.

⁸⁷ *kût-* prefix always found with the blowing of the wind, it may give the idea of continuousness to the act; *-we-* formative element which gives a durative force to verbs, especially in the passive; *-te-* verbal root indicating the action of the wind.

⁸⁸ *Le-* see note 75; *-ki-* perhaps giving the force of local distribution; *-l-* for *ñ* on account of the following *l*; *-la* shorter form of the verbal root *-lau* (see note 91); class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

⁸⁹ *ai-* apparently the same prefix which occurs in *axôltcitdenne* (below); *-nû-* prefix of unknown force; *-sen* verbal root TO THINK, other forms of it are *-siñ*, *-ne*; irreg. class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

⁹⁰ *hû-* object or subject ME or I.

⁹¹ *-kûl-* contraction for *-kûwil-*; *-lau*, verbal root; class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. sing.

⁹² *xô-* WAY OR MANNER; *-hûwôw*, compare *dihwôw* (see note 53).

⁹³ *-kût-* employed in the place of *-tcû-* when the subject is some unknown agent.

⁹⁴ *xô-* see note 92; *-Lûl* verbal root employed of noises such as a footfall. This verb in its impersonal form is used for the noise of the earthquake as well as of thunder.

⁹⁵ Evidently connected with *dô-* the negative prefix.

teitdenne⁹⁸ kūt dañ xō' ūnnildenne⁹⁷ naidil dōmūkkainasīñ⁹⁸
 he said, "already some in vain I said to you, 'Let us go home.' You did not want to."

haiūñ kiye anakitdenne⁹⁹ xōdjōx¹⁰⁰ xūndiñ haiyahitdjit xōwūñ
 Then again it sounded still closer. And then for him

xōdje¹⁰¹ tēōnda¹⁰² axōl¹⁰³teitdenne nax hai neskin mittūk yeīllane¹⁰⁴
 his mind was sorry. He said to him, "Two the first between you must run in

hai dikkyūñ nōniñxūts¹⁰⁵ miL haiūñ kūt nōltō¹⁰⁶n miL hai
 the here it lights when." And already it dropped. Then the

neskin mittūk yexōñan¹⁰⁵ haiyō nōltō¹⁰⁶n laaiūx yikyūwiñyan¹⁰⁶
 first between they ran in. That one lit. Immediately it began to eat

hai mikkyaqōttse laaiūx yinneLyan¹⁰⁷ haiyahitdjit laaiūx xō'
 the elks. Really it ate them up. And then at once in vain

xaitēñen¹⁰⁸ yīxōltsan¹⁰⁹ xōkūttein yaltō¹¹⁰n laaiūx hai neskiñ
 it looked for them. It found them. On them it jumped. Really the first

minnaikitdelai¹¹⁰ haiūñ xō' mūkkūt danadūwil¹¹¹al yūdiñhit a'tiñ
 it embraced. Then in vain at it he shot. Finally all

tēekinnīñits¹¹² haiyal hai xōliñ al¹¹³teitdenne nittsitdūkana¹¹³we¹¹³
 he shot out. And the his brother he told, "Your quiver

⁹⁸ Note the omission of the prefix *a-* when the object stands directly before a verb of saying or thinking.

⁹⁹ *ān-* the form *a-* takes when followed by *n*; *nīl-* indirect object of 2d per. sing. Compare *xōl-* in *axōl¹⁰³teitdenne* (below). These indirect objects are really adverbial phrases containing a post-position rendered in full by WITH YOU.

¹⁰⁰ *dō-* negative prefix; *māk-* pronominal prefix; *-kai-* post-position AFTER; *-na-* prefix OVER THE SURFACE OF THE GROUND; *-s-* 2d modal; *-ñ-* sign of 2d per. sing.; *-a-* verbal root TO HAVE IN ONE'S POSSESSION. The literal meaning of this phrase is said to be, YOU DID NOT CARRY AFTER IT IN YOUR HAND.

¹⁰¹ *-na-* iterative prefix. Compare *akitdenne* (see note 98), employed of the first occurrence.

¹⁰² *xōdj-* probably for *xōc* RIGHT, EXACT, *te* having become *dj* because of their change from final to initial position.

¹⁰³ *xō-* possessive prefix; *-dje* MIND.

¹⁰⁴ *-dai-* verbal root TO WASTE AWAY.

¹⁰⁵ *nō-* prefix denoting a position of rest on the surface of the ground; *-ññ-* 2d modal required by *-nō-*; *-xōlts* verbal root TO PASS THROUGH THE AIR.

¹⁰⁶ *-tōⁿ* verbal root TO JUMP, TO ALIGHT. As is usual with Hupa verbs, the root defines the kind of act without reference to the fact of its beginning or ending, which is expressed by prefixes. Class IV con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

¹⁰⁷ *-xō-* prefix of unknown meaning; *-an* verbal root TO RUN, used of dual and plural only; compare *yeīllane¹⁰⁴* (p. 155); class I, con. 1, past def., 3d per. dual.

¹⁰⁸ *yī-* deictic of the third person when not a Hupa adult; *-kyū-* 1st modal prefix used when the object is not known or not definitely named; *-yan* verbal root TO EAT; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

¹⁰⁹ *-nel-* contraction for *-nūwil-*, of which the prefix evidently has reference to the completion of the act; class II, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

¹¹⁰ *za-* prefix indicating PURSUIT or SEARCH (the form *zai-* is due to the subject not being an adult Hupa); *teñ-* probably a contraction for *-tūwiñ-*; *-en* verbal root TO LOOK; class I, con. 1, past def., 3a per. sing.

¹¹¹ *-xō-* object; *-L-* 3d modal; *-tsan* verbal root TO SEE, TO FIND; class II, con. 4, past, 3a per. sing.

¹¹² *mīn-* pronominal prefix; *-nai-* post-position AROUND; *-lai-* verbal root apparently connected with *la* HAND. It was explained that the wings had teeth on them; these the bird drove into the tree with great force.

¹¹³ *da-* prefix POSITION HIGHER THAN THE EARTH; *-nadū-* indicating a position perpendicular as regards some plane; *-a-* verbal root TO HAVE POSITION; *-l* suffix denoting repeated acts.

¹¹⁴ *tē-* prefix OUT OF; *-tīn-* prefix used of acts completed, the means being exhausted; *-its* verbal root TO SHOOT; class I, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

¹¹⁵ *nīl-* possessive prefix; *-lūddūkana¹¹³*we THE QUIVER OF FISHER-SKIN; *-na-* prefix OVER THE SURFACE OF THE GROUND; *-we* verbal root TO CARRY.

hwūwūlwūL¹¹⁴ haiyal xōwālwāL¹¹⁵ yūdiñhit xōLūkai¹¹⁶ tesyayei¹¹⁷
 throw to me." And he threw it to him. Finally dawn came
 xōa^ctindiñ yūdiñhit naxaits¹¹⁸ na^etses nōndiyan¹¹⁹ haiyahitdjit
 everywhere. At last two only arrows were left. And then
 missa^ckiñits¹²⁰ haiyahitdjit naltsit¹²¹ tsisselwen haiyal tcenañdeL
 he shot in its mouth. And then it fell. He killed it. And they came out.
 natesdeL kūt tcisselwen haiya medildin nañdeL a^ctiñka^cñte¹²²
 They started Already he killed it. There Medildin they arrived. All kinds
 home.
 ada¹²³ tcittes^can¹²⁴ haiññ La tōwiñkyañ¹²⁵ yaxōltcitdenne medil
 for he came to own. Then once the river was high. They said to him, "Canoe
 himself
 tañtūw¹²⁶ hai dōhexōtcōyawenne¹²⁷ xō^c wūnnayañsdeL¹²⁸
 take out of the water." The he did not do it. In vain they tried.
 dōhetayañstan¹²⁹ haiya xanañsdeL haiññ Lūwūnniñ¹³⁰ tceniñyai
 They did not take it out. There they came up again. Then alone he went out.
 hai medil xañstan taikyūw mitsitda^c¹³¹ datcūwintan haiyūka
 The canoe he brought up. Sweat-house its roof he put it on. This way
 kitteseōx anūweste¹³²
 smart his nature was.

¹¹⁴ *hwū-* indirect object; *-wūL-* from the prefix *-wa-* (used of handing an object to any one) and *L* 3d modal, *a* becomes *ū* in 2d per. sing., probably because of the accent; *-wūL*, verbal root to THROW A LONG OBJECT; class II, con. 2, 2d per. sing. imp.

¹¹⁵ *xō-* indirect object; *-L-*, *-ñL* would be expected; *-wāL* another form of the root in *hwūwūlwūL*; class II, con. 2, past def., 3d per. sing.

¹¹⁶ *xō-* see note 86 above; *-L-*, prefix found with many adjectives; *-kai* root of adjective WHITE. The "Dawn maiden" is meant by *xōLūkai*.

¹¹⁷ *-yei* suffix giving emphasis to verb indicating the accomplishment of acts which are gradual, or which require several attempts.

¹¹⁸ *nac-* TWO; *-añs* limiting suffix ONLY.

¹¹⁹ *-di-* 3d modal; *-yan* verbal root used of the position of certain objects, such as baskets, etc.

¹²⁰ *mi-* possessive prefix; *-sa^c* MOUTH.

¹²¹ *na-* prefix DOWN; *-l-* 3d modal; *-tsit* verbal root to FALL.

¹²² *a^ctiñ-* ALL; *-ka-* suffix with adjectives and adverbs, KIND, WAY; *-te* verbal root TO APPEAR, TO HAVE A CERTAIN NATURE.

¹²³ *ad-* reflexive pronoun; *-a* post-position FOR. Compare *hwa* (see note 46).

¹²⁴ Compare *tcil^can*, note 7, p. 153.

¹²⁵ *tō-* the more common word for water in Athapaskan dialects (in Hupa it is found in compounds and is applied to the ocean); *-kyañ* adjectival root to BECOME LARGE.

¹²⁶ *ta-* prefix OUT OF THE WATER; *-ñ-* sign of 2d per. sing.; *-tūw-* verbal root employed of long objects only; this form is confined to the indefinite tenses; class I, con. 1, 2d per. sing. imp.

¹²⁷ *dō-* negative prefix; *-he-* adds emphasis to the negation (see note 51, p. 156); *-xō-* not know deictic; *-ne* verbal root TO DO A SPECIFIED ACT; irreg. past def., 3d per. sing.

¹²⁸ *wūñ-* see note 35.

¹²⁹ *-tan* verbal root, another form of *-tūw* (see note 126).

¹³⁰ *Lū-* probably from *La^c* ONE.

¹³¹ *mit-* possessive prefix; *-tsitda^c* ROOF (?).

¹³² *-wes-* see note 87; *-te* (see note 122).

TLINGIT

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON



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TLINGIT

By JOHN R. SWANTON

§1. DISTRIBUTION

THE Tlingit or Koluschan language is spoken throughout southeastern Alaska, from Dixon entrance and Portland canal to Copper river, with the exception of the south end of Prince of Wales island, which is occupied by Haida. An interior tribe of British Columbia, the Tagish, are said to belong to the same linguistic stock, but it is by no means certain that they have not adopted the language from their Chilkat neighbors. Such a change is said, at any rate, to have taken place in the the language of the Ugalakmiut, or Ugalentz, of Kayak island and the neighboring mainland, who were formerly Eskimo and have now become thoroughly Tlingitized.

The principal part of the material on which this sketch is based was obtained at Sitka, but I also have considerable material from Wrangell, and one long story from Yakutat. Although each town appears to have had certain dialectic peculiarities, it would appear that the language nowhere varied very widely and that the differences were mainly confined to the different arrangement and handling of particles; the lexical changes being comparatively few and the structure practically uniform. The greatest divergence is said to exist between the Yakutat people on the one hand and the people of Wrangell and the other southern towns on the other—the speech at Sitka, Huna, Chilkat, Auk, Taku, and Killisnoo being intermediate—but I have not enough material to establish the entire accuracy of this classification. Anciently the people belonging to this stock, or a part of them, lived at the mouths of the Nass and Skeena rivers, on the coast now occupied by the Tsimshian, and the universal acknowledgment of this by the people themselves is probably evidence that it was at no very ancient date. Perhaps this recent spread of the people is responsible for the comparative uniformity of their

language. Phonetically, at least, the divergence between the Skidegate and Masset dialects of Haida is much greater than that of the various Tlingit dialects.

Although they must be treated as entirely distinct stocks, Tlingit, Haida, and the languages of the interior Indians, or Athapascan, may be classed in one morphological group. The two former agree in the order which the processes and usually the words themselves observe, although it is not imperative in Tlingit, as in Haida, that the verb should stand at the end. The two also resemble each other in expressing location by means of a multitude of post-positions, or particles with the aspect of post-positions; but Tlingit is noteworthy for its entire lack of locative affixes to the verb, as well as for extreme punctiliousness in expressing the state of an action—as to whether it is beginning, completed, in a transitory state, etc. In spite of these peculiarities and the fact that there is very little lexical similarity, several processes present such striking similarities that, in conjunction with the morphological agreement, an impression is given of a more intimate former relationship.

PHONETICS (§§ 2, 3)

§ 2. Sounds

The following table gives Tlingit phonetics arranged so as to show the inter-relationships of sounds:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Semi-vowel
Labials	—	—	—	—	—	<i>w</i>
Dentals	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t!</i>	(<i>s</i>)	<i>n</i>	—
Sibilants	—	<i>s c</i>	<i>s!</i>	—	—	—
Affricatives, <i>s</i> series	<i>dz</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts!</i>	—	—	—
Affricatives, <i>c</i> series	<i>dj</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>tc!</i>	—	—	—
Anterior palatals	—	—	<i>k!</i>	—	—	—
Palatals	<i>gg</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k!</i>	<i>x y</i>	—	<i>y</i>
Velars	—	<i>q</i>	<i>q!</i>	<i>x</i>	—	—
Laterals	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l!</i>	<i>l</i>	—	—
Breathing						<i>h</i>

Vowels: *ū* (or *ō*), *u* (or *o*), *A*, *a* (*ā* under the accent), *ī* (or *ē*), *i* (or *e*).

Many of these also occur in Haida, to the account of which language the student is referred; but the *l* and *ñ* of the latter language, along with the entire labial series, except *w*, are wanting, although *m* appears in a few words imitating natural sounds and in words intro-

duced from other stocks, such as the Tsimshian; *l*, however, is usually transliterated as *n*. To make up for this loss of phonetic elements, the number of sibilants and related sounds is greatly increased. Where Haida has only *s*, *dj*, *tc*, and *tc!*, we find here *s*, *s!*, *c* (pronounced like English *sh*), *dj*, *tc*, *tc!*, *dz*, *ts*, and *ts!*. The *g* is not pronounced so far back as Haida *g*, but, on the other hand, there is a sonant (*y*),¹ which is pronounced by the younger people exactly like English *y*. As indicated, three palatal fortes seem to be used; but it is so difficult to distinguish *k!* from *k*! that I have not been able to carry out the distinction in my texts. After many palatals a slightly sounded *u* (or *o*) occurs, represented by *u* or *o*, which develops in certain situations into a full *u* (or *o*) sound.

§ 3. Phonetic Processes

Harmonic changes are very few and special. Thus the reflexive prefix *c* appears as *tc* or *dj* occasionally, though I am unable to lay down a rule for the alteration, especially since it occurs in words otherwise identical, as *wuckik!iyê'n* or *wudjikik!iyê'n* BROTHERS TO ONE ANOTHER. Another tendency is for a final surd to change to the corresponding sonant when a vowel is suffixed, as—

<i>gawā'q</i> eye	<i>duqawā'ge</i> his eye
<i>yugo'qtc</i> the trap	<i>yugo'qdjayu</i> the trap it was
<i>yēk</i> spiritual helper	<i>duyē'gî</i> his spiritual helper
<i>lēla'tc gadu'xidjā'ge</i> nothing to kill with (instead of <i>lē'latic gadu'xidjā'ge</i>)	

More important than either of the above is the employment of *o* or *u* in place of *i* or *e* when preceded by certain sounds. This takes place usually when *x*, *g*, or *q!* precedes and is itself preceded by *o* or *u*. Thus we have *wuqō'x* TO GET TO A CERTAIN PLACE BY CANOE and *wuqōxō'n* HE HAD FORMERLY COME ASHORE THERE; *kunū'k* DID, *kunugū'n* WHILE DOING. In *duq!ua'* HIS MOUTH (from *q!a* mouth), *at uxua'* HE ATE SOMETHING (from *xa* TO EAT), the *u* is inserted.

Since *y* belongs to the same series of *k* sounds, it is treated in the same manner, and, on account of the weakness of the sound, changes to *w*. Therefore, when *yi* is suffixed to a word ending in *u*, it changes to *wu*; as, *Xuts!nuwū'* GRIZZLY-BEAR FORT, instead of *Xuts!nuyî'*; *dutuwu'* HIS MIND, instead of *dutuyî'*; and we might add *duḡā'wu* HIS DRUM (from *gao* drum). Sometimes, though not invariably, *wu* is

¹See Phonetics of Tsimshian.

used after *a*, especially when *a* is accented: as, *anqā'wu* CHIEF, *gok*ḡwanā'wu* IF THERE WERE GOING TO BE DEATH, *ḡcaxā'wu* HIS HAIR. A similar phenomenon exists in Kwakiutl, Chinook, and Dakota.

The strengthening of *u*, as in *ḡuyā'gu* HIS CANOE (from *yāk** canoe) and *ḡaq ā'ḡunago'qoawe* WHEN SALMON WERE RUNNING UP (from *ā'ḡunagoq**), must not be confused with this.

Contraction of *a-i* to *e* occurs, and will be referred to on p. 172.

§ 4. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are indicated by affixes and by juxtaposition, reduplication being absolutely wanting. Suffixes are few compared with prefixes, but the number of prefixes is not very great, the categories of ideas expressed in this manner being limited. The word-unit is, on the whole, very loose, so that many prefixes might as well be considered as particles. Some of them seem to be essentially of the character of modal adverbs. Others, whose connection with the verb is even weaker, are pronouns and local adverbs. The last group is apparently much more closely connected with the noun, in regard to which particles of this class appear as post-positions, while in relation to the verb they appear as prefixes. A number of elements which appear as suffixes of both verbs and nouns are weak in character and are very intimately connected with the word to which they are attached. In some cases they cause or undergo phonetic changes which result in a still closer amalgamation of the two constituent elements.

§ 5. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The distinction between noun and verb is fairly clear, although a number of stems appear both as verbs and nouns, and a few nominal stems appear as incorporated adverbial elements. Plurality is not expressed in the noun, but there is a suffix indicating the collective. The plural of terms of relationship is formed by the same element that expresses the third person plural of the personal pronoun. Possessive pronouns are related to the personal pronouns, but the idea of possession requires the addition of a suffix to the noun possessed. The possessive forms for terms of relationship differ from those for other nouns. There are no true cases, although some post-positions which express local relations are intimately connected with the noun. The number of these is very large.

The most characteristic trait of the verb is the occurrence of a number of prefixes, the significance of which has come to be so weak that they appear rather as formal elements than as clearly distinct categories. It has not been possible to give more than an enumeration of these. They are evidently modal in character and may occur in groups. A few suffixes are common to verbs and nouns. Verbal suffixes are temporal or semi-temporal in character, express finality, or transform verbal expressions into nouns. The Tlingit has a very strong tendency to recapitulate statements by means of demonstratives, which are prefixed to nominal and verbal expressions, as well as used with post-positions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 6-24)

The Noun (§§ 6-10)

§ 6. Structure

Nominal stems are mostly monosyllabic and quite distinct from verbal stems. (See §§ 25, 26.)

Nouns are compounded by juxtaposition, the qualifying noun preceding the one qualified; as,

<i>gaqā'n-q!ōs</i> sun-feet (=sun-beams)	<i>lēq!-k!udā's</i> red-snapper coat
<i>xā!-s!āx^u</i> root-hat	<i>qo'sa-xa-qoan</i> man-eater-people

Parts of the body, except in composition, are always classified by placing *qa* MAN before those belonging to a human being, and the name of the corresponding animal before those belonging to animals; as,

<i>qadjī'n</i> a human hand	<i>qaq!ō's</i> a human foot
<i>qavā'q</i> a human eye	<i>tanca'</i> a sea-lion's head
<i>qagū'k</i> a human ear	<i>qowakā'nq!a</i> a deer's mouth

Nouns consisting of a theme and post-positions occur; as,

cī-t!-ka' (*cī-* behind-on) Sitka. (See § 23, nos. 24, 29.)

More common are nouns containing a possessive element (*-yī* or *-ī*) (see § 10):

<i>gīts!o qoa'nī</i> sky people	<i>s!atc ā'nī</i> Moss Town
<i>xāt qoa'nī</i> salmon people	<i>tān q!adadjī'ūyī</i> sea-lion bristles
<i>yao teyī'</i> herring rock	

Here may belong—

Kîks-â' dî people of the island *an-qā'-wo* town's man (= chief)
Kiks (a Tlingit clan)

Other compounds are:

Gô'-na-na foreign tribe (the in- *ts'û-tā't* another night (= morn-
land Athapascan) ing)
Dekî'-na far-out tribe (the
Haida)

Nouns formed from clauses also occur:

wu-c-ta-cā'-yî a married couple. (See *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *c-* reflexive [§ 11];
ta probably = *da* [§ 14.4]; *ca* to marry; *yî* [§ 20.2]
yu-t'!aq'!ā'-ye-t mortar (*yu-* that [§ 12]; *t'!aq'!ā* to pound; *-ye* [§ 20.2];
-t purposive suffix [§ 20.1])
tō-ux-si-yēt whistle (*tō* into; *ux* to blow; *si* [?]; *ye* [§ 20.2]; *-t* [§ 20.1])
Yāk^u-kalasegâ'k^u canoe-resting-place (a place name) (*yāk^u* canoe;
ka-, *la-*, *se-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.4, 1]; *ga* stem [?])
Kat-naq-tîn, white-rock-on-top-of-another (Ring island) (?)
Yū'q'!a-ka'nax-at-yadugu'q point he threw something across (*yū-*
demonstrative; *q'!a* a point; *ka'nax* post-position probably com-
pounded of *ka* ON, and *nax* NEAR; *at* thing; *ya-*, *du-* [§ 15.3; § 17.3]
verbal prefixes; *guq* to throw)
yu-ac-iga'-wusuwu'-at the thing that helped him (*yu-* demonstra-
tive; *ac* personal pronoun of third person; *ga* for; *wu-* verbal
prefix; *su* stem; *-wu* infinitive or possessive suffix)
Cē'nyak'!u-Lāx moldy-corner (of salmon), (a personal name) (*cē'nyā*
corner; *k'!u* probably diminutive suffix; *Lāx* moldy)

Adjectives, except numerals, follow the noun qualified.

§ 7. Intensive Suffix

When special attention is to be paid to anything, an intensive suffix, *-tc*, is employed. Thus *Ēingĭ'ttc* is the intensive form of *Ēingĭ't* PEOPLE; *Kîksâdî'tc*, the emphatic form of the name of the clan *Kîksâ' dî*; *qawagē'tc*, the emphatic form of *qawā'q* EYES; *ūhā'ntc*, the emphatic form of *ūhā'n* (WE); and *Lēlâ'tc* NEVER, the emphatic form of the negative particle *Lēl* NOT.

§ 8. Diminutive Suffix

Smallness is indicated by suffixing *-k'!o* or *-k'!u*; as,

ṣîṣtc'!i'k'!o little frog (from *atk'!â'tsk'!o* a small boy (this
ṣîṣtc' frog) always takes the diminutive)
āk'!u little lake (from *ā* lake) *duyâ'tk'!u* her little child

This suffix is used much with terms of relationship, sometimes probably in an endearing sense; as,

cxank!^u grandchild

sik!^u daughter

tik!^u grandparent

kik!^u nephew or niece

lak!^u little mother, mother's
sister

§ 9. Collective

With animate or inanimate objects, but more often the latter, the sense of A LOT OF OR A HEAP OF is expressed by suffixing *q!* or *q'!*; as,

Ẽing'it man or men

Ẽing'itq! many men together

ta stone

teq! stones lying in a heap

q!āt! island

q!āt!q'! islands

hīt house

hītq'! houses

gux slave

guxq! slaves

That this is not a true plural is shown on the one hand by the fact that its employment is not essential, and on the other by the fact that it is occasionally used where no idea of plurality, according to the English understanding of that term, exists. Thus *yuyā'i lanq!* THE BIG WHALE may be said of a single whale, the suffix indicating that the whale was very large, and that it had many parts to be cut out. Therefore it may best be called a collective suffix.

With terms of relationship the plural is more often indicated by placing *has* after the noun:

dukā'k his uncle, *dukā'k has*
his uncles

duā't his aunt, *duā't has* his
aunts

Has also fulfills the office of a personal pronominal prefix in the third person plural, but it is probable that the pronominal function is secondary (see § 11).

Instead of *has*, some terms of relationship take *yên*, often in conjunction with the collective suffix *q!*; as,

dukā'ni his brother-in-law

dukā'niyên his brothers-in-law

kik! younger brother

wuckik!iyē'n brothers to each
other (*wu-* § 15.4; *c-* § 11)

duca't his wife

duca'tq!iyên his wives

§ 10. Possession

Possession is expressed by the possessive pronoun, which precedes the noun, and by a suffix which is attached to the term for the thing possessed, except when it is a term of relationship or part of the body,

or one of a few other terms. This suffix is *-yi* after the vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, *ī*, *ē*, and sometimes after *a*; *-i* after consonants; and *-wu* and *-wo* after *u* or *o* and occasionally after *a*. Examples are—

yao tē'yi herring's rock
xīt̄c/k'lū cīyi' little frog's
 song

xāt qoa'nī salmon people
ʔuts! nuwu' grizzly-bear's fort

The possessive pronouns are—

ax my
i thy
du his
ac his own

ha our
yi your
hasdu their

Examples—

axī'c my father
duLa' his mother
duaxā'yi his paddle
duwuts!ā'gayi her cane
hasducayī'nayī their anchor

ica't thy wife
duṭē'q! his heart
duṭcū'nī his dream
duhī'tī his house
duā'nī his town

The demonstrative *a* may sometimes replace the forms of the third person; as, *acā'yi* HIS HEAD.

It seems possible that the suffix *-i* (*-u*, *-yi*, *-wu*) is identical with the participial suffix to be discussed in § 20.2.

§ 11. The Personal Pronoun

There are three series of personal pronouns: the subjective, objective, and independent. The last of these evidently contains demonstrative elements, and may be strengthened by the intensive suffix (§ 7). The third person objective with verbs and post-positions is sometimes *a*, while *du* and *hasdu* are used *only* with post-positions. In the following table these pronouns are given, together with the possessive pronoun:

	Subjective	Objective	Possessive	Independent
1st per. sing. . . .	<i>x, xa</i>	<i>xAt</i>	<i>ax</i>	<i>xa</i>
2d per. sing. . . .	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>wae'</i>
3d per. sing. . . .	—	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ du \\ ac \end{array} \right\}$	<i>du</i>	<i>hu</i>
3d per. sing. reflexive —	—	<i>c</i>	<i>ac</i>	—
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>tu</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>uhā'n</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>yi</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>yiwoā'n</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	—	$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} a \\ (has) \\ hasdu \end{array} \right\}$	<i>hasdu</i>	<i>has</i>

In composition the objective pronoun always precedes the subjective, and both may be separated by verbal prefixes. The use of the independent pronoun in a sentence does not affect the verbal compound, and the pronominal prefixes must be repeated.

The subjective pronoun appears as the subject of all active verbs, no matter whether they have an object or not. Some verbs that have no object take an indefinite object, *at* SOMETHING; for instance,

at xa xa I eat something

at xa cōq I laugh

Has is freer in its position than the pronouns described before. It seems probable that it was not originally a pronoun.

Examples of the use of the pronoun are the following:

xatc q'axāwō's'īn I questioned him (*xa* I, independent; *-tc* intensive suffix [§ 7]; *q'ā* mouth [§ 14.1]; *xa* I, subjective, *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *-s'īn* stem)

hu xatc q'awō's'īn he questioned me (*hu* independent pronoun; *xatc* emphatic form of objective)

iq'axawō's'īn I questioned thee (*i* thee; *q'ā* mouth; *xa* I)

wae'tc xat q'ewō's'īn thou questionedst me (*wae'tc* emphatic form of independent pronoun; *xat* me; *q'ā-i* contracted to *q'e* mouth thou)

uhā'ntc q'atwō's'īn we questioned him (*uhā'ntc* emphatic form of independent pronoun; *tu* we, subjective)

wae'tc haq'ewō's'īn thou questionedst us (*ha* us)

uhā'ntc yiq'atwō's'īn we questioned you (*yī* you; *q'ā* mouth; *tu* we, subjective)

xagūx I am crying

uhā'n gax tū'satī' we are crying (*tu* we; *sa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *tī* to be)

ye yurwaqā' she said thus (*ye* adverbial, thus; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *qā* to say)

ye yā'xoaga I said thus (*x* I; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2])

ixasitī'n I saw thee (*i* thee; *xa* I; *si-* prefix [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)

yixasitī'n I saw you (*yī* you)

xoasitī'n I saw him (*x-* I; the use of *oa* here is not explained)

xat'yisitī'n ye saw me (*xat* me; *yī* ye)

hayisitī'n ye saw us (*ha* us)

has'yisitī'n ye saw them (*has* them)

Gaya' kade' has awaā'x they heard it on Gaya' (*kade'* on; *has* they; *a-* indefinite pronoun referring to *cī* song; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *ax* to hear)

aka't has gox ayu' has aosit̃n when they paddled toward it they saw it (*a*- indefinite pronoun; *kat* toward; *has* they; *gox* to go by canoe; *a-yu* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *a*- indefinite pronoun; *o*- [§ 17.2]; *si*- [§ 18.1]; *t̃n* to see; here *a* is used three times; first, replacing *x̃xtc!* FROG as object of the post-position *kat*; second, in combination with *yu*, performing the function of a conjunction, WHEN; and, third, in the principal verb, again taking the place of *x̃xtc!*)

The pronoun is contracted with a few verbal prefixes. The *i* combines with the terminal vowel of preceding elements, as in *xat q'ewū's/in* THOU QUESTIONEST ME (*q'!A-i* = *q'!e* mouth thou; *xa* and the prefix *wa-* form *xoa*, although *xoa* may perhaps originate in other ways also. Contractions are particularly characteristic of the future, which has a prefix *gu-*. This combines with the first person to *gwa* (for *guwa*); with the second person to *ge* (for *gu-i*). These forms will be discussed later on (§ 15.5).

§ 12. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

The demonstrative pronouns are used with nouns, with verbs when changed into nouns, in the formation of connectives, and with certain elements which transform them into independent demonstratives.

1. *he* indicates an object very near and always present.
2. *ya* indicates an object very near and present, but a little farther away than the preceding.
3. *yu* indicates an object more remote, but it has now come to perform almost the function of an article.
4. *we* indicates an object far remote and usually entirely invisible.

It has come to be used almost with the freedom of *yu*.

Following are examples of their use:

<i>he'tingit̃</i>	} this person	<i>he'do</i>	this place here
<i>ya'tingit̃</i>		<i>yā't!a</i>	this place, this person
<i>yu'tingit̃</i>	the person	<i>yū'do i'c ā'ñi</i>	there is thy father's town
<i>we'tingit̃</i>	that person	<i>ayu', awe'</i> ,	when, that being done

Some of them are also employed with post-positions; as, *hāt* HITHER. Sometimes, particularly in songs, another demonstrative, *yadi*, is heard, which is evidently compounded from *ya*. It differs from *ya* in being used to refer to a person who has just been spoken of, but is not actually present.

The Verb (§§ 13-21)

§ 13. Structure

Verbal stems are, on the whole, monosyllabic. They take a considerable number of prefixes and a few suffixes. Most of the prefixes have a very weak meaning, and appear in many cases as purely formal elements, while in other cases the underlying meaning may be detected. It seems easiest to classify these prefixes according to their position. In the transitive verb the object precedes the whole verbal complex. Then follow prefixes, stem, and suffixes in the following order:

Prefixes (§§ 14-18)

- (1) Nominal prefixes
- (2) First modal prefixes.
- (3) Pronominal subject.
- (4) Second modal prefixes.
- (5) Third modal prefixes.
- (6) Stem.
- (7) Suffixes.

§ 14. NOMINAL PREFIXES

A few monosyllabic nouns are prefixed to the verb. I have found the following:

1. *q'a* MOUTH OR LIPS.

qeq'ē'dī ayu' ye'q'ayaga toward morning she spoke thus (*ayu'* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *ye* thus; *q'a* mouth; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *qa* to say)

yuxā'nas! adā'x q'aodisa' he blew upon the raft (*yu* demonstrative; *xā'nas!* raft; *a* indefinite pronoun; *dax* on; *q'a* mouth; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *dī-* verbal prefix [§ 18.3]; *sa* to blow)

2. *tu* MIND.

atcawē' twuwūtsi'n therefore (the *Kīksa'dī*) are brave (*tu* mind; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *lī-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *tsīn* strong)
Lax wa'sa twuwū'k he felt very sad (*Lax* very; *wa'sa* how; *tu* mind; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *nuk* sad)

3. *tu* POINT.

dāq ā'banago'goarwe when they were running ashore in a crowd (*dāq* ashore; *a* demonstrative; *tu* point, i. e. crowd; *na-* at the same time when [§ 17.5]; *go'goarwe* they run)

4. *da-* is employed sometimes with words meaning TO SAY OR TELL, when it seems to indicate an indirect object.

dukā'niyèn ye daya'duga, his brothers-in-law spoke to him thus (*du-* his; *kā'niyèn* brothers-in-law; *ye* thus; *da-* indirect object; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *du-* [§ 17.3]; *ga* to say)

§ 15. FIRST MODAL PREFIXES

1. *cu-* usually stands before all other prefixes, and indicates that the action of the verb is total, applying to all of the people or objects involved.

got cū'waṣṣ they had been all killed off

yadē'x-tāk^u cunaṣṣ'ṣawe when these two years were over (*ya-* these; *dēx* two; *tāk^u* year; *cu-* totally; *na-* at the same time when [§ 17.5]; *ṣṣ* to finish; *awe* when)

axodē' yaqā' cunagū't he was leading all these men among them (*a* indefinite pronoun; *xodē* among; *ya* demonstrative; *ga* man; *cu-* totally; *na-* at the same time when [§ 17.5]; *gu-* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

ye yèn ha'sdu cuq! ā'wadja thus there they all he told (*ye* thus; *yèn* there; *hasdu* them; *cu-* totally; *q/a* with mouth [§ 14.1]; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *dja* to tell)

Kīksa'dī got cū'waṣṣ the Kīksa'dī were all lost (*got* wholly; *cu-* totally; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *ṣṣ* to finish)

This prefix appears to be used also as a post position.

axcū'dī yaqo'x come over to me (*ax* me; *cū* entirely; *-dī* to; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *qox* to go by water)

2. *ka-* indicates causation, and performs the functions of a causative auxiliary.

ax dāq qoka'odzīha' she caused a hole to be in it by digging (*ax* literally, from it; *dāq* shoreward, or into the earth; *qo-* indefinite verbal prefix [§ 15.6]; *ka-* causative; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *dzī-* verbal prefix [§ 18.6]; *ha* stem)

hasdudaka'q! kaodu'īya nu lēn a large fort was caused to be lowered down on them (*hasdu* them; *daka'q!* out on; *ka-* to cause; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *ī-* verbal prefix [§ 18.5]; *nu* fort; *lēn* large)

yida'tsquo'etc yīwackaq! o'kote ka'osīnēx when did your cheek-flesh cause a man to be saved? (*yida'tsquo'etc* when; *yī* your; *wac* cheek; *kaq!okote* flesh, with intensive suffix; *ka-* to cause; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *sī-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *nēx* to save)

at ka'otiga they caused (the canoe) to be loaded up (*at* indefinite object [things]; *ka-* to cause; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *ti-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *ga* to load)

adē' akā'wana doxanqā'wu then he caused his clothes-man to go out (*a* demonstrative; *dē* to; *a* indefinite pronoun; *ka-* to cause; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *na* to send; *do* his; *xan* clothes; *ga* man; *-wu* possessive [see § 10])

3. *ya-* seems to indicate the continuation of an action or state.

yīya'xtc are you hearing it? (*yī* ye; *ya-* verbal prefix; *ax* to hear; *-tc* emphatic suffix)

Kīksadī'tc a'tcayū xīxtc! *has ayahē'n* therefore the Kīksa'dī claim the frog (*a* indefinite pronoun; *tca* adverb; *a* indefinite pronoun; *yu* demonstrative; *xīxtc!* frog; *has* they; *a* indefinite pronoun; *ya-* verbal prefix; *hēn* stem)

hī'tq'ī tūx qa'owagut yucanwa't the woman was going through the houses (*hī't* house; *-q'ī* collective suffix; *tūx* through; *ya-* *o-* *wa-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

ya-ha'sduqā'nax yaqatsā'q when he was chasing them (*ya* demonstrative; *ha'sdu* them; *qā'nax* after; *ga-* verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; *tsāq* to run)

yuyanagu'ti when (he was) traveling (*yu* demonstrative; *ga-*, *na-* [§ 17.4, 5], verbal prefixes; *gu* to go; *-t -i* suffixes [§ 20.1, 2])

This prefix *ya-* seems to be identical with the suffix referred to in § 20.4.

4. *wu-* often indicates the passive, but seems to have a very much wider function.

Cīt!ka'dē ān has wuqo'x they went with him to Baranoff island (*Cī* Baranoff island; *t!* behind; *ka* on; *dē* to; *ā* demonstrative; *-n* with; *has* they; *wu-* prefix; *qox* to go by canoe)

yē'ayu xīxtc! *q'acī'yī wudu'dzīku* that is how the frog's song came to be known (*yē-* adverb; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *yu* demonstrative; *xīxtc!* frog; *q'a* mouth; *cī* song; *-yī* possessive [§ 10]; *wu-* *du-* *dzi-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.6]; *ku* to know)

wuctī'n at wudu'īk!ē' peace was made between them (*wu-* verbal prefix; *c-* reflexive [§ 11]; *tīn* with; [*wuctī'n* together]; *at* indefinite object; *wu-* *du-* *ī-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.5]; *k!ē'* to be good)

The last of these examples shows a curious use of *wu-* before the reflexive prefix *c-*, the latter standing independent of the verb, and being followed by a post-position. This employment of *wu-* with the reflexive is very common.

5. *gu-* or *ga-*. Future time is denoted by a prefix *gu-* or *ga-*, which is sometimes used much as if it were an independent particle. Besides its strictly future function, it is employed in speaking of any event about to take place as well in the past as the future. In the following simple examples it is often accompanied by the affix *x-* TO BECOME, which will be treated in § 15.7.

wasā' at gugoneyi' whatever is going to happen (*wasā'* whatever; *at* indefinite object; *gu-* future; *gona* stem; *-yi'* suffix [§ 20.2])
ān guṽagu't when he was going to go with them (*a* indefinite pronoun; *-n* with; *gu-* future; *ga-* verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

de dā'qdē ye guṽadusn' yuhā't daidedi' they were going to take up the house-timbers (*de* now; *dā'qdē* up to; *ye* thus; *gu-* future; *x-* to become; *du-* s- verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; *nī* to take; *yu* demonstrative; *hāt* house; *daidedi'* timbers)

hāt a guṽayē'x gone't ganayī' the opposite side (clan) was going to build a house (*hāt* house; *a* indefinite pronoun; *gu-* future; *x-* to become; *ta-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *yēx* to build [*x* possibly a suffix])

yā'doq!oa gaṽdutā'ge they were going to make a hole in this one's mouth (*ya* demonstrative; *do-* his; *q!a* mouth [see § 3]; *ga-* future; *x-* to become; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *tak* to bore [!]; *-e* suffix)

More often the future occurs in conjunction with an indefinite prefix *go* or *k^u*. The following examples illustrate this use, and also show the peculiar manner in which it combines with the personal pronominal prefixes. It will be seen that, instead of *guṽa* in the first person, we find *qwa*; instead of *yu-i*, in the second person, *ge*. It would also seem that contractions of *q̇* and *g* to *q*, and *q* and *g* to *g*, take place in the first and second persons plural.

Future tense of the verb *gIT* TO DO

Singular	Plural
1st per. <i>yegqwasgīt</i>	<i>yē'qaxtusgīt</i>
2d per. <i>yegqe'sgīt</i>	<i>yē'gaxṽisgīt</i>
3d per. <i>yegqwa'sgīt</i>	<i>hās qo' a yē'sgugasgīt</i>

Future tense of the verb *gEQ!* TO THROW DOWN

Singular	Plural
1st per. <i>xā'tc yē'nde qqwagē'q!</i>	<i>uhā'ntc yē'nde qaxtugē'q!</i>
2d per. <i>rae'tc yē'nde qgegē'q!</i>	<i>yīhā'ntc yē'nde gaxṽigē'q!</i>
3d per. <i>hutc yē'nde a'qgwagē'q!</i>	<i>hāstc yē'nde saqqwagē'q!</i>

The *s* which appears in the third person plural is probably a contraction of *has*, although the full word *has* may not have been heard when recording.

TO CRY takes the prefix or modifier *ke*, and its plural is formed by the use of the verb *tī* TO BE.

Future tense of the verb *qax* TO CRY

	Singular	Plural
1st per.	<i>ke k^uqwaqā'x</i>	<i>(u)hā'n ke qax qaxtū'sati</i>
2d per.	<i>(waē') ke k^uqegā'x</i>	<i>(yīhā'n) ke qax qaxqīsati'</i>
3d per.	<i>(hu) ke k^uqwaqā'x</i>	<i>ke has qax qaxsati</i>

6. *qo-*, *k^u-*, is used when the event recorded happened at a time or place that is ill defined.

Lēt Lēt! qa A'tī qosti' there were no white men's things in those days (*Lēt* not; *Lēt!* white; *qa* man; *A'tī* their things; *qo-* *s-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; *tī* to be)

yuqo'tiL! i'tk^u those who used to leave the others behind (*yu* demonstrative; *qo-ti-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.4]; *L/i't* stem; *-k^u* suffix [§ 20.3])

k^uducū'qtc they always laughed at him (*k^u- du-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3]; *cūq* to laugh; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

gusu' yēn yuq^oxē'tcgī where is it that they never broke it off (*gusu'* where; *yēn* there; *yu-* demonstrative; *q^o-* verbal prefix; *xētc* stem; *gī* probably should be *k^u* [§ 20.3])

At k^uqēdī'x a sign or parable (*At* something; *k^u-* prefix; *qe* probably stem; *-x* suffix [§ 19.4])

Lēt su qosti' there was no rain (*Lēt* not; *su* rain; *qo-* *s-* verbal prefixes [§ 18.1]; *tī* to be)

Since future events are by their nature indeterminate, this prefix is constantly used with the future prefix *gu-*; as,

a'q^ogwatīq when will he break it off? (*a* indefinite pronoun; *q^o-* indefinite prefix; *g(u)-* future prefix; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *tīq!* to break off)

7. *-x* expresses the alteration of a person or thing from one condition to another. It is suffixed to the name of the thing altered, the adjective indicating the altered state, or to the future particle, but is placed among verbal prefixes because its connection with the following verb is extremely close, as is shown by its insertion after the future particle.

tsē'sk!ux i'nasti you can become an owl (*tses'k!u* owl; *-x* verbal affix; *i* thou; *na-* *s-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.5; § 18.1]; *tī* stem)

- q!anackitē x siti* he had become poor (*q!anackiti* poor; *-x* transitive affix; *si-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)
- duxong!ē x siti* it had come to belong to his friends (*du* his; *xon* friend; *-q!e* collective suffix [§ 9]; *-x* transitive affix; *si-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)
- tc!a ān qo'a qa'yaqā'q!uwan x siti* but yet they became men such as one can trade with (*tc!a* yet; *ān* with them; *qo'a* however; *qa* men; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *qāq!uwan* such as one can trade with [?]; *-x* [as before]; *si-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* to be)
- gu x tusi't* we will make it become cooked (*gu-* future sign; *-x* transitive affix; *tu* we; *sit* to cook)
- ayi' de yeq'gax du'i'q! T!A'q!dentān* they were going to invite the T!A'q!dentān (*a* indefinite pronoun; *yi-de* post-position [*dē* to]; *ye* adverbial prefix; *q-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *ga-* future prefix [§ 15.5]; *-x* transitive affix; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *i'* to invite)

§ 16. PRONOMINAL SUBJECT

The subjective pronoun follows the first modal elements. Examples illustrating the position of the subjective pronoun have been given before (§ 11). The following example contains also first modals:

Lēt wuxasagō'k yāndat!A'tc I can not swim (*Lēt* not; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *wa* I; *sa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *gōk* can; *yāndat!A'tc* to swim)

§ 17. SECOND MODAL PREFIXES

1. *djî-* QUICKLY.

- ha'sdu dāt xā djîū'digut* enemies came upon them quickly; (*ha'sdu* them; *dāt* upon; *xā* enemies; *djî-* quickly; *u-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *dî-* inchoative [§ 18.3]; *gu* to go; *-t* suffix [§ 20.1])
- adē' dāk wudjîxi'x* he ran down to it (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *dē* to; *dāk* down or out; *wu-* verbal prefix [§ 15.4]; *djî-* quickly; *xi'x* to get)
- yux has djîudeā't* they started to rush out (*yux* out; *has* they; *djî-* quickly; *u-de-* [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; *āt* to go)
- Lēq! ts!utā't ayu' at nate' has djî'usîha* one morning they started out quickly to hunt along shore (*Lēq! ts!utā't* [see p. 200, note 11]; *a-yu* indefinite demonstrative pronoun; *at* indefinite object; *nate'* to hunt [?]; *has* they; *djî-u-si* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *ha* to start)
- hasdu.īā'k!^u adjî't has adjî'watan* they gave their sister to him quickly; (*hasdu* their; *īāk!^u* sister; *adj(î)-* indefinite pronoun with intensive suffix; *-t* to; *has* they; *a-* demonstrative; *djî-wa-* [§ 18.2]; *tan* to give)

2. *u-* (*o-*) often accompanies simple statements of past actions. This prefix is never used with the future *gu-*, or with *wu-*, nor apparently with the first and second persons singular and plural, and occurs only in the principal verb. It may be an element expressing the active, but may equally well be regarded as a past-temporal prefix.

yên uqo'xtc he always came there (*yên* there; *u-* prefix; *gox* to go by canoe; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

Lēq! ts!utā't ān ke udzig'i't dutcū'nī one morning he awoke with his dream (*Lēq!* one; *ts!utā't* morning [see p. 200, note 11]; *ān* with it; *ke* up; *u-* prefix; *dzi-* prefix [§ 18.6]; *gīt* to awake; *du* his; *tcūn* dream; *-ī* possessive suffix)

Lax q!ūn has uxē' many nights they stayed out (*Lax* very; *q!ūn* many (nights); *has* they; *u-* prefix; *xe* to camp)

ayu' has aositī'n there they saw it (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* verbal prefix; *si-* indicative prefix [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)

le dutū'tx qot kaoduk!ī't it all got out of his head (*le* out; *du* his; *tū* into; *-t* at; *-x* from; *qot* all; *ka-* causative [§ 15.2]; *o-* verbal prefix; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *k!ūt* to get)

3. *du-* is very nearly identical in meaning with the English perfect tense, conveying the idea of something already accomplished. It resembles *wa-* [§ 18.2] in some respects, and is often used conjointly with it; but while *wa-* seems to express finality, *du-* expresses previous accomplishment.

le dutu'tx qot kaoduk!ī't it got all out of his head (see above no. 2, ex. 5)

ck!e ā'gitahān yū'yaodudzīqa "get up!" they said to him (*ck!e* up; *ā'gitahān* get [?]; *yū-* demonstrative; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *o-du-dzī-* [§ 17.2; § 18.6]; *qa* to say)

agē'dī has gā'dustīn when they saw them already inside (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *gē* inside; *dī* to; *has* they; *ga-* when [§ 17.4]; *du-s-* [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)

koducī' duīgā' they hunted for him (*ko-* [§ 15.6]; *du-*; *cī* to hunt; *du* he; *ī* euphonic [?]; *ga* for)

lēl wudusku' they knew not (*lēl* not; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *du-*; *s-* [§ 18.1]; *ku* to know)

ts!utā't hīn wa'īdī akayē'k wudū'waax atxē'tc the next morning (it) was to be heard at the mouth of the creek (*ts!utā't* [see p. 200, note 11]; *hīn* water; *wa* at mouth; *dī* to; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *kayē'k* at; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *du-*; *wa-* [§ 18.2]; *ax* to hear; *at* indefinite object; *xē* to go on; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

danē't ayidē' ye wududzī'ni a box of grease was put inside of the canoe (*danē't* box of grease; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *-yidē* inside; *ye* thus [?]; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *du-*; *dzi-* [§ 18.6]; *ni* to put aboard)

lēl has dutī'n they could not see him (*lēl* not; *has* they; *du-* perfect suffix; *tin* to see)

4. *ga-* is a prefix which indicates usually that the action was performed just before some other action, and may be translated by our conjunction WHEN. This may be identical with the *ga* in *aga* or *agaawe'tsa* AS SOON AS, IMMEDIATELY UPON.

laz ā'tatc gadja'qīnawe dāq ugu'ttc when he became very cold, he always came out (*laz* very; *āt* cold; *-tc* intensive suffix; *ga-*; *djaq* to die of [hyperbolically]; *-in* suffix [§ 19.3]; *awe* when; *dāq* out; *u-* [§ 17.2]; *gu* to go; *-t* suffix [§ 20.1]; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

aqē'dī has gā'dustīn ha'sdudāt xā djiudīgu't when they saw them inside, the enemy started to come upon them (see p. 179, no. 3, third example)

duī'c ā'nī akīnā' wuqaxī'xīn yū'gagan ye yē'ndusqetc when the sun got straight up over her father's town, they always said to her as follows (*du-* her; *īc* father; *ān* town; *-ī* possessive suffix; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *kīnā'* above; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *ga-*; *xīx* to reach; *-in* suffix [§ 19.3]; *yū-* demonstrative; *gagan* sun; *ye* thus; *yēn* possibly there; *du-* [§ 17.3]; *s-* [§ 18.1]; *qa* to say; *-tc* intensive suffix)

5. *na-* is employed when the action with which it is associated is represented as accompanied by or accompanying some other action. Just as *ga-* may often be translated WHEN, this prefix may be translated WHILE, yet the two may be used together. It is so similar to the suffix *-n* [§ 19.3] that it is not unlikely that the two are identical.

ayā'xde yanagu'dīayu aositī'n cāwa't yū'adīgīga' cwu' īīxatc while he was going around the lake, he saw a woman floating there (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *yax* around; *de* at; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *na-*; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1]; *ayu* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *si-* [§ 18.1]; *tin* to see; *cā'wat* woman; *yū* demonstrative; *adīgīga* in it [exact meaning uncertain]; *c-* reflexive; *wu-* *īī-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5])

dāq has naqo'x a'ayu yuhunxo'a ye'q'ayāqa while they were going shoreward, the eldest brother said as follows (*dāq* shoreward;

has they; *na-*; *gox* to go by canoe; *a'a-yu* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *yu-* demonstrative; *huxo'* elder brother; *a* indefinite pronoun; *q!a-* mouth [§ 14.1]; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *qa* to say)

tēq! k!udA's! Atū'x nagu'ttc ya ha'sdu yaqatsā'q yū'awe ke tck!ē'ntc having gotten inside of his red-snapper coat, when he was pursuing them, that is the way he jumped (*tēq!* red snapper; *k!udA's!* coat; *a-* indefinite pronominal prefix; *tūx* inside; *na-*; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1]; *-tc* always [§ 19.1]; *ya* [?]; *ha'sdu* them; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *qa-* [§ 17.4]; *tsāq* to pursue; *yū-* demonstrative; *awe* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *ke* up; *ū* [?]; *c-* reflexive; *k!en* to jump; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

naṣā'c ga'xtusit having cut it, we will cook it (*na-*; *ṣāc* to cut; *ga-* future prefix [§ 15.5]; *-x* transitional affix [§ 15.7]; *tu* we; *sit* to cook)

xāt qā'naadī naA'ttc yuxū'ts! qoa'nī the bear people, when they go hunting, always go after salmon (*xāt* salmon; *ga-* [§ 17.4]; *na-*; *at* to go; *-ī* part. suffix [§ 20.2]; *na-*; *at* to go; *-tc* intensive suffix; *yu-* demonstrative; *xūts!* bear; *qoa* people; *-ī* possessive)
tc!āk^u yānagu'tiawe gox akū'dadjtc after it had walked a long time, it would stop suddenly (*tc!āk^u* a long time; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *na-*; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose; *-ī* suffix [§ 20.2]; *awe* when; *gox* completely; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *ku-* future prefix [§ 15.5]; *da-* [?]; *dji* stem; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

§ 18. THIRD MODAL PREFIXES

1. *s-* or *sī-* is used in a simple statement of an action or condition, whether past, present, or future, but not usually of one which is incomplete.

tc!āk^u altī'nī a'ya aositī'n looking for a while, he saw her (*tc!āk^u* a long time; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *ī-* [§ 18.4]; *tīn* to see; *-ī* [§ 20.2]; *a'ya* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *sī-*; *tīn* to see)

dutuwu'sigu she felt happy (*du* her; *tu-* mind; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *sī-*; *gu* to go [?])

daqanē'x wusite! quarrelsome he was (*daqane* quarrelsome; *-x* [§ 15.7]; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *te,* stem)

lel ye awusku' duyī't sAtī'yī he did not know it was his son (*lel* not; *ye* thus; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *s-* *ku* to know; *du* his; *yīt* son; *sA-*; *tī* to be; *yī* participial suffix [§ 20.2])

A'tcget dusgo'qtc what they throw it with (*du-* [§ 17.3]; *s-*; *goq* to throw; *-tc* always [§ 19.1])

For examples of the use of this prefix with the future, see in § 15.6.

It is important to note the evident identity of this prefix with the particle *as* or *asi*.

dīs kawukī's'ī asi-yu' lēq! tāt yū'awasa it was a whole month which he thought a night (*dīs* month; *kawukī's'ī* whole; *asi* particle; *yu* demonstrative; *lēq!* one; *tāt* night; *yū* demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *sa* to say [=think])

xatc yetēī'net la asi-yu' it was the mother of the bears (*xatc* this; *la* mother)

xatc te asi-yu' it was a stone

2. *wa-* indicating completed action.

ts!utā't ayu' dāk has uwago'x in the morning, at that time out they got (*u-* [§ 17.2]; *wa-*; *qox* stem)

at!ā'x has uwaxe' behind them they camped

has Cq!at qoan ca'oduwaxêtc they conquered the Stikine Indians (*Cq!at* Stikine; *qoan* people; *ca-* [?]; *ō-* [§ 17.2]; *du-* [§ 17.3])

gul lax lēq! dīs hasduka' cuwaxī'x probably entirely one month on them passed (*cu-* [§ 15.1])

aLe', xāt ū'waha mother, I am hungry (*ū-* *wa-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *ha* stem)

3. *dī-* denotes the beginning of an action.

adā'xawe xā djiudigu't after that to war they started (*xā* war; *dji-u-* [§ 17.1, 2])

qeqē'de qonaha' le cū'yaq!a'odītan toward morning the woman began to change her manner of talking (*cu-* completely [§ 15.1]; *ya* [?]; *q!a-* mouth; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *tan* stem)

acē'nya wudīlā'x it had begun to mold at the corner (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *cē'nya* corner of; *wu-* [§ 15.4])

wucka't caodīte' they started to rush around (*wu-* [§ 15.4]; *c-* reflexive prefix; *kat* post-position; *ca-* reflexive [?]; *o-* *dī-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *te* stem)

yuxā'nas! adā'x q!aodīsa' he began blowing on the raft (*yu-* demonstrative; *xā'nas!* raft; *q!a-* mouth [§ 14.1]; *o-* [§ 17.2])

kaodīt!A'q! it began to be hot weather (*ka-* *o-* *dī-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; *t!Aq!* stem)

TO START TO GO TO A CERTAIN PLACE is expressed by means of an adverb.

go'na yēggwagagu't when he was going to start (*gona* starting; *ye* thus; *go-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *gu-* future prefix [§ 15.5]; *ga-* verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; *gut* to go).

4. **ʔ-** or **ʔi-** indicates repetition of an action or a plurality of objects acted upon.
- yax has aya'olidjaq yutā'n* thus they killed off the sea-lions (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *ya-* [§ 15.3]; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *djaq* to kill; *yu-* demonstrative; *tān* sea-lion)
- ayu' aolixa'c* then he let it float along (*ayu'* there; *a-* indefinite prefix; *o-* *ʔi-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *ʔac* stem)
- xatc qawage' asiyyu' aca'olihik* it was full of eyes (*xatc* this; *qa-* man; *wage'* eye; *asiyyu'* [§ 18.1]; *a-* demonstrative; *ca-* = *cu-* [§ 15.1]; *o-* [§ 17.2]; *hik* stem)
- ān qadjī'n aoliḷē'k* he shook hands with those things in his hands (*ān* with it; *qadjīn* man's hand; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2])
- xā'yī yāqk!u aya'x aoliq!a'nq!* he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (*xā* enemy; *-yī* possessive suffix; *yāk* canoe; *-q!u* collective; *ā'yax* like that; *a* indefinite pronoun; *o-* *ʔi-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2]; *q!an* stem; *-q!* suffix [§ 19.5])
5. **ʔ-** or **ʔi-** is used in contradistinction to the above when the action takes place once, or is thought of at one particular moment.
- aositī'n cāwa't yuadigī'ga cwu'ḷixac* (when he was going around the lake), he saw one woman floating there (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-si-* [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *tīn* to see; *cāwa't* woman; *yuadigī'ga* there; *c-* reflexive; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *ʔac* to float)
- dekī'na hī'nī qo'a wuḷiū'k* far out its water, however, boiled (*dekī'na* far out; *hīn* water; *-i* possessive suffix; *qo'a* however; *wu-* *ʔi-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.4]; *ūk* stem)
- yēn caoḷitsī's* there he stopped
6. **dzi-** conveys the idea of the attainment of a state not hitherto enjoyed, and is best translated by the words TO COME TO BE.
- aya'xawe duya'tq!i godziti'* this is why his children came to be born (*a-* that; *yax* like; *awe* it is; *du-* his; *yat* child; *-q!i* collective; *go-* indefinite [§ 15.6]; *ti* to be)
- cka a'odzikū' yuxā't qoa'nitc wusnē'xe* afterward he came to know that the salmon people had saved him; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *a-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *ku* to know; *yu-* demonstrative; *xāt* salmon; *qaan* people; *-tc* intensive; *wu-s-* [§ 15.4; § 18.1])
- tc!u tc!āk^u līngī't tīn ka'odjite yuē'q* a long time ago there came to be copper among the Indians (*līngī't* Indians; *tīn* with; *ka-o-* [§ 15.2; § 17.2]; *yu-* demonstrative; *ēq* copper)
- wā'sa iya'odudziqa', axyī't!* what did they come to say to you, my son? (*wā'sa* what; *i* you; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *o-du-* [§ 17.2,3]; *qa* to say; *ax* my; *yīt* son)

7. *cî-* expresses desire or wish, and may be used equally well as a stem.

duŝi' qok!î't! ak^ucî'tA'n his daughter liked to pick berries (*du-* his; *qokî't!* berries; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *k^u-* [§15.6]; *tAn* stem)

Suffixes (§§ 19, 20)

§ 19. SUFFIXES OF TEMPORAL CHARACTER

These suffixes, which are not to be confounded with true temporal suffixes, are *-tc*, *-nutc*, *-n*, *-x*, and perhaps *-q!* and *s!*.

1. *-tc* indicates invariability in the action, and may best be translated by ALWAYS. It is perhaps identical with the intensive suffix (§ 7).

duwā'qde yagaci'tc her eyes to he always pointed

ts!u yēn uqo'xtc again there he always went by canoe

qAgā'n Kanē'sdīca cakî'nAx ke xîxtc the sun always rises over the brow of Cross Mountain (*qAgā'n* sun; *cakî'nAx* over the head of; *ke* up)

qAndawe' utā'itc dūdā'q!anAx towards the fire he always sleeps with his back (*qAn* what burns; *tā* to sleep; *du-* his)

2. *-nutc* marks what is habitual or customary.

hu qo'a ts!As xūk ALî'q!anutc she, however, only dry wood would get (*ts!As* only; *xūk* dry wood; *Lîq!* to fetch)

duqē'tcnutc they would throw off their coats

Acu'tcnutc duyē'tk!^u she was in the habit of bathing her child (*A = a* indefinite pronoun; *cute* stem; *du-* possessive; *yē* child; *-k^u* diminutive)

ux udulcu'qnutc they would laugh at him (*u-du-* *l-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2, 3; § 18.4]; *cuq* to laugh)

ldakA't A'dawe at!o'qt!înutc all kinds of things he would shoot (*ldakA* all; *A* thing; *a-we* indefinite pronoun and demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *t!oqt!* stem)

ā't!Aq!anutc he would pound

3. *-n* (after consonants *-î**n* or *-ō**n*). This suffix marks a stationary condition of the action, and is usually employed in conjunction with another verb, when it indicates the state of things when the action contained in the principal verb took place. The action it accompanies may be conceived of as past, present, or future, and from its character it approaches at different times in meaning a perfect, continuative, and usitative. This suffix is perhaps related to the prefix *na-* treated in § 17.5.

lā'gu yēn yax dułnigí'n ye qoyanaqe'tc when a person is through with a story, he always says this (*lā'gu* story; *yēn* there; *yax* thus; *du-* *l-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.3; § 18.4]; *ní[k]* to say); *ye* thus; *qo-ya-na-* [§ 15.6, 3; § 17.5]; *qa* to say; *-tc* [§ 19.1])

wa'nín cwułtā'a'c edge turned up, he floated (*wān* edge; *in* [?]; *c-* reflexive prefix; *wu-* *łi-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.4; § 18.5]; *zac* stem)

duq'ē'nax cī tc!a yūt q!anacxē'ntc duī'yeq gaga!tīn when his spirits came to him, blood would flow out of his mouth (*du-* his; *q!a* mouth; *-nax* from; *cī* blood; *tc!a* that; *yūt* out of it; *q!a* mouth; *nax-* [§ 17.5]; *c-* [?]; *xēn* stem; *-tc* always [§ 19.1]; *du-* his; *yeq* spirit; *ga* [?]; *ga-* [§ 17.4]; *at* to go [pl.]; *-īn* suffix)

ituwu' q!wān cat!i'q Nīxā' nēl gu'tnī be courageous when Nīxā' comes in (*i-* thy; *tu* mind; *-wu* possessive suffix; *q!wān* exhortative [§ 22.3]; *ca-* reflexive; *t!iq!* stem [?]; *nēl* into house; *gut* to go; *-n -ī* suffixes [§ 20.2])

tc!aye' dāq gaci'tc acgadja'qēn when it almost killed him, he would run up (*tc!aye'* almost; *dāq* up; *ga-* verbal prefix; *cītc* to run; *ac* for *c-* reflexive [that is, he allowed himself to be killed, though by something else]; *ga-* verbal prefix [§ 17.4]; *djaq* to kill; *-ēn* verbal suffix)

tān a aka'wati anax gaduskū't hu ana'x yēn wuqoxō'n he pounded out a figure of a sea-lion, so that people would know he had come ashore there (*tān* sea-lion; *a* indefinite pronoun; *ka-wa-* [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; *a* indefinite pronoun; *nax* around; *ga-du-s-* [§ 17.4, 3; § 18.1]; *ku* to know; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1]; *hu* he; *yēn* there; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *qox* to go by canoe)

has agacā'n when they marry (*a-* *ga-* verbal prefixes)

4. *-x* may perhaps be regarded as a distributive; at any rate, it indicates that the action takes place many times, or continues for some period.

lēl at udja'qx ts!u yēn uqo'xtc he kept coming in without having killed anything (*lēl* not; *at* indefinite objective; *djaq* to kill; *ts!u* there)

hu qo'a awe' lēl utē'x he, however, did not sleep (*u-* [§ 17.2]; *-x*) *lēl ga'gī ugu'tx* he never showed himself (*lēl* not; *ga'gī* was [?]; *u-* verbal prefix [§ 17.2]; *gu* stem; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1]; *-x*)

tcu! ac utē'nx ac wudjīyī'ayu acī't q!ē'watān before he thought of it, his nephew saw him and spoke to him (*tcu!* before; *ac* him; *tēn* to see; *ac* his own; *-yī* possessive; *ayu* demonstrative; *acī't* to him; *q!a-* mouth [§ 14.1]; *wa-* verbal suffix [§ 18.2]; *tān* stem)

aga'tsa axē'x then only he ate (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *xa* to eat; *-x*)

lēl ulqē'x kē'ładī not ever got big the sea-gull (*u-* *ł-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.4]; *qē* stem; *-x*)

5. **-q!** Although the meaning of this suffix has not been satisfactorily determined, it may be included in this list, because it seems to be used in describing events that have taken place at some particular time, and to present a marked contrast to the suffix last considered.

ldakA't yētx ducā'q! people from all places tried to marry her (*ldakA't* all, everywhere; *yētx* from into; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *ca* stem)

ckax ke dji'ti'nīyeq! you can not see anything (*tin* to see; *iye* participial suffix lengthened [§ 20.2]; rest uncertain)

cakusti'q!tc those are (my people) there (*s-* verbal prefix [§ 18.1]; *ti* stem, to be; *-tc* always [§ 19.1]; rest uncertain)

aya'xawē aosī'ne aci'n qanaltā'dicix lit! tū'di ac wugē'q! as he had told him to do when he ran into the fire with him he threw him into the basket (*aya'xawe* as; *a* indefinite pronoun; *o-si* [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *ac* him, reflexive; *-n* with; *qan* fire; *altā* into [?]; *dī* to start to; *cix* to run; *lit!* basket; *tū'di* into; *ac* he; *wu-* [§ 15.4]; *gē* to throw)

xā'yī yākq!u aya'x a'olīq!A'nq! he made the enemy's canoes upset by quarreling (see p. 183, no. 4)

6. **-s!** occurs after a few verbs, but its significance is obscure.

atxawē' qolA'xs! from there he listened (*qo-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *t-* verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *ax* stem)

aga' keqgeti's! wek!wA'tx you will look out for the green fern-roots (*aga'* for that; *ke* particle; *q-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *ge = gu-i* future prefix and personal pronoun [§ 15.5]; *tī* to be; *we-* demonstrative; *k!wAla* fern-roots)

has goti's! they were looking for him (*qo-* indefinite prefix; *tī* to be)

§ 20. SYNTACTIC SUFFIXES

1. **-t** is suffixed to a verb to indicate that it contains a statement of the purpose for which some other action was performed.

dukā'kic ade' goka'waga dūga' qagē'x dusgā'ndayu his uncle sent some one after him to burn [his body] (*du* his; *kāk* uncle; *-tc* intensive [§ 7]; *ade'* to it; *qo-* indefinite prefix [§ 15.6]; *ka-* *wa-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 18.2]; *qa* to say; *du* he; *iqa'* for; *du-s* [§ 17.3; § 18.1]; *qan* fire, to burn; *-d* for *-t* before vowel; *-ayu* demonstrative)

qā naA'di k!idē'n yēn wudu'dzīnī atū't qongA'nadayu and they put on good clothing because they wanted to die wearing it (*qā* man; *na-* verbal prefix [§ 17.5]; *at* to go [pl.]; *-i* verbal

suffix; [§ 20.2]; *k!t̥dē'n* good; *yēn* there; *wu-du-dz̥t̥* [§ 15.4; § 17.3; § 18.6]; *at̥t̥* into it; *qonga* [uncertain]; *na* to die; -*t* purpose; *ayu* demonstrative)

du̥ga' at naqasū't something to help him (*du̥ga'* for him; *at* indefinite; *na*-[?] *ga*- verbal prefixes [§ 17.4]; *su* to help; -*t* purpose)

ada'x awaxō'x acī'n ckangaln̄'gīt then he invited him to tell him (something he did not know) (*ada'x* after it; *ac*- he; -*n* with; *c*- reflexive; *kanga* [?] compare *qonga* second example; *l*- verbal prefix [§ 18.4]; *n̄ik* stem; -*t* purpose)

ak!q!ayu yē'yati qā akade' wugu't ga'nga a man stopping at Auk went to (the lake) to get wood (*ak!q!*, Auk; -*q!* at; *ayu* demonstratives; *yē*- adverb, thus; *ya*- [§ 15.3]; *t̄i* to be; *qā* man; -*kade'* on; *wu*- [§ 15.4]; *gu*- to go; -*t* purpose; *gan* wood, fire; *ga* for).

The use of -*t* with *gu* to go, as in the last example, has become very common, and in that connection it appears to have lost something of its original function.

2. -*i*, -*o* after consonants; *yī*-, -*wu* after vowels. The subordination of one clause to another is effected more often than in any other manner by suffixing -*i* or -*o* after consonants, or -*yī* or -*wu* after vowels (see §§ 3 and 10). This seems to have the effect of transforming the entire clause into a participle or infinitive.

yuqā' go'a kā'deq!akā'x daqt wudj̄i'x̄i'x̄i the man who jumped out from (the raft was very much ashamed) (*yu* demonstrative; *ga* man; *go'a* however; *hā'deq!akā'x* from on it; *daqt* out; *wu-dj̄i*- [§ 15.4; § 17.1]; *x̄i'x̄i* to jump or move quickly)

dūdj̄i'q! ye yut̄i'yī s!āq gatā' ake' asē'wati he set up a bone trap he had (*du* he; *dj̄i'q!* to; *ye* thus; *yu*- demonstrative; *t̄i* to be; *s!āq* bone; *gatā'* trap; *a*- indefinite pronoun; *ke* up; *a* indefinite pronoun; *se*- verbal prefix; *wat[i]* to set up)

hade' wat at cī'yī this way! those who can sing (*cī* to sing)

l̄ēl ye wuA'xtc yucā'wat atxaȳi' axa' yudj̄ē'nwu she never got full eating sheep-fat (*l̄ēl* not; *ye* thus; *ax* to eat; *yu*- indefinite pronoun; *cā'wat* woman; *a* indefinite pronoun; *at* things; *xa* to eat; -*yī* suffix; *axa'* fat; *yu*- demonstrative; *dj̄ē'nwu* mountain sheep)

wuctacā'yī married to each other (that is, married couple)

ayA'xde yanagu'diayū aost̄i'n while he was going around it, he saw (*a*- it; *yA'xde* around; *ya-na*- [§ 15.3; § 17.5]; -*ayu* demonstrative)

5. -*q!* Although the meaning of this suffix has not been definitely determined, it may be included with the demonstrative, he saw her (a- torily determined, it may be included with the demonstrative) seems to be used in describing things. It apparently signifies THINGS at some particular time, and is used with certain verbs, especially with the verb TO CALL or the suffix last considered. [§ 15.6]; *dzi-* verbal prefix (things)

ldaka't yētx ducā'q!

(*ldaka't* all, eve

[§ 17.3]; *ca* str

ckax ke dji'ti'r

icipial s

cakustī'q

tī str

ayā'z

t

changed into a noun by taking a demonstrative, and this is also usually indicated by the demonstrative suffix, but it would seem, from the manner in which it is used with certain verbs, especially with the verb TO CALL or the suffix last considered, that it should be regarded as a perfect participial suffix as much as a noun-forming suffix.

yē you [pl.]; *yu-* demonstrative; *q!* a mouth; *tan* stem; *-tc* intensive; *-gi-* stands for *gi-* your well speaking of them (*yē* you [pl.]; *yu-* demonstrative; *q!* a mouth; *tan* stem; *-tc* intensive; *-gi-* stands for *gi-* your well speaking of them)

yē thus; *du-wa-* verbal prefix; *gi-* your well speaking of them (*yē* thus; *du-wa-* verbal prefix; *gi-* your well speaking of them)

tīl yuljisita'nk waves rise up on it; or waves, the rising up of them upon it (*tīl* wave; *yu-* demonstrative; *dji-* *sī-* prefixes; *tan* stem)

yē yucaguth that was why he had traveled that way; or, more strictly, thus the traveling of him (*yē* thus; *yu-* demonstrative; *wa-* verbal prefix; *gut* stem)

yika'-at-xack the ones having split tongues for you (*yē-* you; *ka* post-position; *at* thing; *xac* stem)

yūq!ayata'nk the one that could talk (*yu-* demonstrative; *q!* a mouth; *ya-* verbal prefix; *tan* stem)

yūqoyatis!ē'lk when he was playing with the children, he would hurt them; or, the hurt he would do to them (*yu-* demonstrative; *qo-* *ya-* *li-* verbal prefixes; *s!ēl* stem)

yū'ayaliq!k he would break the knife he got hold of (*yū-* demonstrative; *a-* indefinite; *ya-* verbal prefix; *liq!* stem)

lax yaLa'qk he was a very great eater; or, the great eater that he was (*lax* very; *ya-* verbal prefix; *Laq* stem)

dunā' at tī'tc!ē'q^uk he was a dirty little fellow; or, the dirty little fellow that he was (*dunā* [?] *at* thing; *tī-* verbal prefix; *tclēq^u* stem)

ada' yūq!A'duLiA'tk about it they were all talking; or, the talking that went on about it (*a-* indefinite; *da* post-position; *yu-* demonstrative; *q!* a mouth; *du-* *li-* verbal prefixes; *at* stem)

tc!a akani'k tc!ule' ayē'x yū'yatik whatever he told them took place (*tc!a* whatever; *tc!ule'* then; *ayē'x* like it; *yu-* demonstrative; *ya-* prefix [§ 15.3])

qaye' gok^ugwanē'xe tc!ule' yuahanikk^u ayē'x yū'yatik when a

person was going to get well, he told them, and so it was (*qa* son; *qo-* [§ 15.6]; *nēx* to be well; for the rest see last example. The end of this sentence might be rendered AS WAS TELLING OF THIS BY HIM, SO WAS THE FACT

• • • *-dudjā'q qōn yuaka'yanikk* what they were going to kill what they got (*dā'sa* what; *ga-* future [§ 15.5]; *-x* transitional [§ 15.7]; *du-* verbal prefix [§ 17.3]; *djāq* to kill; *qōn* [?]; *yu-* demonstrative; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *ka-ya-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2, 3]; *nīk* stem)

4. *-ya*. Another suffix similar to this is *-ya*, which is perhaps identical with the continuative *ya-* treated of in § 15.3. This is mainly used in clauses which in English would be subordinated by means of a relative pronoun or adverb, and often the participial suffix *-i* [§ 20.2] is employed in conjunction with it. It would seem that the entire clause is turned into a noun in this manner, and becomes the object of the principal verb. Examples are as follows:

yaax galē' yuqlās adē' uduwqa!ā'siya far is the distance which the cascade comes down (*yaax* like; *galē'* far; *yu-* demonstrative; *q!ās* cascade; *adē'* to it; *u-du-wa-* [§ 17.2, 3; § 18.2])

tc!u adē' xaq!ū'ya awe' aya'x qot cū'waxix just the way they were sleeping they were destroyed (*tc!u* just; *adē'* at it; *xaq* to sleep; *aya'x* like it; *qot* completely; *cu-* [§ 15.1])

dudjī'tzawe yīdadunā'ya from him they knew how to fix [a trap] (*du* him; *-dj* intensive [§ 7]; *t* to; *x* from; *awe* demonstrative; *yīdadunā'ya* they learned to fix)

adē' has kaq!adi'nutcyā adē' akaolixē's! he put them in the place where they were in the habit of hooking fish (*adē'* at it; *has* they; *ka* to cause [?]; *q!at* to catch [?]; *-nutc* habitually [§ 19.2]; *a-* indefinite prefix; *ka-* *o- tī-* [§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.4])

atē'xyā aosīku' when she slept, he knew (*a-* indefinite prefix; *te* to sleep; *-x -ya* suffixes [§ 19.4]; *a-* indefinite prefix; *o- sī-* verbal prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.1]; *ku* to know)

kaodī!ā'q! ā'xo gudīya' it was hot weather from where he started (*ka-* *o- dī-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.2; § 17.2; § 18.3]; *t!aq!* stem; *a-* indefinite prefix; *xo* among; *gu* to go; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

lēl has ā'wusku adē' yuyanē'giya they did not know what to make of it (*lēl* not; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *wu-* *s-* [§ 15.4; § 18.1]; *adē'* at it; *yu-* demonstrative; *ya-* verbal prefix [§ 15.3]; *nek* to say)

has ā'wawus! "gudā'x sa yē'dadunā'taya" they inquired, "From where do they get this?" (*gu* where; *da-* *du-na-* verbal prefixes [§ 14.4; § 17.3, 5]; *at* to go [pl.])

ANALYSIS OF VERBAL FORMS.

Pronominal object.	Nominal prefix.	First modal prefix.	Pronominal subject.	Second modal prefix.	Third modal prefix.	Stem.	Suffix.	
a		wa		u	di	laz		It had begun to be moldy.
		ya			si	qa		He said to her.
		wa		dji		zi		He got down to it quickly.
		wa		du	s	fin		He was seen.
a				u	dzi	ku		He came to know it.
		wa			s	nzi	e	Being saved.
i		ya		u-du	dzi	qa		They came to say to you (came to =dzi).
	g/a				wa	tan		He went out and spoke.
(got)		ka		u-du		kifi		It got completely out of his head.
(at)		wa		du	wa	zun		They had started.
		ka		u	si	nzi		It caused to be saved.
a				du	wa	sa	ku	Having been named.
c		wa			ti	hac	tc	He was always floating himself about.
					sa	ti	pi	Being (his son).
		yu-z	tu			si		We will cook it.
		yu-z		du		zac	s	When it is going to be cut.
(at)		ka		u-du	wa	didi		They moved things out.
	g/a	ka		u	wa	na		He sent some one (out) to speak.
		s			si	te		It came to be.
c		ka			i	nik		He was telling (them).
(got)		cu			wa	zi		They were all lost.

	<i>tu</i>	<i>wu</i>		<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>tatin</i>		He is very strong in mind (i. e., brave).
	<i>q/a</i>				<i>ɛ</i>	<i>toz</i>		He spit on it.
<i>a</i>		<i>qo-qa</i>			<i>wa</i>	<i>zɛ</i>		He was going to cut off.
	<i>q/a</i>				<i>wa</i>	<i>zɛ</i>		He fasted on it (an island).
<i>a</i>		<i>wu</i>				<i>zɛ</i>	<i>i</i>	When he cut it.
		<i>qo</i>			<i>dɛd</i>	<i>β</i>	<i>pi-ya</i>	He having lived for (more than a hundred years).
		<i>pa</i>				<i>na</i>		When he was dying.
<i>a</i>		<i>pa</i>			<i>dɛ</i>	<i>at</i>		They started to go down.
		<i>qo-ya</i>			<i>wa</i>	<i>ci</i>		They hunted for her for an indefinite time.
					<i>pa-na</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>i</i>	When they go after salmon.
<i>a</i>					<i>pa</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>in</i>	When they would come in.
<i>a</i>		<i>qo</i>				<i>gan</i>	<i>ic</i>	It would always burn.
			<i>i</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>nɛz</i>		They saved you.
		<i>wu</i>				<i>ɛtɛ</i>	<i>in</i>	When it got.
		<i>qo</i>			<i>wa</i>	<i>ɛz</i>	<i>ic</i>	It always heard.
			<i>za</i>			<i>at</i>	<i>dɛ</i>	Go with me (<i>dɛ</i> imperative particle).
	<i>tu</i>				<i>wa</i>	<i>quq</i>		They rushed (to the door) in a body (<i>tu</i>).
<i>a</i>		<i>cu-ka</i>			<i>ti</i>	<i>taɛz</i>		They kicked into it.
(<i>At</i>)					<i>na-qa</i>	<i>su</i>		(Something) to help him.
<i>ha</i>					<i>u</i>	<i>nɛz</i>		They have cured us.
		<i>pa</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>dɛ/ɛq</i>		You are dying (of cold).
			<i>pi</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ni</i>		You put (or laid) down.
<i>ha</i>		<i>ku-qa</i>			<i>wa</i>	<i>t/a</i>		We will be warm.
		<i>pa</i>	<i>i</i>			<i>ni</i>	<i>pi</i>	You are having.
<i>ɛat</i>	<i>ɛa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>i</i>			<i>ga</i>		You are saying to me.

§ 21. Composition of Verb-Stems

A real composition of two verb-stems in one word seems to be entirely wanting. It sometimes happens, however, that the stem which contains the principal idea is placed before another verb-stem of very general meaning, such as *tī* TO BE, *xīx* TO GET, or *nuk^u* TO BECOME, and is there treated as if it were a prefix or an adverbial modifier, all of the other verbal prefixes being attached to the general auxiliary stem. Thus we have—

yīhā'n ke gax gax̄yisati' YOU (pl.) WILL CRY, where *gax* is the regular stem of the verb meaning TO CRY, and *tī*, the stem of the verb TO BE, taking the future, pronominal, and all other prefixes. Similar to this is *k!ānt hās uwanu'k^u* THEY BECAME ANGRY, where *k!ān* signifies ANGER, and *nuk^u* TO BECOME. Of this same type is *got cū'wax̄ix* THEY WERE ALL DESTROYED, although it is uncertain whether *got* is ever employed as a regular stem in the place of *xīx*.

The list on pages 190 and 191 contains the analysis of a number of verbal forms in accordance with the groups of prefixes and suffixes described in §§ 14–20.

Adverbs (§§ 22, 23)

§ 22. Modal Adverbs

1. *agi* is an interrogative adverb which is used in interrogative sentences in which no interrogative pronoun occurs. It is placed after the verb, or near the beginning of the clause.

iyaA'xtc agi'? do you hear it?

ūhā'n agi' yekā' at tūx̄A'ck^u tca kū'cta qoan q!ecā'nī? are we the ones splitting land-otter (tongues) to see people? (*ūhā'n* we; *yekā'* the ones; *at* indefinite object, namely, tongues; *tu* we; *x̄Ac* split; *-k^u* suffix [§ 20.3]; *tca* thus; *kū'cta* land-otter; *qoan* people; *q!eca'nī* to see [uncertain analysis])

xat yī sitī'n agi'? do you see me? (*xat* me; *yī* you; *si-* prefix [§ 18.1]; *tīn* to see)

2. *dē* following the verb indicates the imperative.

adjī't gut dē! come up to me! (*Ax* me; *-dj* intensive [§ 7]; *-t* to; *gu* to come; *-t* purpose [§ 20.1])

ā'nax asaqo'x dē! go with it around it! (*a* indefinite pronoun; *nax* around; *a* indefinite pronoun; *sa-* prefix; *qox* to go by canoe)

ga'nqa naa't dē! for firewood go! (*gan* firewood; *ga* for; *na-* prefix [§ 17.5]; *at* to go)

3. *q!wAn* expresses a mild imperative and resembles our own PRAY, OR SUPPOSE.

dēkī' q!wAn daqīcī'q out, pray, run to him! (*dēkī'* out; *da-* to [§ 14.4]; *qī-* [?]; *cīq* to run)

hīnq! q!wAn yēn xat cat into the water, pray, then put me! (*hīn* water; *q!* at; *yēn* then; *xat* me; *cat* put)

ituwu' q!wAn cat!i'q! Nīxā' nēl gu'tnē be courageous when Nīxā' comes in (see § 19.3; *i* you; *tu* mind; *-wu* possessive; *ca-* reflexive; *t!i'q!*, stem [?]; *nēl* into the house; *gu* to go; *-t -n -i* suffixes [§ 20.1; § 19.3; § 20.2])

4. *l̄* expresses the negation. Generally this element appears combined with the connective *le* THEN. The emphatic negative is *l̄l̄*, apparently a doubled negation.

l̄l̄ kīnīgī'q ya axhī'tī never tell about my house (*l̄l̄* never; *ki=ka* [?]; *nīk* to tell; *-iq* suffix; *ya* about; *ax* my; *hīt* house; *-ī* possessive)

l̄l̄ lax ye xat kuga'ndjīq never let me burn up! (*Lax* very; *ye* thus; *xat* I; *ku* future; *gan* to burn; *-tc* always; *-iq* a suffix)

In negative questions the negation is contracted with the interrogative particle.

l̄ē'gīl xat wunēku? am I not sick? (*l̄ē* adverb; *gī* interrogative particle; *l̄* not (with *l̄ē*); *xat* I; *wu-* verbal prefix; *nēk* sick)

5. *gu!* expresses probability, and is generally initial.

gu! lax lēq! dīs hasduka' cuwaxī'x very probably they passed all of one month (*Lax* very; *lēq!* one; *dīs* moon; *hasduka'* on them; *cu-* entirely [§ 15.1]; *wa-* verbal prefix [§ 18.2]; *xīx* stem)

gu! de djīnkā't ayu' q!a'owaxe for probably ten days he went [without food] (*de* already; *djīnkat* ten; *ayu'* demonstrative; *q!a* mouth [§ 14.1]; *o-* *wa-* prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.2]; *xe* stem)

§ 23. Locative Adverbs

Locative adverbs are difficult to distinguish from post-positions, but the following may be mentioned as of constant occurrence:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. <i>dāk</i> outward, out to sea | 7. <i>nēl</i> into the house |
| 2. <i>dāq</i> shoreward | 8. <i>yu</i> or <i>yux</i> out of doors |
| 3. <i>ke</i> upward | 9. <i>yēn</i> there |
| 4. <i>de</i> now, right away, already | 10. <i>dēkī'</i> far outward |
| 5. <i>ye</i> thus or as follows | 11. <i>ixkī'</i> down below, specifically southward |
| 6. <i>yēx</i> or <i>yax</i> like | 12. <i>yīk</i> inside |

Bearing a closer resemblance to post-positions are:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 13. <i>t</i> or <i>dê</i> to | 29. <i>ka</i> on |
| 14. <i>n</i> with | 30. <i>ga</i> for |
| 15. <i>x</i> from | 31. <i>qAQ!</i> for |
| 16. <i>q!</i> at | 32. <i>gē</i> inside of |
| 17. <i>yī</i> down in | 33. <i>tīn</i> with |
| 18. <i>yī'nadē</i> down toward | 34. <i>hā'yī</i> down underneath |
| 19. <i>yēs</i> for | 35. <i>q!ēs</i> for |
| 20. <i>qox</i> back to, backward | 36. <i>gayi</i> down in front of |
| 21. <i>xan</i> to a person | 37. <i>wat</i> at the mouth of |
| 22. <i>tu</i> into | 38. <i>tāk</i> in the middle of |
| 23. <i>tā'yī</i> under | 39. <i>nax</i> through, on account of, in association with |
| 24. <i>t!a</i> behind | 40. <i>gān</i> outside of |
| 25. <i>dax</i> from | 41. <i>datcū'n</i> straight for |
| 26. <i>da</i> around | 42. <i>ya</i> in the neighborhood of |
| 27. <i>xō</i> among | 43. <i>sak*</i> for |
| 28. <i>kī</i> toward | |

The last of these is always used after the verb.

Even nouns and verbs are used exactly as if they were conceived of as post-positions: as,

hī'tq!ī tūx ya'waqut yucā'wat adja'q dax the woman went through the houses after she had killed it (*hīt* house; *-q!ī* collective; *tūx* through; *ya-wa-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.2]; *gu* to go; *-t* [§ 20.1]; *yu-* demonstrative; *cā'wat* woman; *a* it; *djaq* to kill; *dax* from)

aq!ī'ts cantū'dē kax a'odīgeq! he put (his coat) on to go down into the midst of its tentacles (*a-* it; *q!ī'ts* tentacles; *cant-tū'dē* into the midst of; *kax* adverbial; *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-di-* prefixes [§ 17.2; § 18.3]; *geq!* to do quickly)

ayalanē's!awe awa'n when he had sharpened the edges of it (*a-* indefinite pronoun; *ya-l-* verbal prefixes [§ 15.3; § 18.4]; *nēs!* to sharpen; *awe* when; *a* it; *wan* edges)

As, on account of their phonetic weakness, the post-positions *t*, *n*, *x*, and *q!* must always be agglutinated to some other word, they sometimes have the appearance of cases, but the first of these is simply a contraction of *dê*; and the distinction in use between all of them and the syllabic post-positions is not marked enough to justify a separate classification.

The adverbs *de*, *ke*, and *ye* are essential to certain verbs, and the same may be said of *at* SOMETHING with the verbs *xa* TO EAT and *ʒun* TO START.

§ 24. Conjunctions

The conjunction used between nouns and coordinate clauses is *qa* AND; while antithesis is expressed by *qo'a*, which more closely approaches English HOWEVER in its use than BUT. Conjunctions employed to introduce sentences are, for the most part, compounded of post-positions and demonstratives:

ada'xayu or *ada'xawe* and then (compounded of *a*; *da* from; *a*, and *yu* or *we*)

atxawe' afterwards (from *a*; *t* to; *x* from; *a*; and *we*)

aya'xawe on account of which (from *a*; *yax* like; *a*; and *we*)

tc!ule', evidently THEN, consists of two adverbial particles, *tc!u* and *le!*

wanani'sawe by and by (probably compounded from some verb) *atcawe'* contains the intensive suffix *tc*.

Subordinate clauses, when not turned into participles or infinitives, are connected to the principal verb by *awe'* or *ayu'*, which also occur in conjunction with the participial suffix *-i*, and often with *qa-*, *na-*, or *-n*.

VOCABULARY (§§ 25-28)

Stems are almost invariably monosyllabic, and consist usually of a consonant followed by a vowel; or a consonant, vowel, and consonant. Occasionally, however, we find single vowels; a vowel followed by a consonant; or a vowel, consonant, and vowel. Two consonants never occur together in the same syllable unless one is an agglutinated affix.

§ 25. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of several simple nominal stems:

<i>a</i> lake	<i>ta</i> stone
<i>an</i> town	<i>tan</i> sea-lion
<i>as!</i> tree	<i>tāt</i> night
<i>axa'</i> paddle	<i>nu</i> fort
<i>īc</i> father	<i>naa't</i> clothing
<i>yāk^u</i> canoe	<i>nūk!^u</i> shells
<i>yāk</i> mussel	<i>tcunē't</i> bow
<i>yao</i> herring	<i>tsa</i> seal
<i>yax^utc</i> sea-otter	<i>tsēsk!^u</i> owl
<i>yēk</i> supernatural helper	<i>s!āx^u</i> hat
<i>yīt</i> son	<i>sīt</i> spruce
<i>dā's!a</i> snare	<i>cat</i> wife
<i>dīs</i> moon	<i>can</i> old person

<i>cayī'na</i> anchor	<i>xao</i> log or dead tree
<i>cī</i> blood	<i>xāt</i> root
<i>cī</i> song	<i>xōn</i> friend
<i>qagā'n</i> sun	<i>xōx</i> husband
<i>gotc</i> wolf	<i>kāt</i> fish-basket
<i>qa</i> man	<i>kā'nī</i> brother-in-law
<i>qahā'k^u</i> salmon-eggs	<i>kē'ladī</i> sea-gull
<i>qou</i> people	<i>xā'na</i> evening
<i>q!a</i> point	<i>xūts!</i> grizzly-bear
<i>q!ān</i> fire	<i>xixtc!</i> frog
<i>q!ūn</i> fur-seal	<i>hīn</i> fresh water
<i>q!āt!</i> island	<i>hīt</i> house
<i>xa</i> enemy	<i>hu'nx</i> elder brother

Onomatopœtic words are surprisingly rare.

The following are the terms of blood-relationship:

<i>līlk!</i> grandparent
<i>īc</i> father
<i>la</i> mother
<i>lak!</i> mother's sister (literally, little mother)
<i>kāk</i> mother's brother
<i>āt</i> father's sister, and father's sister's daughter
<i>sa'nī</i> father's brother and father's sister's son
<i>hunx</i> man's elder brother
<i>catx</i> woman's elder sister
<i>kīk!</i> man's younger brother, and woman's younger sister
<i>lāk!</i> man's sister
<i>īk!</i> woman's brother
<i>kālk!</i> mother's brother's children
<i>cxank!</i> grandchild
<i>yīt</i> son, and son of mother's sister
<i>sī</i> daughter, and daughter of mother's sister
<i>kēlk!</i> sister's child, and child of woman's brother

Terms of relationship through marriage are the following:

<i>xox</i> husband
<i>cat</i> wife
<i>wu</i> father-in-law
<i>tcān</i> mother-in-law
<i>kā'nī</i> brother-in-law of man, and sister-in-law of woman

The other relationships are indicated by terms purely descriptive. Most of the above are also used in a broad sense to cover those persons of the same sex, clan, and generation, as the one to whom it more particularly belongs. A sister's husband was called husband; and a wife's sister, wife, because, in case of the wife's death, the widower had a right to marry her sister.

§ 26. Verbal Stems

One or two nominal stems, such as *sa* NAME, *tcūn* DREAM, and *ʔiL* HERRING-RAKE, are also found as the stems of verbs, but usually the two sets of stems are quite distinct. The following is a partial list of verb-stems:

<i>u</i> to use	<i>gīt</i> to do
<i>ha</i> to dig	<i>na</i> to die
<i>s!u</i> to cut off	<i>ka</i> to be lazy
<i>na</i> to do	<i>t!a</i> to slap
<i>nī</i> to put	<i>t!a</i> to be hot
<i>xe</i> to stay, remain	<i>cī</i> to hunt for
<i>gu</i> to go (one person)	<i>hīk</i> to be full of
<i>at</i> to go (pl.)	<i>djēl</i> to set, place
<i>dja</i> to tell, explain	<i>tsīn</i> to be strong
<i>tī</i> to be	<i>gīq!</i> to throw
<i>ku</i> to know	<i>qox</i> to go by canoe
<i>tA</i> to sleep	<i>L!ēx</i> to dance
<i>qa</i> to say	<i>cat</i> to take, seize
<i>su</i> to help (a supernatural being acting)	<i>ʔac</i> to drift
<i>ca</i> to marry	<i>xōt!</i> to sharpen
<i>xa</i> to eat	<i>āx</i> to hear
<i>ya</i> to carry, bear	<i>hēn</i> to stand
<i>k!ē</i> to be good	<i>xēq!</i> to sleep or to go to sleep
<i>djī</i> to have	<i>s!īt</i> to cover
<i>qe</i> to sit	<i>tīt</i> to drift
<i>nēx</i> to save	<i>gāx</i> to cry
<i>nīk</i> to tell	<i>k!ān</i> to hate
<i>yex</i> to make	<i>ts!Aq</i> to smoke
<i>xōx</i> to invite	<i>ūk</i> to boil
<i>tAn</i> to put	<i>t!uk</i> to shoot
<i>nuk^u</i> to become	<i>t!Aq!</i> to pound
<i>djaq</i> to kill	<i>wūs!</i> to ask
<i>tīn</i> to see	<i>xīn</i> to fly into
<i>gas!</i> to strike	<i>k!Ak!</i> to cut
<i>gēn</i> to look at, examine	<i>q!ak^u</i> to forget
<i>ʔīʔ</i> to get	<i>q!āk</i> to swim
<i>qan</i> to burn	<i>Ak</i> to weave
	<i>tsīs</i> to swim

It is possible that the final consonant of one or another of these stems is really a suffix, and such may have been the origin of some terminal consonants which are now inseparable.

§ 27. Numerals

Numerals precede the nouns with which they occur. The cardinal numbers are:

<i>lēq!</i> one	<i>na'ts!kuducu'</i> eight
<i>dēx</i> two	<i>gucū'k</i> nine
<i>nats!k</i> three	<i>dj'î'nkāt</i> ten
<i>daq!ū'n</i> four	<i>dj'î'nkāt qa lēq!</i> eleven
<i>kē'djîn</i> five	<i>lē'qa</i> twenty
<i>lē'ducu</i> six	<i>nats!ga dj'î'nkāt</i> thirty
<i>daza'ducu</i> seven	<i>kē'djîn qa</i> one hundred

Kē'djîn is formed from *ke* UP and *djîn* HAND; *dj'î'nkāt* contains the suffix *kat* ACROSS OR UPON and *djîn* HAND; *lē'qa* is from *lēq!* ONE and *qa* MAN.

When human beings are referred to, slaves usually excepted, the numeral takes the post-position *nax*.

<i>na's!gînax qa</i> three men
<i>Leducū'nax dukē'lk!î has</i> his six nephews
<i>dēx gux</i> two slaves

The numeral ONE, however, is sometimes unchanged.

<i>yuLē'q! yātū'yiga wuckik!iyē'n</i> bring one of the brothers
<i>lēq! atī'yia</i> bring one man

nax is also used to form distributive numerals.

Ordinals are formed from cardinals by means of a final *-a*.

<i>daxa'</i> the second
<i>nats!gīa'</i> the third

THE FIRST is expressed by *cuq!wā'nax*.

Numeral adverbs are formed by suffixing *-dahēn*.

<i>daxdahē'n yē'yanaga</i> when he said thus twice
<i>daxdahē'na gu'dawe</i> after she had been twice

§ 28. Interrogative Pronouns

The chief interrogative pronouns, also used as relatives, are *adū'sa* WHO, *dā'sa* WHAT, and *wā'sa* WHAT OR HOW. The final syllable *sa* is separable, however, although never omitted, and ought rather to be regarded as an interrogative particle, though it is perhaps identical with the particle *sī* or *asī* referred to in § 18.1. Examples of the use of these pronouns are:

§§ 27, 28

adū'sa wuL!i'q! who broke it off?

adū'sqî qasî' gaca' I wonder who will marry my daughter

dā'saya ye dji'wani what has done this?

dasayū', aLe' what is that, mother?

hΔ dā'tin sa what with? (that is, what can you do?)

wasā'yu hadē' ye'doqa what to us do they say thus?

tc!uLe' lēl wudusku' wā'sa waniye' then they did not know what had been done

wā'sa iya'odudzîqa' Δxyî't what did they say to you, my son?

With these should be connected *gu'sū* WHERE.

gusū' yēn yuqoxe'tcgî where is, then, the breaking off of it?

gusū' tūwunu'gujîyî where is it that he had felt bad?

gudΔ'xqā'x sΔyu' ū'wadjî lēl ye'awusku' from whence he came, sho did not know

The last of these examples shows the locative character of *gusu'* (in this case contracted to *gu*); and the first two, the curious manner of its employment.

TEXT

QĀQ'ATCGŪ'K

(Told by interpreter, Don Cameron, at Sitka, January, 1904)

Cit'kā'q'layu¹ yē'yati² wu'ckik'ŷē'n³ yē'duwasak^{u4} hunxō'⁵ a⁶
 At Sitka it was that there were brothers named thus the eldest that is
 Qāq'atcgū'k.⁷ AL'ū'nayu⁸ has ak'cīta'n.⁹ Lēq!¹⁰ ts'utā'tayu¹¹
 Qāq'atcgū'k. Hunting it was they liked. One morning it was on
 that
 q'ā't!q'ŷi xodē'¹² dāk¹³ has uwaqo'x.¹⁴ Lēl' at udja'qx.¹⁵ Ts'u
 islands to among out they went by canoe. Not things he ever killed. Again
 yēn uqo'xtc.¹⁶ Tslu dāk uwaqo'x.¹⁴ Ada'xayu¹⁷ yuqlū'n¹⁸ xō'dē
 there he always came Again out he went by canoe. And then the fur seals to
 in by canoe.
 wuduwasā'.¹⁹ "Hu at naqo'xtciya²⁰ aya'.²¹ Cīk!A'L!²² f'sa²³
 his name was called. "He things always going in canoe is here. Keep quiet your voices
 after
 ga'x."²⁴ Dāq has naqo'x²⁰ a'ayu²⁵ yuhunxō'a²⁶ yē'q'layaqa:²⁷
 lest he Shoreward they were going by at that time the eldest brother it said thus:
 hear." canoe was

¹ Cī/kā' (Sitka) compounded of Cī the native name of Baranoff Island, the post-position /ā BEHIND or BACK OF, and the post-position ka ON; q' locative post-position AT; ayu compounded of yu the demonstrative and probably a- indefinite pronoun, used to call particular attention to the place.

² ye an adverbial particle referring to BROTHERS, which may here be translated AS FOLLOWS, although it sometimes refers to what precedes; ya- continuative prefix § 15.3; ŷi stem of the verb TO BE.

³ wu- § 15.4; c- the reflexive prefix § 11; kik! YOUNGER BROTHER; -ŷēn suffix which seems to take the place of has to indicate plurality.

⁴ ye AS FOLLOWS; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; sa TO NAME OR CALL; -ku noun-forming or perfect participial suffix § 20.3.

⁵ hunz ELDER BROTHER; ō probably possessive; kik! YOUNGER BROTHER.

⁶ a stands for yē'duwasak^u.

⁷ Object of yē'duwasak^u.

⁸ a- indefinite pronoun indicating the things hunted for; L/ūn HUNTING FOR, employed as a post-position; -ayū (see note 1).

⁹ has personal pronoun subject third person plural; a- object referring to AL/ū'n; ku- indefinite prefix; ci- desire § 18.7; tan TO PUT, verb-stem of many uses.

¹⁰ Lēq! ONE, numeral modifying ts'utā't. Very often the noun modified is omitted in connections like this.

¹¹ ts'u AGAIN; tāt NIGHT; ayu demonstrative. The meaning seems to be, ANOTHER NIGHT BEING PAST.

¹² q'ā! ISLAND; -q'ŷi plural; xō AMONG; dē motion to.

¹³ Adverb; SEAWARD OR TO AN OPEN PLACE.

¹⁴ u- § 17.2; wa- § 18.2; gox TO GO BY CANOE.

¹⁵ u- § 17.2; djaq TO KILL; -x distributive suffix § 19.4.

¹⁶ u- § 17.2; gox TO GO BY CANOE; -tc intensive suffix § 7.

¹⁷ a- indefinite pronoun; -dax FROM; ayu demonstrative.

¹⁸ yu- demonstrative; q'ūn FUR-SEAL.

¹⁹ wu- § 15.4; du- § 17.3; wa- § 18.2; sa TO NAME, TO CALL, also VOICE.

²⁰ na- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; gox TO GO BY CANOE; -tc intensive suffix § 7; -f participial suffix; -ya noun-forming suffix § 20.2, 4.

²¹ a indefinite pronoun, and ya demonstrative.

²² c- reflexive § 11; ŷi- frequentative § 18.4; k!A'L! TO BE QUIET.

²³ ŷi- THY; sa VOICE (see note 19).

²⁴ pa- subordinating prefix § 17.4; dx TO HEAR.

²⁵ a and ayu.

²⁶ yu- demonstrative; hunzō' ELDER BROTHER; a indefinite pronoun.

²⁷ yē- AS FOLLOWS; q'a MOUTH; ya- § 15.3; qa stem.

"Lāk^u axā', yāndunu'k^u." ²⁸ Lē klānt²⁹ has uwanu'k^u. ³⁰ Caqahā'dī³¹
 "Quick paddles it has become windy." Then angry they became. The Bowman
 yāk^{ut} ³² awago'q^u ³³ duaxa'yī. ³⁴ Łdaka't yē's ³⁵ wudzīgī't. ³⁶ Ada'xayu ¹⁷
 into the pushed his paddle. All did the same. And then
 canoe
 cana' ³⁷ has wu'dīsī't. ³⁸ Yū'yāk^u ¹⁸ qo'a Lē wu'lixac. ³⁹ Dekī'dē ⁴⁰
 heads they covered. The canoe, however, then drifted. Outward
 Leducū' ⁴¹ ya'kaye qa tāt¹¹ has wu'lixac. ³⁹ Yadi'jnkāt-qa-dēx ⁴²
 six days and nights they drifted. The twelfth day
 aka'tayu ⁴³ ke a'odzīgīt ⁴⁴ yēn yu'hitītk^u ⁴⁵ yuyā'k^u. ¹⁸ Aositī'n ⁴⁶
 on that up he woke there the drifting against the canoe. He saw
 the shore
 q'lāt'ka'q! ⁴⁷ Asīyu' ⁴⁸ tān, tsa, q'lūn, yax^{ut}! qa tān-q! adadzā'yī. ⁴⁹
 on the island it was sea-lions, hair-fur, sea-otters, and sea-bristles.
 seals, seals, lion-
 Łdaka't ada' ⁵⁰ aolita'q! ⁵¹ yuqlā'tīdāq! ⁵² Has At kā'wadjēl. ⁵³
 All around it drifted the island around on. They things got up.
 Lēq! tāk^u ⁵⁴ ayē's ⁵⁵ wuti'. ⁵⁶ KA'ndaklē'ti ⁵⁷ yulē'q! tāk^u qa acuwu'.
 One year they were there. It was completed the one year and a half.
 Wutē'x ⁵⁸ yuqā' teucstā't. ⁵⁹ Lēq! tslutā't ān ⁶⁰ ke udzīgīt ⁶¹
 Slept regularly the man to sleep about himself. One morning with it up he woke
 dutcū'nī. ⁶² Yē'ateun ⁶³ qox ⁶⁴ agā'qtc. ⁶⁵ Ada'xayu ¹⁷ Lēq! tslutā't ¹¹
 his dream. He dreamed thus back he always got. And then one morning

²⁸ ya- § 15.3; *n*- action accompanied by another action § 17.5; *du-* § 17.3; *nuk* TO BLOW.

²⁹ *k/ān* ANGER; *-t* attainment of a state § 20.1.

³⁰ *u-* § 17.2; *wa-* § 18.2; *nuk* TO BECOME.

³¹ Perhaps containing *ca* HEAD, *qa* MAN.

³² *yāk* CANOE; *-t* motion into.

³³ *a* indefinite pronoun; *wa-* § 18.2; *qoq* TO PUSH.

³⁴ *du-* HIS; *aza'* PADDLE; *-yī'* possessive suffix § 10.

³⁵ *yē* refers to action preceding; *-s* probably stands for *has* THEY.

³⁶ *wu-* § 15.4; *dzi-* TO COME TO § 18.6; *gī* TO DO.

³⁷ *ca* HEAD; *-na* probably AROUND, NEAR.

³⁸ *wu-* § 15.4; *di-* inchoative § 18.3; *s/ū* TO COVER.

³⁹ *wu-* § 15.4; *l-* frequentative § 18.4; *yac* TO DRIFT.

⁴⁰ *dekī'* FAR OFF; *-dē* motion thither.

⁴¹ *Lēq!* one; six = one counted upon five.

⁴² *ya-* demonstrative; *djin* HAND; *-kdi* UPON or ACROSS, probably the two hands lying upon each other; *qa* AND; *dēx* TWO.

⁴³ Probably *a* indefinite pronoun; *ka* ON; *t* motion to; *ayu* demonstrative compound.

⁴⁴ *a* indefinite pronoun; *o-* § 17.2; *dzi-* TO COME TO BE § 18.6; *gī*.

⁴⁵ *yū* demonstrative; *l-* frequentative § 18.4; *tū* TO DRIFT ASHORE; *-k* verbal noun § 20.3.

⁴⁶ *a-* indefinite pronoun; *o-* § 17.2; *-st* simple statement of an action § 18.1; *tin* TO SEE.

⁴⁷ *q/ū!* ISLAND; *ka* ON; *q!* AT.

⁴⁸ Probably *a* indefinite pronoun; *st* simple statement of fact (see note 46); *yū* demonstrative.

⁴⁹ *q/a* probably MOUTH; *-yī* possessive suffix § 10.

⁵⁰ *a* indefinite pronoun; *da* AROUND.

⁵¹ *a* indefinite pronoun; *o-* § 17.2; *l-* frequentative § 18.4; *laq!* TO DRIFT.

⁵² *yū* demonstrative; *q/ū!* ISLAND; *da* AROUND; *q!* AT.

⁵³ *ka-* TO CAUSE TO DO § 15.2; *wa-* § 18.2; *djel* TO ARISE.

⁵⁴ Strictly WINTER.

⁵⁵ *a* indefinite pronoun; *yēs* ON ACCOUNT OF, or *yē* plus *s* for *has* THEY.

⁵⁶ *wu-* § 15.4; *tī* TO BE.

⁵⁷ I am unable to analyze this word. *ka* may be the prefixed auxiliary.

⁵⁸ *wu-* § 15.4; *ta* TO SLEEP; *-x* distributive § 19.4.

⁵⁹ *tcuc-* perhaps reflexive § 11; *s-* single statement of action § 18.1; *ta* TO SLEEP; *-t* suffix indicating purpose § 20.1.

⁶⁰ *a* indefinite pronoun; *-n* WITH.

⁶¹ *u-* active prefix § 17.2; *dzi-* TO COME TO BE § 18.6; *gī* TO DO.

⁶² *du-* HIS; *tcūn* DREAM; *-t* possessive suffix after a consonant §§ 3, 10.

⁶³ *ye-* demonstrative; *a* indefinite pronoun; *tcūn* TO DREAM.

⁶⁴ *qox* occurs both as adverb and as post-position.

⁶⁵ *a* indefinite pronoun; *gāq* TO REACH; *-tc* intensive suffix § 7.

duk'k!-has ⁶⁶	ye'ayaosíqá, ⁶⁷	"Cá'yidaqê'dê. ⁶⁸		Yák'yí ⁶⁹	At kayfhaqá. ⁷⁰			
his younger brothers	he said to as follows,	"Sit up.	Into the canoe	things	you load.			
Tcākugē'yí	yê'nde ⁷¹	hayāk'gwatā'n. ⁷²	Gagā'n	Kanē'sdī-ca ⁷³				
Anywhere	thither	we will go.	Sun	Cross-mountain (Verstovaia)				
cakí'nax ⁷⁴	ke xīx'tc. ⁷⁵	Ada'xayu	yên	has yā'watan. ⁷⁶	Qo'ka			
near the top of	up always gets."	And then	there	they were heading.	It was dark			
wucgē'dí ⁷⁷	hasducayí'nayí ⁷⁸	hīnq! ⁷⁹	has	anatí'tc ⁸⁰	gagā'n	ana'x ⁸¹		
into itself	their anchor	in the water	they	lowered	sun	from near it		
ke xīx'tciya. ⁸²	Lax qlūn ⁸³	has uxe' ⁸⁴	sayu' ⁸⁵	has aosítí'n	kē'ladí			
up where it gets.	Very many	they camped	when it was	they saw	a sea-gull			
yadjí'ndahēn. ⁸⁶	Xatc ⁸⁶	Llūx	asiyu'	has	aosítí'n.	Axa'nga ⁸⁷		
standing suddenly (on the water).	It was	Mount Edgumbe	it was that	they saw.		Near it		
yasgaqoxayu' ⁸⁸	has	aosítí'n	Llūx	klidē'n.	"Yū'ca ⁸⁹	adatcū'n," ⁹⁰		
when they were coming	they saw	Mount Edgumbe	plainly.	"The mountain	straight towards it,"			
yū'yawaqa ⁹¹	Qāq!ategū'k,	"adatcū'n ⁹⁰		yên yayí'satan." ⁹²	Ada'xayu			
was what said	Qāq!ategū'k,	"straight towards it		there you be steering."	And then			
xā'nadē ⁹³	ana'x	yên	has	uwaqo'x.	Ye has	ā'wasa	Yāk'kalsiga'k ⁹⁴	
towards evening	near	there	they came by canoe.	Thus they	named it	Canoe-resting-place.		
Tān	a	akawati' ⁹⁵	ana'x	gaduskū't ⁹⁶	hu	ana'x	yên	wuqōxō'n. ⁹⁷
Sea lion	it was	he caused to be	ashore at it	so they might know	he	near it	there	had come by canoe.

⁶⁶ *du-* HIS; *kik'* YOUNGER BROTHER; *-has* plural for terms of relationship.

⁶⁷ *ye* demonstrative; *a* indefinite pronoun; *ya-* § 15.3; *o-* § 17.2; *si-* simple statement § 18.1; *qa-* TO SAY.

⁶⁸ Probably *c-* reflexive; *i-* YOU; *da-* inchoative § 18.3; *ge-* TO SIT; *-dê* imperative suffix or particle § 22.2.

⁶⁹ *yák'* CANOE; *yí* probably DOWN INTO.

⁷⁰ *ka-* TO CAUSE § 15.2; *yí-* YE; *i-* frequentative § 18.4; *ga-* TO LOAD.

⁷¹ *yên* THERE; *dê* motion toward.

⁷² *ha* US; *ya-* § 15.3; *ku-* indefinite § 15.6; *gwa-* (for *gu-*) future § 15.5; *tan* TO GO.

⁷³ *Kanê'sí* is the modern Tlingit word for CROSS (Lieut. G. T. Emmons believes it to be a corruption of CHRIST. The consonant cluster *st* does not sound like Tlingit); *ca* MOUNTAIN.

⁷⁴ *ca* HEAD; *kí* TOWARDS; *nax* NEAR, or FROM NEAR BY.

⁷⁵ *xíx'* TO GET; *-tc* intensive suffix § 7.

⁷⁶ *ya-* § 15.3; *wa-* § 18.2; *tan* TO HEAD.

⁷⁷ *wu-* § 15.4; *c-* reflexive; *ge-* INTO; *dí* motion to.

⁷⁸ *hadu-* THEIR; *cayí'na* ANCHOR; *-yí* possessive suffix.

⁷⁹ *hín* WATER; *-q'* INTO.

⁸⁰ *a* indefinite pronoun; *na-* action accompanied by another § 17.5; *ti* stem; *-tc* intensive suffix.

⁸¹ *a* indefinite pronoun; *nax* NEAR, or FROM NEAR BY.

⁸² *xíx'* TO GET; *-tc* intensive suffix § 7; *-i* participle; *-ya* verbal noun § 20.2, 4.

⁸³ After *Lax qlün*, the word *lū* WINTER should be understood.

⁸⁴ *u-* § 17.2; *xe-* TO CAMP.

⁸⁵ *ya-* § 15.3; *dí-* RAPIDLY § 17.1; *na-* AT THE SAME TIME AS § 17.5; *da-* inchoative § 18.3; *kên* TO STAND.

⁸⁶ *-tc* emphatic suffix (?).

⁸⁷ *a* indefinite pronoun; *xan* post-position indicating motion to the neighborhood of some person; *-ga* PURPOSE.

⁸⁸ *ya-* § 15.3; *a-* probably stands for *has*; *ga-* WHEN § 17.4; *qox* TO GO BY CANOE; *-ayu* demonstrative.

⁸⁹ *yu* demonstrative; *ca* MOUNTAIN.

⁹⁰ *a* indefinite pronoun; *adatcūn* post-position, perhaps containing *da* AROUND.

⁹¹ *yu* demonstrative; *ya-* § 15.3; *wa-* § 18.2; *qa-* TO SAY.

⁹² *ya-* § 15.3; *yí-* second person plural; *sa-* indicative § 18.1; *tan* TO STEER.

⁹³ *dê* motion toward.

⁹⁴ *yák'* CANOE; *kál* (?); *si-* indicative § 18.1; *ga* or *gak'* (?).

⁹⁵ *a* indefinite pronoun; *ka-* TO CAUSE § 15.2; *wa-* § 18.2; *ti* TO BE.

⁹⁶ *ga* subordinating prefix § 17.4; *du-* § 17.3; *a-* indicative § 18.1; *ku* TO KNOW; *-i* purpose § 20.1.

⁹⁷ *wu-* § 15.4; *qox* TO GO BY CANOE; *-n* conjunctive suffix preceded by *o* in harmony with the *o* before *z* § 3; § 19.3.

Ada'xawe And then	yaC'i't'lkadê ⁹⁸ here to Sitka	has they	wuqo'x. came by canoe.	Yā'ānī ⁹⁹ This town	gayā'qdê ¹⁰⁰ ashore in front of
yā'sgaqo'xayu' ¹⁰¹ when they were coming in by canoe	tclā'guayī' ¹⁰² the old one	duca't' ¹⁰³ his wife	gānt outside	agā'x. wept.	Tclaye' su At that very time
gaxē'ayu' ¹⁰⁴ when she was crying	aosi'ti'n she saw	yū'yāk' ¹⁰⁵ the canoe	ān town	egaya'dē ¹⁰⁶ to in front of	yānaqo'x. ¹⁰⁶ was coming.
awu'Agē' ¹⁰⁷ she had woven	xāt-slāx' ¹⁰⁸ the root-hat.	Wudihā'n ¹⁰⁹ She started up	nēlde' ¹¹⁰ into the house	wugu't. ¹¹¹ to go (she went).	Hāt ¹¹² Here
has uwaqo'x. they came.	Dutuwu' ¹¹³ Her mind was happy	sign' yucā'wat-cān. ¹¹⁴ the old woman's.	Duxō'x Her husband	duxa'nq! ¹¹⁵ to her	
dāq up	gu'dayu came when	ldaka't all things	at to the men	qadjidē' ¹¹⁶ these	ye aosi'ni' ¹¹⁷ he gave
ya'x'tc sea-otter	dūgu', skins,	q'lūn fur-seal	dūgu'. skins.	Ān qādjī'n ¹¹⁸ With these	aoliḥē'k' ¹¹⁹ he shook.
yēn ¹²⁰ in-law	yē'dayaduqa, ¹²¹ they said thus to him,	"Detclā'k' ¹²² " Long since	iiti'q! ¹²³ in your place	yēn there	yu-at-kā'wati. ¹²⁴ the feast has been given.
Yuyi's-qa ¹²⁵ The young woman	de ¹²⁶ is already	udū'waca." ¹²⁷ married."	Alē'n ¹²⁸ It was much	tuwunu'k' ¹²⁹ trouble	awatlē'. ¹³⁰ she felt.

⁹⁸ *ya* THIS, employed because the story was told in Sitka; *dē* TOWARD.

⁹⁹ *ya* THIS; *ān* TOWN; -*t* possessive suffix. The reason for the use of this suffix is not clear.

¹⁰⁰ *qā'ya* post-position, IN FRONT OF; -*q* probably indicates motion SHOREWARD; -*dē* TOWARD.

¹⁰¹ *ya*- § 15.3; *s-* for *has* THEY (?); *ga*-subordinating prefix § 17.4; *qoz* TO GO BY CANOE; -*ayu* demonstrative.

¹⁰² *tc/āk*= OLD, OLD TIMES, OLD THINGS; -(*a*)*ti* possessive suffix referring to *duca't*.

¹⁰³ *du*- HIS.

¹⁰⁴ *qaz* TO CRY; -*t* participle § 20.2; -*ayu* demonstrative.

¹⁰⁵ *c-* occurs a few times before post-positions beginning with *g*, such as *ga* and *pē*; *pē'ya* IN FRONT OF; *dē* TOWARD.

¹⁰⁶ *ya*- § 15.3; *na*- action done at the same time as another § 17.5.

¹⁰⁷ *a* indefinite pronoun; *wa*- § 15.4; *ak* TO WEAVE, with terminal sound voiced before vowel; -*t* participle § 20.2.

¹⁰⁸ *xāt* ROOT; *s/āx*= HAT.

¹⁰⁹ *wu*- § 15.4; *dī*- inchoative § 18.3; *lān* TO MOVE. (?)

¹¹⁰ *nēl* INTO THE HOUSE; *dē* TOWARD.

¹¹¹ *wu*- § 15.4; *gu* TO GO; -*t* purposive suffix § 20.1.

¹¹² *hē* demonstrative; -*t* post-position.

¹¹³ *du* HER; *tu* MIND; *wa* possessive suffix after *u* § 10.

¹¹⁴ *ya* demonstrative; *cā'wat* WOMAN; *cān* OLD.

¹¹⁵ *du* HE; -*lān* TO THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF a person; -*q*/ AT.

¹¹⁶ *ga* MAN; -*tc* voiced before vowel; emphatic suffix § 7; *dē* TOWARD.

¹¹⁷ See note 46; *nī* TO GIVE.

¹¹⁸ *ga* MAN; *djīn* HAND.

¹¹⁹ *lēk*= TO SHAKE.

¹²⁰ *du* HIS; *pēn* plural for terms of relationship (see note 3).

¹²¹ *yē* demonstrative; *dē* sign of indirect object § 14.4; *ya*- § 15.3; *du*- § 17.3; *qz* TO SAY.

¹²² *dē* NOW; *tc/āk*= A LONG TIME AGO.

¹²³ *i-* THY; -*q*/ post-position.

¹²⁴ *ya* demonstrative; *at* SOMETHING; *ka*-causative § 15.2; *wa*- § 18.2; *ti* TO BE.

¹²⁵ *ya* demonstrative; *pīs* YOUNG PERSON; *qz* HUMAN BEING.

¹²⁶ *dē* NOW.

¹²⁷ *u*- § 17.2; *du*- § 17.3; *wa*- § 18.2; *ca* TO MARRY (=WOMAN).

¹²⁸ *a* indefinite pronoun; *lēn* BIG.

¹²⁹ *tu* MIND; *wa*- § 15.4; *nuk*= TO BECOME.

¹³⁰ *a* indefinite pronoun; *wa*- § 18.2; *tē* TO FEEL.

[Translation]

Brothers lived at Sitka of whom the eldest was named Qāq!atcgū'k. They were fond of hunting. One morning they went out among the islands. He (that is Qāq!atcgū'k) kept coming back without having killed anything. He went out again. Then his name was mentioned among the fur-seals. "The one who always hunts is here. Keep quiet, lest he hear your voices." When they were going towards the shore, the eldest brother said, "Use your paddles quickly, for it has become windy." Now they became angry. The bow-man pushed his paddle down into the canoe. All did the same thing. Then they covered their heads. The canoe, however, drifted on. They drifted out for six days and nights. The twelfth day he (Qāq!atcgū'k) awoke and found the canoe drifting against the shore. He saw sea-lions; hair-seals, fur-seals, sea-otters, and sea-lion bristles on the island. All had drifted ashore around the island. They took their things up. They were there for one year. A year and a half was completed. The man kept sleeping, thinking about his condition. One morning he woke up with his dream. He kept dreaming that he had gotten home. And one morning he said to his younger brothers, "Sit up. Put the things into the canoe. The sun always rises from the neighborhood of Mount Verstovaia." Then they headed in that direction. When it became dark, they lowered their anchor into the water in the direction from which the sun comes up. After they had spent very many nights, they saw a sea-gull upon the water. What they saw was Mount Edgecumbe. When they got nearer it, they saw plainly that it was Mount Edgecumbe. "Straight for the mountain," said Qāq!atcgū'k, "steer straight towards it." So towards evening they came near it. They named that place Canoe-resting-place. He pounded out the figure of a sea-lion there so that they might know he had come ashore at that place. When they came ashore in front of the town, his old wife was outside weeping. While she was crying, she saw the canoe coming in front of the town. She saw the root-hat she had woven. She got up to go into the house. They came thither. The old woman's mind was glad. When her husband came up to her, he gave all these things to the people—sea-lion bristles, sea-otter skins, fur-seal skins. He shook hands with these in his hands. His brother-in-law said to him, "The feast was given for you some time ago (that is, the mortuary feast). The young woman is already married." She (the younger woman) was very much troubled on account of it (because her former husband was now a man of wealth).

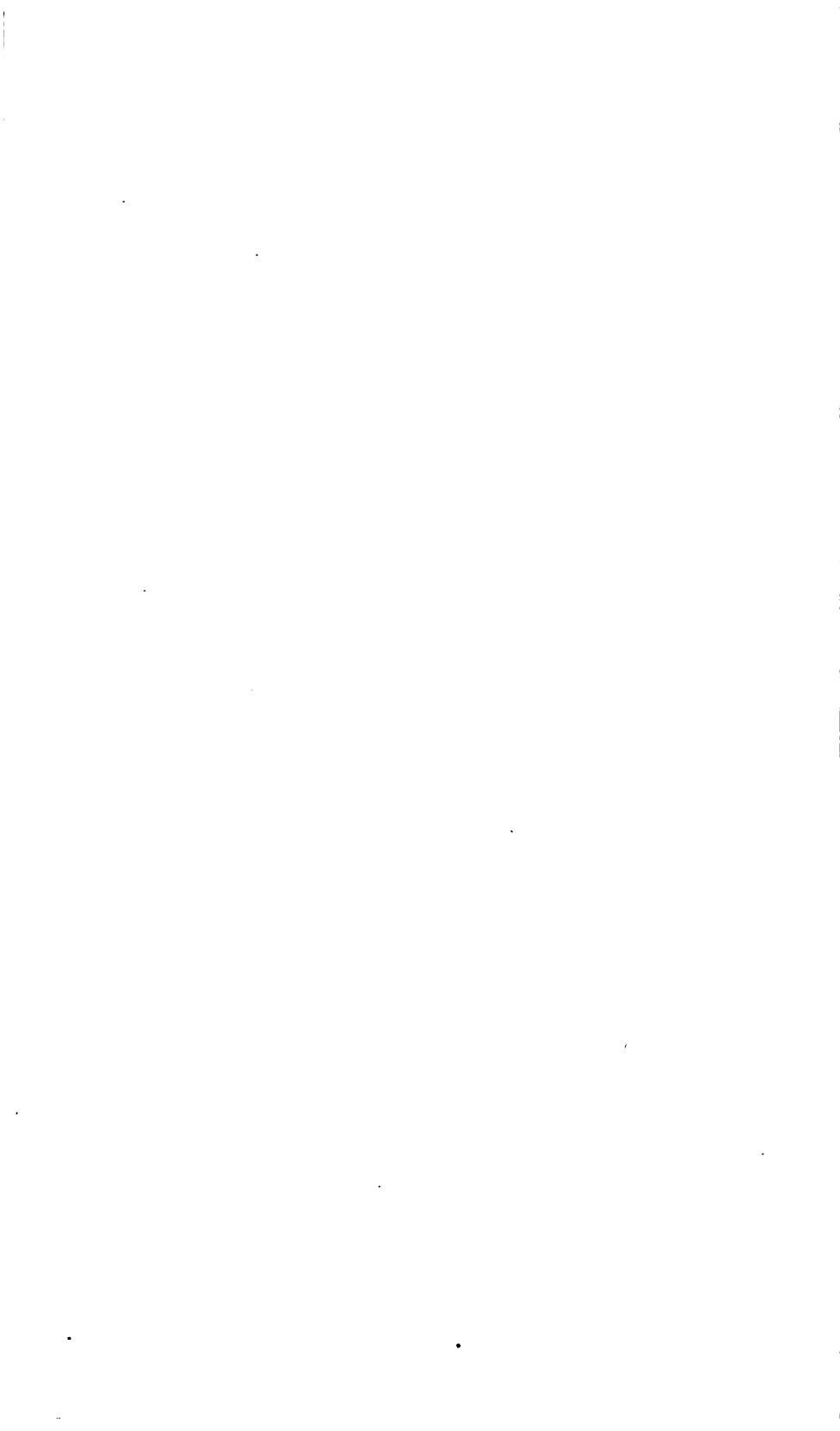
HAIDA

BY

JOHN R. SWANTON

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HAIDA

By JOHN R. SWANTON

§ 1. LOCATION

The Haida language, called Skittagetan by Powell, was anciently spoken only on the Queen Charlotte islands, off the coast of British Columbia. About a hundred and fifty or two hundred years ago, however, a large body of Haida moved from their old towns in the northwestern part of the islands, and settled around Cordova and Kasaan bays, Alaska. As originally situated the Haida consisted of six fairly well-marked geographical groups, each of which probably possessed certain dialectic peculiarities; but only two or three well-established dialects can now be said to exist. The two most important of these are that spoken at Skidegate, in the central portion of the Queen Charlotte islands, and that spoken at Masset (on the northern end of the islands) and in Howkan, Klinkwan, and Kasaan, Alaska. The first I shall call the Skidegate dialect, and the second the Masset dialect. The speech of the people around the southern extremity of the group differed so far from these that it may also have been entitled to dialectic rank, but so few of those who used to speak it now survive that we have no absolute knowledge on this point. From the name given by whites to their principal town, I shall call this hypothetical dialect the dialect of Ninstints.

The nearest neighbors of the Skidegate Haida were the Tsimshian of the mainland of British Columbia; and the nearest neighbors of the Masset Haida the Alaskan Tlingit. There is evidence, however, that at one time the Tlingit were neighbors of the southern Haida as well; and the speech of both shows morphological and even lexical similarities such as lead to a suspicion of genetic relationship. Although Tsimshian influence has been very strong among the Haida in recent years, the Tsimshian language is quite distinct, and the only other language in this region which shows any morphological similarity to Haida is the Athapascan spoken in the interior of the continent.

The examples given in the following sketch have been taken from my collection of Haida texts. Those in the Masset dialect will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Volume X; those in the Skidegate dialect in Bulletin 29 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. References preceded by B refer to Bulletin 29.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-5)

§ 2. System of Sounds

Like most other languages of the north Pacific coast of America, Haida makes an extended use of sounds of the *k*, *l*, and *s* series. It is peculiarly remarkable, however, for the great extent to which it employs *n* and *ñ* (*ng*) and the frequent juxtaposition of two or even three vowel-sounds. Following is a list of all those sounds which the Haida themselves appear to recognize:

Consonants							Semi-vowels and Breathing.	Vowels	
	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal				
Affricatives . . .	<i>dj</i>	<i>tc</i>	<i>tc!</i>	—	—	—			
Dentals	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t!</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	—			
Palatals	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k!</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>ī</i> (or <i>ē</i>)	<i>î</i> (or <i>ê</i>)
Velars	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q!</i>	<i>x</i>	—	<i>h</i>			
Labials	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	—	—	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>		<i>ā</i> (or <i>a</i>)	▲
Laterals	<i>ɬ</i>	<i>ɮ</i>	<i>ɮ!</i>	<i>l, l</i>	—			<i>ū</i> (or <i>ō</i>)	<i>u</i> (or <i>o</i>)

An anterior palatal series might be added to these, but the sounds to be so characterized seem only palatals followed by a close vowel. The fortis sounds are accompanied by a slight explosion, which results from urging more breath against the articulating organs than can at once pass through. Some speakers bring these out very forcibly, while others pass over them with considerable smoothness. In the latter case it is very easy to mistake them for corresponding sonants. It is doubtful whether *d* and *t* and *dj* and *tc* really exist as recognizedly separate sounds; *tc* is sometimes heard in the Masset dialect, and *dj* in Skidegate in corresponding situations. *ʃ* is pronounced intermediately between the *ch* in German "ach" and in German "ich," with which latter sound it agrees entirely when placed before a close vowel. In the *l*-series *ɬ* is much like *dl*, and *ɮ* much like *tl*; but the tongue is extended farther forward along the palate, and there is a greater flow of breath around it. In *l* the outflow of breath becomes extreme. *m* and *p* are usually final sounds in certain

syllables where they appear to convey a kind of onomatopoeic sense. In both cases there is a little longer pause with lips closed after the enunciation than is usual in English. *b*, which occurs in barely half a dozen words, seems to be of the same nature. In the Masset dialect *g* and *x* are articulated so feebly that it is best to represent them by independent signs, *ʿ* and *ˆ*; but this alteration seems to be only an accompaniment of the shorter form of speech which Masset people affect. In the present sketch all of the examples not marked "Masset" are taken from the Skidegate dialect.

Among vowels we have to distinguish clearly between those proper to the language and those which seem to be purely accidental, a sort of by-product of speech. In the former class are *ū* (or *ō*), *u* (or *o*), *ī* (or *ē*), *i* (or *e*), *a*, and *ʌ*. The sounds in the pairs *ū* and *ō*, *u* and *o*, *ī* and *ē*, *i* and *e*, are not distinguished from each other, and in each case the two probably stand for a single sound. *i* and *e* pass very easily into *î* and *ê*; and the latter may be described as accidental sounds, although which pair is really accidental it would be hard to say. Under the accent, *a* is lengthened into *ā*. Sometimes *ä* is heard instead of *ā* (*kiā'lu*, *kiä'lu*); and sometimes the doubling of a sound gives the effect of *ä*, as in Masset *qäñ*, equivalent to *qa'ʌñ*, and *qä'ñan*, which is the same as *qea'ñan*. *a* following *wa*, as in *wa'ɬu*, resembles *ä*; and *ä* is heard in a few exclamations, but it is not proper to the language. The semi-vowels, *y* and *w*, are etymologically related to *ī* and *ū*, and must be considered modifications of these sounds.

A notable feature of Haida is the doubling and juxtaposition of vowels, accompanying the general vocalic character of the speech. Any two vowels may thus be used together, but, although generally treated as equivalent to a single vowel, they do not seem to be pronounced as closely together as the vowel-sounds which compose our diphthongs. Examples of this phenomenon are:

djä'ada woman

la l' kīññā'gañ wānsū'ga he told her the news, they say

l' sū'us he said

gua towards

ta'olʌñ friends

gui toward

l' qea'lagʌn he became

lnaga'i the town

A weak *i* may be followed by two vowels, as in *gia'ogī* AT THE END.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds

Syllables may consist of a single vowel; a consonant with following vowel, or with vowel-combination like the above; two consonants with following vowel; two consonants, a vowel, and a terminal consonant; or of two consonants by themselves.

While all classes of consonants may stand at the beginning of words, *k* sounds are not admitted as terminal sounds.

Two groups of consonantic clusters may be distinguished—those with initial *s* and *l*, and those with other initial consonants. *l*, *ɬ*, *ɭ*, and *ɮ* belong in part to the former group.

Only *s* and *l*, and to a certain extent *ɬ*, *ɬ*, *ɭ*, and *ɮ* may form initial clusters, and the first two are found with considerable frequency in monosyllabic stem. In these clusters *s* and *l* are followed by other consonants; but *s* is not followed by another *s* or an affricative. Following are examples, taken from the Masset dialect:

<i>stañ</i> two 280.10	<i>lta'nu</i> to eat (collective) 278.7
<i>st'ē</i> sick 300.28	<i>lgūl</i> to move about
<i>sgat</i> to chop 275.10	<i>lkwid</i> disturbed, in haste 719.5
<i>skit-</i> to club	<i>lk!A'mal</i> needle of coniferous tree
<i>sk'iän</i> but 296.32	303.11
<i>s'oan</i> (<i>s'wān</i>) one 275.7	<i>lñēid</i> to begin to split 711.23
<i>sq'lao</i> salmon-berry bush 319.23	<i>l'ianq!alē'</i> pit 703.25
<i>sLAQA'm</i> butterfly 296.26	<i>lqam</i> kelp
<i>sL!a</i> hand	

Initial clusters with initial *ɬ*, *ɭ*, *ɮ* or *l* are not rare, but are formed probably in all cases by composition.

<i>lnagai'</i> town 704.9 (from <i>na</i> to live)
<i>lñA'nda</i> a whole one 707.11; 419.15
<i>l'LNēālañan</i> she cooked it 731.41 (<i>ēal</i> to cook 295.7)
<i>lnōt</i> 710.26
<i>l'lqadañidan</i> to split quickly 711.26
<i>l!djugia'ga-i</i> standing 725.26
<i>lsku'nagañan</i> they dress up 717.34

All other consonantic clusters do not admit surd stops in second position, and no *k* sound occurs in first position. The only cluster beginning with an affricative that I have found is *djɰ*. Presumably all these clusters are due to composition of stems which terminate and begin with consonants respectively. This would account for the

absence of *k* sounds as first sounds of clusters, since these do not occur as terminal sounds.

§ 4. Dialectic Differences

Compared with the Skidegate dialect, Masset appears to have undergone a shortening process throughout. I have already mentioned the change of *g* and *x* to *ʼ* and *ɣ*; and this shortening is also conspicuously noticeable among vowel-sounds, *a* appearing as *ʌ*, *hao* as *ū*, *stʌ* or *sta* as *stʼ*, while the *u* and *a* sounds generally, especially when terminal, are reduced to very light breathings. The vowel-combination *ai* becomes almost *ē*. Sometimes, however, one vowel is changed into another, as in *stʼiñ* TWO (Masset *stʌñ*) or *uʼngu* ON TOP OF (Masset *iʼñgu*). In conformity with a euphonic tendency to be noted below, *ñ*, as in *iʼstñ*, often changes to *n* in Masset. Occasionally, too, whole syllables are dropped, and so we have *qaod* for *qaʼodí*; *tʼal* and *dal* for *tʼalʌʼñ* and *dalʌʼñ*; *iʼLʌdē* for *iʼLʌgʱidasgai*.

Another difference between these two dialects, related to the question of euphony, is the change of *g* into *ɣ* in certain situations in the Skidegate dialect, and its retention in Masset. Thus *āʼdʲgua* OVER THERE in Masset becomes *āʼdʲɣua* in Skidegate, and *lʼ qāʼgals* HE WENT OUT becomes *lʌ qāʼɣʌls*. This is interesting as seeming to show that the euphonic tendencies have acted differently in the two branches of the Haida tribe.

All that is known of the peculiarities of the Ninstints dialect is that it tended to substitute *k* for *g*, and that in the manner of its enunciation it was esteemed by the other Haida to resemble Athapaskan.

§ 5. Laws of Euphony

The most important euphonic change in Haida is related to that spoken of above. Within the Skidegate dialect itself the *g* and *ɣ* of the connective particle *ga-i* (see p. 262), the possessive suffix *-gañ* (see § 28.4), and the past-temporal suffixes before the quotative *wansūʼga* (see § 23.1), are dropped in certain situations, generally having to do with the preceding sound. It is not possible to make rules that will cover all the cases which occur, but it generally happens that *g* is retained after *a* and dropped after *u*. After the consonants and the remaining vowels it is more often dropped than retained; but exceptions are numerous, especially after *i*, *ñ*, the *L*-sounds, and *s*

contracted from *dji*. In the cases of infinitives and participles, exceptions are more numerous than with nouns. Examples of the use and disuse of this *g* are the following:

<i>xā'gai</i> the dog B 37.4	<i>nā'nāñ</i> his grandmother B 59.14
<i>lua'i</i> the canoe B 29.21	<i>nā'ñgai</i> the play
<i>djā'gañ</i> his wife B 29.30	<i>q!adī'gai</i> the slumber
<i>awu'ñ</i> his mother B 7.1	<i>ā'sgai</i> this thing B 33.28
<i>goda'i</i> the box B 71.32	<i>l' gea'lgai</i> when he came (to be)

In the Masset dialect the *g* of *-agan*, the Skidegate past-inexperienced temporal suffix (see § 23.2, p. 248), is dropped in most situations, but retained as *g* after *a*, conformably with the above rule

<i>la l! isdagi'gañan</i> they	<i>l! 'ā'sgadanī</i> they landed
always took him	<i>xed idja'nī</i> they were ashore

But—

<i>qāl yū'an q!ēdju'l!agan</i> a big	<i>l' tā'ganī</i> he ate
reef stood out of the water	<i>nāñ i'l!agidagan</i> one was chief

The final consonant of certain stems is sometimes *l*, sometimes *l*. Of these, *l* usually appears before a vowel, *l* before a consonant:

<i>la stā l! stils</i> they went back	<i>a'asīñ gut la qaxitgiā'lasi</i> he
for him	ran over this way upon it

But accent seems to have something to do with the phenomenon; for, when two vowels precede this consonant and the accent falls upon the second, *l* is commonly employed; thus—

Gei lā'ga la tc'i'tlageā'lgai lu when he got through breaking his paddles

l is also sometimes introduced where it has no grammatical significance, and thus we find *yakulsi'a* IN THE MIDDLE instead of *yakusi'a*.

n and *ñ* seem to bear much the same relation to each other as *l* and *l*, only in this case *ñ* is plainly the original sound. Thus the terminal phonetic combination *-ñas* often contracts to *ns*; for example, *nā'tga hao la'ootūgwañgañas* HIS NEPHEW SAT AROUND WHISTLING or *nā'tga hao la'ootūgwañgans*. This phenomenon may be due as much to rapid pronunciation as to any other cause.

Before *s* the terminal *ñ* of the imperative future suffix disappears, as also from *gañā'ñ* LIKE before *xan*, as in *gañā'xan*; while in *gi'ñgañ* TO HIMSELF it appears to be inserted.

s becomes *dj* before most vowels; for example, *tās* SAND, *tā'djai* THE SAND; *ā'dji* THIS, *ā'sgai* THIS THING; *hawa'n dāñ xē'nāñāūdja* DO YOU STILL LIVE? and *gam gu 'anl dā'ñ'a tlalā'ñ i'nalñāñus*

MAY WE NOT LEAVE WATER WITH YOU? (Masset)—have the same interrogative suffix *-ūdja*, *-us*.

Labials are of small consequence in Haida. Still it is worth noting that *sīp* SEA-ANEMONE changes the *p* to *b* when followed by the connective particle, namely, *sī'bai*.

§ 6. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical categories and syntactical relations are expressed almost solely by composition, affixing, and position. There is a sporadic case of duplication presented by the continuative suffix *-gañ*; as, *la qí'ñgañ* HE IS LOOKING, *la qí'ñgañgañ* HE LOOKS MANY TIMES; but it is not extensively used. The perfect tense is expressed by a form which may possibly represent dieresis, but which is more plausibly explained as a suffix, *-y*; as, *la suda'yaganî ī'la tsda'sī*, HE DID DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WAY HE HAD SAID HE WOULD DO.

Verbal and nominal stems may be combined into stem-complexes by juxtaposition. These complexes are treated syntactically like single stems, each element in the complex receiving its significance by its position. Besides compositions of such independent stems, a number of others occur in which the component elements do not seem to be independent, but occur as prefixes or suffixes. There is, however, no sharp dividing-line between composition and affixing; and some of the elements that appear at present as subordinate may prove to be independent stems. Notwithstanding the phonetic independence of the elements of the stem-complexes, their relation is so intimate that it seems best to consider them as single words because they enter as units into syntactic construction. A number of sound changes which have been referred to seem to be of a purely phonetic character, and not to have any morphological significance.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

(§§ 7-12)

§ 7. Noun and Verb

In general, the distinction between nominal and verbal stems is very sharp. It is true that certain stems are used in a manner that leaves a doubt as to which category they belong, but their use is quite limited. Such are *wā'lgał* POTLATCH and TO POTLATCH, *řial* DANCE and TO DANCE, *na* HOUSE and TO LIVE; while *gīda* CHIEF'S

§§ 6, 7

SON, *yä'nañ* CLOUDS, *tā'ña* SEA-WATER, have or may present verbal forms. Generally, however, a noun which is used as a predicate is followed by a verbal stem, or appears incorporated, as, *l' gīdagā'gan* HE WAS A CHIEF'S SON, *l' tcā'alda* HE HAD A SPEAR (from *tcā'al* SPEAR).

Verbs that change into nouns usually become abstract, their origin being thus easily recognized. The names for instruments, store-articles, and some other things, are generally descriptive terms and thus verbal, but they have dropped their verbal suffixes and taken on a noun-forming suffix. Rarely a verb is turned into a passive and then into a noun by prefixing *ta* and suffixing *gai* (see § 17.4, p. 236). These are the only cases in which we find verbal prefixes in nouns.

§ 8. Composition

Although there is much freedom in the composition of stem-complexes, a number of types may readily be distinguished. The more fully developed complexes of this kind generally express by an initial element an idea of modality, most commonly instrumentality; by a second element, the nominal object; by a third element, the peculiar kind of action; and by a fourth element, the local relations of the action. In those cases in which the various elements are best developed, the first element appears as an instrumental prefix; the second, as a term expressing a group of nouns characterized by a certain shape; the third is a verbal stem; and the fourth expresses direction and location.

These word-complexes are followed by suffixes expressing tense, mood, and related concepts.

§ 9. Classification of Nouns

The classification of nouns, referred to before, is one of the characteristic traits of the language. The groups characterize objects as "long," "slender," "round," "flat," "angular," "thread-like," "animate," etc. On account of the extended use of these classifiers, incorporation of the noun itself is comparatively speaking rare. It is here represented by the use of the classifiers which express the subject of the intransitive verb, or the object of the transitive verb as a member of a certain class of things, the principle of classification being form.

On the other hand, the same verbal stems—like "to carry," "push," "move," "be"—are used, on the whole, in relation to all
§§ 8, 9

kinds of objects, regardless of their form; consequently there are also only a few cases in which the verbal stem differs in the singular and plural. This agrees also with the fact that in the noun the idea of plurality is only weakly developed. It occurs only in terms of relationship and a few other terms designating human beings.

§ 10. Personal Pronouns

Verbs are strictly distinguished as active and neutral. Neutral verbs are, on the whole, those designating states of the body and qualities, while all other verbs are considered as active. The subject of the latter is expressed by the subjective pronoun, while the pronominal relations of the neutral verb are expressed by the objective pronouns. In the pronoun the speaker, person spoken to, and person spoken of, are distinguished. The distinction between subjective and objective forms is confined to the first and second persons singular and to the first person plural. Besides these forms, an indefinite singular and plural occurs. The indefinite personal pronouns are also commonly used before nouns to perform the functions covered by our definite and indefinite articles. The personal pronoun of the third person plural is also frequently used as an equivalent to our passive. It is also employed as an equivalent to the form for the third person singular, when the person referred to is especially venerated or respected. The speaker may refer to himself in the same way.

§ 11. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are limited in number, the most general spatial relations only being indicated. The demonstrative employed to mark nearness occurs very often, and corresponds to a similar demonstrative in the Tlingit language. There are certain other particles of a demonstrative character, but they more often indicate grammatical connection than spatial relations.

§ 12. Connectives

Special local relations are expressed by a long series of connectives which are in intimate relation with the verb, but also with the noun and pronoun. They characterize the special relation of the indirect object to the verb. They are placed preceding the direct object and following the indirect object, if there is one. They seem to be adverbial in character.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 13-34)

§ 13. Formation of Word-Complexes

As already stated, Haida words are very loosely put together and many of their elements may also be used independently. The type of the word-complex which may be isolated as the predicative term of the sentence embraces four groups of elements:

A FIRST GROUP, describing an incidental state or activity, particularly instrumentality.

A SECOND GROUP, indicating the nominal object of transitive, the subject of intransitive, verbs.

A THIRD GROUP, expressing the principal predicative term.

A FOURTH GROUP, expressing local relations and modalities.

Although there is hardly any phonetic influence between these groups of elements, their connection is so intimate that the combination is best considered as a single word, even though the component elements may occur in other combinations quite independently. An example of such a combination is the word *da ñgĩdāl!xasga* CANOE BEING HAULED SEAWARD, which is constituted as follows

First group: *da ñ* by pulling.

Second group: *gĩ* canoe-shaped object.

Third group: *dāl* to move.

Fourth group: $\begin{cases} !x\alpha & \text{toward something.} \\ sg\alpha & \text{seaward.} \end{cases}$

Several complexes of this kind may enter into combinations. It would seem that when this is the case each complex expresses modality or instrumentality in relation to the following ones in the same way as the first group expresses modality in the single term. An example of this kind is the word *gĩdĩgĩdalskit* TO PLACE AN ANIMATE OBJECT BY CAUSING IT TO BECOME (one that) HOLDS ON WITH THE HANDS:

First complex, third group: *gĩdĩ* to hold with hands.

Second complex, third group: *gĩl* to become.

Third complex, third group: *da* to cause.

Fourth complex, third group: *skit* to bring into contact.

These combinations may be illustrated by the following examples:

la la tagiagā' ñgwa ñas he ate it as he stood around (*la la* objective and subjective pronouns; *ta* to eat; *-gia* to stand; *-ga ñ* continuative; *-gwa ñ* about; *-as* participle)

gĩ'tqalāñ stĩñ é'stĩñ lā qēñq!a'oxañās he also saw his two children sitting there (*gĩt* child; *-ga* possessive suffix; *-lāñ* plural suffix with terms of relationship; *stĩñ* two; *é'stĩñ* also; *lā* subjective pronoun; *qēñ* stem TO SEE; *q!a* to sit; *-o* suffixed auxiliary; *zāñ* perhaps a form of *gañ* continuative [§ 24.1, p. 250]; *-ās* participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

agā'ñ lā sgalqa'idagan he went stealthily (*agā'ñ* reflexive; *lā* subjective pronoun; *sgal* to hide; *ga* to go; *-id* inchoative; *-agan* past inexperienced)

lā gu lā qagea'tañagan he went and looked at her (*lā* objective pronoun; *gu* post-position AT; *lā* subjective pronoun; *ga* to go; *qea* to look; *tañā* to go by sea [?]; *-agan* past inexperienced)

l' qā'djĩ lā qĩñq!a'idjudalasi he saw his head go by (*l'* possessive prefix 3d person singular; *qā'djĩ* head; *lā* subjective pronoun; *qĩñ* [same as *qēñ*] TO SEE; *q!a-i-* classifier [§ 15.18, p. 232]; *dju* of that sort or kind; *dal* to go; *-asi* participle)

gam dalā'ñ L! qĩñxitzā'ñga'ngasga they will not see you flying about all the time (*gam* negative particle; *dalā'ñ* object 2d person plural; *L!* subject 3d person plural; *qĩñ* to see; *xit* to fly; *zāñ* [?]; *-gan* continuative; *ga* [?]; *-sga* future)

While many verbs and nouns may enter into compositions like those described, others occur, at least at present, only in such compositions, and therefore appear as prefixes or suffixes, according to their position, preceding or following the third group, which contains the principal verbal stems. This is particularly true of the second group, which contains a large group of nominal terms of very general significance, each representing nouns conceived as possessing a certain form. Therefore the second group appears essentially as a group of nominal classifiers, although special nouns occur occasionally in the same position. The local relations which belong to the fourth group never occur independently.

§ 14. First Group: Instrumental Verbal Prefixes¹

1. *un-* BY MEANS OF THE BACK.

lā ga u'ntcĩdanĩ he carried some on his back (*lā* he; *ga* some; *tcĩ* stem [?]; *-ĩd* inchoative [?]; *-an* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *-ĩ* suffix [§ 25.6])

xā'ñagi L!na dī lā u'nxidās lu I wish he would carry me on his back face up (*xāñ* face; *L!na* I wish; *dī* me; *lā* he; *xit* to pick up; *-s* participle [§ 25.7, p. 254]; *lu* when)

¹ See also § 17.1, p. 235. All references in §§ 14-27 refer to the Skidegate Texts, Bulletin 29, etc.

la la u'nsltc!aias he came in with him and took him off from his back (*la* him; *la* he; *un-* with back; *sl* to place; *tc!a* into; *-y* perfect [§ 23.7, p. 249]; *-s* participle [§ 25.7, p. 254])

2. *tc!t!*- BY SHOOTING OR BY HAMMERING; also independent verb, TO SHOOT.

l' gī'tga!āñ stī'ñxan tc!t!gā'igadāñgā'iağañ wansū'ga her sons knew well how to shoot stones by means of a stick (*l'* her; *gīt* child; *-ga* possessive [§ 28.1, p. 257]; *-lañ* pl.; *stī'ñxan* both; *tc!t!*- by shooting; *gāia* to know how to)

la tc!t!tuega'ndī qa'odīhao after he had shot for a while (*la* he; *gue* stem; *-gan* continuative; *-dī* [§ 20.7, p. 241]; *qa'odī* connective AFTER A WHILE; *hao* general demonstrative)

la la tc!t!gas he shot it (*la* it; *la* he; *tc!t!* to shoot; *-ga* auxiliary to be [§ 18.5, p. 237]; *-s* participle [§ 25.7])

3. *da-* BY PUSHING OR BY AN OUTWARD MOTION OF THE HANDS.

la L! dā!s!gawas they pushed him down (*la* him; *L!* they; *L-* [§ 15.20, p. 232] shaped like a human being; *sl* to put or place; *gawa* [?]; *-s* participle [§ 25.7])

ga la gan la dā'gīlsī she put it in for him (*ga* in; *la* him; *gan* for; *la* she; *da-* prefix; *gīl* [?]; *-sī* participle [§ 25.7])

l' qetū'ga la dasq!a'skitgoasī they put it in front of it (*l'* it; *qetū'ga* in front of; *la* they [with *-go* § 20.1, p. 240]; *da-* prefix; *sq!a-* [§ 15.11]; *skīt* stem; *-sī* participle)

la gut gia'gai la daq!ā'inanāñgoas he rubbed tallow on them (*la* them [with *-go* § 20.1]; *gut* upon; *gia'gai* the tallow; *la* he; *da-* prefix; *q!āi* [§ 15.18]; *nan* to rub; *-āñ* continuative [§ 24.1]; *-s* participle)

L! dadjīt!aldai'yagani they pushed down 45.15 (*djī* stem; *-t!al* down; *da* to cause; *-y* perfect)

4. *dañ-* BY PULLING; also an independent verb(?). This is one of the most frequent instrumentals.

la dañ!ā'ndjīL!xas he pulled [him] out head first 29.26 (*la* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *andjī* erect; *-L!xa* toward; *-s* participle)

gu'tsta la da'ndaias he pulled him apart (*gut* together; *sta* from; *la* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *da* to cause; *i=y* perfect; *-s* participle)

s^ewan l' dā'ñantc!īlas lu when he pulled one out of the sea (Masset) *s^ewan* one; *l'* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *antc!i=andjī* erect; *la* perhaps *L!xa* toward; *-s* participle; *lu* when)

ā'ña l' dā'ñidanī he pulled his property out (*ā'ña* his own; *l'* he; *dañ-* by pulling; *-da* to cause; *-an* past inexperienced; *-ī* [§ 25.6, p. 253])

la dañq!ā'-īlas he pulled out (head) 10.4 (*q!a-i-* § 15.18)

la dā'ñsq!astas he pulled out a long one 57.9 (*sq!a-* § 15.11)

5. *dal-* BY MEANS OF A CURRENT OF WATER (*dal* RAIN).

l' dā'līlas he floated (living one) down 97.19

ñā'lgaA'nda yū'dala dā'llgaIdA L!xaiagan much seaweed came drifting 33.22 (*ñā'lgaA'nda* seaweed; *yū* = *yū'An* much; *-dala* pl. adj. [§ 39, p. 276]; *dāl-* by means of a current; *lgal* to turn; *dA* to cause [§ 18.2]; *-L!xa* toward; *-i* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. *t!a-* BY STAMPING OR TREADING UPON. Perhaps related to *st!a*.

lA L! t!asē'lgañāñ they tickled her by treading 31.26 (*lA* her; *L!* they; *t!a-* by treading; *sēl* to tickle; *-gañāñ* continuative duplicated [§ 24.1; § 6])

qala'i inagwa'i gei la t!ananā'ñasi he stamped half of the alder to pieces (*qal* alder; *-ai* the; *inagwai* the half; *gei* into; *la* he; *t!a-* by treading; *nan* to roll about; *-añ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

l' t!aL!sadā'ngasgas she washed it by treading upon it in the sea (*l'* she; *L!sadāñ* [?]; *ga* to go [?]; *-sga* seaward; *-s* participle)

gei lA t!anana'ngawasi they broke in pieces with their feet (*gei* into [pieces]; *lA* they [with *-gaw*]; *t!a-* with feet; *nan* to grind; *-añ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

7. *st!a-* BY KICKING; identical with the word for FOOT.

lA la st!a'sgidAs he kicked it (*lA* it; *la* he; *sgid* stem; *-As* participle)

la st!axa'ostAgiasi he kicked it into the water (*la* he; *ṣao* quickly; *stA* stem; *-gia* suffix [?]; *-si* participle)

lā'ga lA la st!aqadai'yagan he kicked his own 89.33

8. *nan-* BY GRINDING, being the stem of the verb TO GRIND.

aga'ñ lA nanha'ilūwus he destroyed himself by grinding (*aga'ñ* himself; *lA* he; *hailū* to destroy; *-s* participle)

9. *skīt-* BY CHOPPING OR BY CLUBBING.

la gei lA skītnana'ñxidaias he began to chop them up (*la* it [pieces]; *gei* into; *lA* he; *nanāñ* stem; *-xid* inchoative; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

lA la skida'ndi qa'odi after he had chopped it for a while (*lA* it; *la* he; *skid* to chop; *-an* probably continuative; *dī* [§ 20.7] *qa'odi* after a while)

na'wai lA skītnana'ngawasi they clubbed the devil-fish (*nawa'i* the devil-fish; *lA* he [with *-gaw* § 20.1]; *nanāñ* stem; *-asi* participle)

gi lA skidjū'usi he tried to club them (*gi* to [post-position with omitted object]; *lA* he; *ski[t]* by clubbing; *dju* to try, to do that sort of thing; *-usi* participle)

aga'ñ lA skītk'ō'tuldas he let himself be clubbed to death 12.13 (*aga'ñ* self; *k!ōtul* dead; *da* to cause)

l'skītqā'goñasi he went around while they were beating time 13.16

10. *skiū-* BY MEANS OF THE SHOULDER.

l' inagwa'i la skiū'guʔidas he carried half of it on his shoulder (*inagwa'i* the half; *gu* stem [?]; *-ʔid* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-as* participle)

la skiū'sk!ag!i'ñwasi he sat with it on his shoulder (*sk!a-* [§ 15.8]; *g!iñ* thing [?]; *w=u* to continue to be [§ 18.1]; *-asi* participle)

la skiū'dj!i!si being on shoulder 37.32

11. *sL-* WITH THE FINGERS, this being the word for HAND.

l' xA'ñē ge'istA gā'ilgañ la sL!g!sta'ias he pulled out a blood-clot from his eye with his fingers (*xA'ñē* the eye; *gei* into; *stA* from; *gā'ilgañ* blood-clot; *g!i-* shape [§ 15.13]; *stA* to move from; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

la sL!s!A'ya he moved the fire with his hands (*sL* stem; *ya* [?])

12. *g!iñ-* CAUSE in general, of which the special variety has just been given; possibly related to *g!i'na* THING.

ga'ihao l' g!iñidja'ñ wansū'ga that made him feel that way, they say (*ga'-i* that; *hao* way; *is* to be; *-añ* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *wA'nsū'ga* quotative)

kuna'i sqao l' g!iñi!L!xēdagea'lañ wansū'gañ what he got in exchange for the whales made him rich (*kuna'i* the whales; *sqao* in exchange for; *i!L!xēda* rich or a chief; *geal* to become [§ 18.10]; *-añ* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *wansū'ga* quotative)

LA g!iñq!a'ad!as he (accomplished something) by pretending to be asleep (*q!a* to sleep; *-di* [§ 20.7]; *-as* participle)

la L! g!iñgū'sūgañan all that time they made him speak (*gusū* to speak [from stem *su*]; *-gañ* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced)

g!iñk!otul to cause to die 81.43

aga'ñ g!iñst!e'g!ildaiyañ . . . she made herself sick 73.34

13. *k!i-* BY MEANS OF A STICK (compare *k!i'tao* SPEAR).

l' inagwa'i la k!itdj!iʔidā'ñ wansū'ga he carried half of it off on a stick, they say (*inagwa'i* the half of it; *dj!i* stem; *-ʔid* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la la k!itgā'tat!as he threw it in with a stick (*gāta* to throw; *-t!a* inside; *-s* participle)

la l' k!idā'wan they struck at him with a stick (Masset) (*la* him; *l'* they [with *w* § 20.1]; *-an* past inexperienced)

la l' k!i!at!i!gan he took it into the canoe with a stick (*k!i!* with stick; *q!at* stem; *-i!* into canoe; *-gan* past inexperienced)

la lua'-i kitg!idā'las!i he pushed the canoe with a pole 41.3 (*lu* canoe; *-a-i* the; *g!i-* flat object)

k!itq!ā'idj!ilgwagagan put out (a copper) with a stick 87.24 (*q!ā'i-* round thing [§ 15.18, p. 232])

14. *kîl-* or *kîl-* BY MEANS OF THE VOICE, for which word this is the stem.

gai la gi kîlgadā'ñ . . . those shouted out to him (*gai* those; *gi* to; *gad* stem [?]; *-añ* past inexperienced)

gia'gañai qā'djî kîlgā'txalasi the house-pole heads shouted (*gia'gañai* the house-pole ["standing thing"]; *qā'djî* heads; *gāt* stem [?]; *-xa* [?]; *la* [?]; *-si* participle)

l'ua'i lā'ga la kî'lgōlgaigān he told him to use his wedge 33.13 (*l'ua'i* the wedge; *lā'ga* his [§ 28.1]; *gōlga* to make; *-i* perfect; *-gān* past inexperienced)

la l' kîlq'ā'wan they told him to sit (*q'ā* to sit; *w = u* to continue in one place [§ 18.1]; *-an* past inexperienced)

15. *kwa-* BY A STREAM OF WATER POURING OUT; also an independent verb(?).

tc'aanua'i gei ga'nłai t!ala'ñ kwalgî'stasgadaasañ we will let the water run into the fire (*tc'aanua'i* the fire; *gei* into; *ga'nłai* the water; *t!ala'ñ* we; *lgî-* [§ 15.25]; *sta* to move from; *-sga* into fire; *da* to cause; *-asañ* future)

tcî'wai kwagā' l'xa lāgañagān the current flowed out quickly (*tcî'wai* the current; *gā* stem; *-l'xa* toward; *-lāgañ* first or at once [§ 21.3]; *-gān* past inexperienced)

tcî'wai kwaq'ā'māl l'xasi the current made cracks by the rapidity of its flowing (*tcî'wai* the current; *q'ā'māl* to crack; *-l'xa* toward; *-si* participle)

gānł kwa'tcîc!awas water flowed down (*gānł* fresh water; *-s* participle)

gānł koa't!a'mdagasi a stream flows narrow 8.10 (*t!am-* narrow)

16. *k'ut-* WITH THE LIPS, a nominal stem.

l' k'utlū'stala he spits water upward (*l'ustā* stem [?]; *-la* upward)

k'utlū'lda to make noise with lips 91.37

q'aal la k'utnā'ñasi he wet the arrow-point with his lips (*q'aal* arrow-point; *nañ* stem; *-asi* participle)

17. *ꞡal-* BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING FROM WITHOUT (compare *ꞡai* SUNSHINE).

l' ꞡaltā'igwēgasga it will fall away under the sunshine (*tāi-* prone object [§ 15.3]; *gwe* stem [?]; *ga* to be [?]; *-sga* future)

nañ ꞡalłā's one of them was burned up (*nañ* some one; *ł-* [§ 15.20]; *la* stem [?]; *-s* participle)

l' k'wa'igalāñ ꞡalłgias his elder brothers were burned off (*k'wai* elder brother; *-ga* possessive suffix; *-lāñ* plural; *ł-* animate object [§ 15.20, p. 232]; *ga* to be [§ 18.5]; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

ɬaiya's lu l' ɬa'll!al!a'diaot!algañas when the sun shone, the heat made it lengthen out (*ɬai* to shine; *-as* participle; *lu* when; *-t!al* downward [?]; *-gañ* continuative; *-as* participle)
ɬalhā'-iluasi destroyed by fire 37.13
ɬalga'mdaɬide's beginning to be shriveled up by fire 37.15 (*lgam-* [§ 15.24])

18. *qō-* (Masset 'o) BY MEANS OF FIRE ACTING WITHIN THE BODY ITSELF.

q!al laal k!a'tdala q!ās gōxāgodiēs small persons with black skin held burning pitchwood (*q!al* skin; *laal* black; *k!at* short or small; *-dala* plural suffix for adjectives [§ 39]; *q!ās* pitchwood; *-xa* inanimate plural [§ 15.26]; *go* to be somewhere; *-di* determinate; *-ēs* participle)
ge'ista gōl!ā'muldaañas flames came out of it (*gei* into; *sta* from; *l!āmul* stem [?]; *da* causative; *-añ* continuative)
l' qā'li gut gōɬa'plagañasi it passed quickly down, burning through the inside of him (*qā'li* inside; *gut* upon; *ɬap* quickly; *la* stem [?]; *-gañ* continuative; *-asi* participle)
a'asiñ gōhā'iluēs at once they were destroyed by burning (*a'asiñ* at once; *hā'ilu* to destroy; *-ēs* participle); see also 37.8

19. *ɬūt-* or *ɬā-* BY THE WIND OR THE BREATH; also independent verb, TO BLOW.

l' ɬā'slsqasi it blew out strongly (*-sqa* seaward; *-si* participle)
gam lgu sta ɬūtskitgañgā'nsga no breeze will blow from anywhere 31.6 (*gam* negative; *lgu* where; *sta* from; *skit* stem; *-gañ* negative suffix [§ 25.3]; *-gān* continuative; *-sqa* future)
la ɬūtskitc!a'si he blew it in (*skit* stem; *tc!a* inward; *-si* participle)
Gā'sqo ya ō ɬū'as'aian (they) were blown straight out to Gā'sqo (Masset) (*Gā'sqo* name of island; *ya* straight to [post-position]; *ō* [= *hao*] demonstrative; *ɬū* by wind; *'as* stem; *'a* to go; *-ia* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced)

20. *ga-* (Masset 'al) BY LEADING, PULLING, OR TOWING.

gīwa'i ga la ga galgā'islas something pulled him to the fishing-ground 29.23 (*gīwa'i* the fishing-ground; *ga* to; *ga* something; *gāi-* floating [?]; *sl* stem; *-si* participle)
gwa'iai gadō' la la galgā'lgaldaasi he pulled him around the island 29.21 (*gwa* island; *ai* the; *gadō'* around; *gā-* [§ 15.17]; *lgāl* to move about [stem]; *da* to cause; *-asi* participle)
la ga ga'tt!alaiagan something drew it away (*ga* something; *t!a-* [§ 15.4]; *la* to separate part from whole; *-i* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced)

la l! qA'lqatc!as they led her in (*ga* to go [sing.]; *-tc!a* inside; *-s* participle) 49.18

21. *gea-* BY LOOKING. It is the stem of the verb TO LOOK.

gam iL! qeasē'lgañ don't tickle us by looking at us (*gam* not; *iL!* us; *sēl* to tickle [stem]; *-gañ* negative suffix [§ 25.3])

tc!i'goya-i la qea'q!a'-idā'ldi qa'odi after he had looked at the rising sun B 29.9 (*q!a'-i-* rounded objects [§ 15.18]; *dāl* to move; *di* [§ 20]; *qa'odi* after)

22. *q!eit-* WITH A KNIFE. It is the stem of the verb TO CUT.

l' xAñ lā'ga q!eidā'gas its bow was carved (*xAñ* bow or face; *lā'ga* its; *q!eida* to be carved [stem] [?]; *ga* to be [§ 18.5]; *-s* participle)

l' dāl lā'ga la q!eitgñga'was they cut his belly open (*dāl* belly; *lā'ga* his; *la* they [with *-gaw* § 20.1]; *gñ* stem [?]; *-as* participle)

l' qā'djñ la q!e'iLlgawañ wansū'ga they cut his head off and put it into the canoe, they say (*qā'djñ* head; *la* they [with *-gaw*]; *q!ei[t]* with a knife; *L* to remove part from whole; *-L* into canoe; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la la q!e'itxidañ . . . he started cutting it up, they say (*q!eit* to cut up [stem]; *-xid* inchoative; *-añ* past inexperienced)

l' a'oga la gi q!eitlāi'yagan his mother cut off for him 7.2

l' q!eitq!ā'-iLxidā'-i iū when he began to cut off (the round thing) 12.14

23. *q!o-* BY MEANS OF THE TEETH.

la ga q!oL'das something held him tight in its mouth (*ga* something; *L-* shape [§ 15.20]; *das* stem [?]; *-is* participle)

xā'gai hao q!e'nāñ q!oganā'ñganñ the dog was playing with [a stick] (*xā'gai* the dog; *hao* that; *q!e'nāñ* in company with; *ga* shape [§ 15.17]; *nāñ* to play [stem]; *-agan* [§ 23.2]; *-ñ* [§ 25.6])

xā'gu q!ok!ū'gatxiasi they had halibut in their mouths (*xā'gu* halibut; *k!u* short obj. [§ 15.15]; *gat* stem; *xi* [?]; *-asi* participle)

ku'ngia q!oq!ē'lai the piece of whale bitten off (Masset) (*kun* whale; *gia* piece of; *q!ē* shape [§ 15.18]; *L* to remove; *ai* the)

xā l' q!ok!otu'lgaga'wañ wansū'ga they say the dogs killed them with their teeth 81.42¹

24. *xa-* BY GRASPING WITH THE HANDS.

au'ñ gi la xagaLxagñlgāñasi he brought it to his mother (*au* mother; *-[u]ñ* his own [§ 28.3]; *gi* to; *ga* stem [?]; *-L!xa* toward; *-gñ* shoreward; *-gañ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

kiū'gaidjao xā'gññas sledge-hammers held in their hands (*kiū'-gaidjao* sledge-hammers [*gaidjao* perhaps = *q!ai-dju* roundish]; *gñ* stem [?]; *-as* participle)

¹[Compare § 15.26, p. 234. Perhaps all these forms belong to the classifier *za*.—ED.]

A xagudjā' nāsī he threw them around (*gudjā'n* analysis uncertain; *-asī* participle)

lA gi lA xā'stct/as he handed in to him 55.7 (*sL* stem; *tc'* into)

25. *xAñ-* WITH THE FACE. This is the stem of the word for FACE, and it is rather doubtful whether it belongs properly in this class, although similar to the others in form.

lkiā'gui l' djā'ga lA stA xAñlgū'ldas his wife turned her face away from him toward the door (*lkiā* outside; *gui* toward; *djā* wife; *-ga* possessive; *stA* from; *lgūl* stem TO TURN ABOUT; *da* to cause; *-s* participle)

lA stA lA xAñga'ogañas she turned around from him (*stA* from; *gao* stem; *-gañ* continuative; *-as* participle)

gAM lā'ga xA'ñgñgañas she did not look in the face as though anything had happened (*gAM* not; *-ga* possessive; *gñ* stem [perhaps properly *qñ* TO LOOK]; *-gañ* negative; *-as* participle)

26. *L-* BY ANY KIND OF CONTACT, but more particularly CONTACT WITH THE HANDS. It is the stem of the verb TO TOUCH.

L!a gu la lda'las he laid his hands on them (*L!a* them; *gu* at or there; *dal* stem; *-as* participle)

dī la lSL let me go (*dī* me; *la* imperative particle; *sL* stem)

guda'ñ la lnanā'nāsī he rubbed the medicine on himself (*gud* upon; *-añ* himself; *nan* stem TO RUB; *-āñ* continuative; *-asī* participle)

lA lxē'gīlai lu when she made a noise at the door (by touching it) (*xēgīl* [or *xēgīl*] stem TO MAKE A NOISE; *-ai* demonstrative or article turning clause into a noun; *lu* when)

27. *Lu-* BY CANOE. It is also the word for CANOE.

xaldā'ndjīdai leil silgiā'ñ luqā'idesi the five slaves started back by canoe (*xaldā'n* [or *xA'ldāñ*] slave; *-djīd* plural of human beings [§29.2]; *-ai* demonstrative; *leil* five; *silgiā'ñ* back [ad-verb]; *qā* to go; *-īd* inchoative; *-esi* participle)

nañ ga'nstā lA luqā' l!xas he came to one by canoe (*nañ* one [indefinite person]; *ga'nstā* to [probably compound post-position of *gan* FOR and *stA* FROM]; *qā* to go; *-l!xa* toward; *-s* participle)

lA dā'nat lA luqā'itxītgiāñgai lu when he started to go home with him (*dā'nat* in company with; *qā* to go; *-it* inchoative; *-xīt* seems to be inchoative used again, *-it* with *qā* having become so common as to have become stereotyped; *-giāñ* [?]; *gai* demonstrative; *lu* when); see also 7.9

28. *xī-* WITH THE ARMS (from *xī* arm, wing).

lA xīslgīlā'i lu when he waved his arms toward the town (*sL* stem; *gīl* shoreward; *-ai* demonstrative; *lu* when)

29. sqōt- WITH THE ARMS. It is also the word for armpit.

la sqōtxagiā'ñagani he had under arms 69.13

la gi sqō'tgādāgan (he) took him by the arm 65.12

la spotskida'ñañ wansū'ga it is said he clapped with the hands 29.22

l! sqotxē'gans they beat drums 89.41

30. kiū- BY TYING.

kiūqlā-igadañasi fastened stones by tying (to it) 71.6 (*qlā-i-* rounded object [§ 15.18])

kiūtc!isxiāwagani (it) was tied (to the doorway) 67.1 (*tc!is-* cubic object [§ 15.2])

§ 15. Second Group: Classifying Nominal Prefixes¹

Following is a list of the more important of these, with examples:

1. tcī- classifies such objects as full sacks and bags, pillows, etc.

la'gi la la tcī'sLsga'ias she brought the full sack out to him (*gi* to; *la* it [sack]; *la* she; *tcī-* classifier; *sL* stem; *-sga* seaward; *-i* perfect; *-s* participle)

ga k!ē'djī tcīqlēda' some people with big bellies (*ga* some [people]; *k!ē'djī* bellies; *qlēda'* big)

la gi ga'ndjīlgagigai la kiūtcīsgide'si he tied a dancing blanket to him (*gi* to; *ga'ndjīlgagi* dancing blanket; *gai* demonstrative; *kiū-* tying; *sgid* stem; *-esi* participle)

2. tc!is- cubic objects, such as boxes.

la'ia l! tc!isxiāda's they picked up a whole box of cranberries (*la'ia* cranberries; *xiā* to pick up; *-as* participle)

gayū'da tc!isLe'il five boxes of berries and grease (*gayū'da* boxes containing a mixture of grease and berries; *Le'il* five)

nādjā'ñu at sgā'na wa'ga sgā'gōdai tc!i'sgōdīgañgī'nī masks and whistles were always in the secret-society box (*nādjā'ñ* to imitate; *-u* noun-forming suffix [§ 26.1]; *at* with; *sgā'na* supernatural objects, and thus secret-society whistles; *wa* that; *ga* in; *sga-* sacred; *gōda* box; *ai* the; *go* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix; *-gañ* continuative [?]; *-gīn* usitative; *-i* perfect)

la tc!i'sLsgas he brought out a box 55.23

3. tat- applied generally to objects lying on or close to the ground, but also to clubs, etc., grasped in the hand.

l! taisLlgā'gas they all went to bed (*sL* stem; *-Lga* all; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE; *-s* participle); see also 67.15

gū'gus t!agane' ta'igodies lo! a house (shape) lay there (*gū'gus* what! *t!agane'* behold! *go* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix; *-es* participle); see also 65.28

¹ See also § 17.2.

gia'sqala ñ taistā'nsîñxa eight storehouses (*gia'sqala ñ* storehouses;
sta'nsîñxa eight)

nañ qataidā'las one (wave) came moving toward him (*nañ* one,
a; *qa* [?]; *dāl* to move; *-as* participle)

ūl'ūl slā'nagî la tā'igîñ he held a club on the left side (*ūl'ūl* club;
slā'na left; *gî* at, in; *gîñ* stem [?])

4. *t!a-* flexible objects represented as crossing or coiled.

tcā'lgā la la t!algū'ts he put a ground squirrel about her as a
blanket (*tcā'lgā* ground squirrel; *lgūl* to go around [stem]; *-s*
participle)

gîtga' ñ la la Lt!algūldayañ wansū'ga she had put it on her son as
a blanket, they say (*gît* son; *-gañ* her own; *L-* with hands;
lgūl to go around; *da* to cause; *-y* perfect; *-añ* past inexpe-
rienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

5. *t!ao-* objects shaped like spoons and feathers (*t!agu'n* feather)

aga'ñ la t!a'ogēlidas he puts himself (into the water) as an
evergreen needle (shape indicated) (*aga'ñ* himself; *a* stem [?];
-geil to become [§18.10]; *-da* to cause [§18.2]; *-s* participle)

la'ga la sqast!a'olasi he bit off his tongue (*-ga* possessive; *sqas* [?];
la stem; *-si* participle)

gut la la dāt!a'onana'ñas he rubbed it (his tongue) on it (*gut* upon;
dā- outward motion; *nanañ* stem; *-as* participle)

sla'gwal t!aoqō'na a big spoon (*sla'gwal* spoon; *qō'na* big)

ga-i't!a'ogîñdā'las feathers floating about 41.4, 6 (*ga-i* floating)

la t!a'ostas he took out a feather 55.25

la dāñt!a'osdaiyasi— man he pulled out the feather 55.26, 31
(*dāñ-* by pulling)

t!a'odju it is a feather 55.26

Skiä'mskun-t!a'odjugîns hawk with feather sticking out of water
41.31 (*skiä'mskun* hawk; *dju* to be; *-gîñ* afloat)

6. *t!Am-* certain slender objects.

t!a'mdjiwasi it was slender (*djiw* = *dju* sort, kind [§39]; *-asi* parti-
ciple)

wa'ga t!a'mgîtdiasî it became smaller there (*wa* demonstrative;
-ga at; *gî* stem [?]; *-di* determinate suffix; *-sî* participle)

lū ta'mdju a narrow canoe 7.7

koa't!a'mdagasi flowing narrow 8.10 (*koa-* by a current)

l'tamxiē'nL!xa'si he came to a narrow one 73.38

7. *sta-* ring-shaped objects, like finger-rings, bracelets, barrel-hoops.

lnaga'i gu'tga stale'ilasî a village of five curving rows (*lna* = *lana*
town; *gai* demonstrative; *gut* together; *-ga* in, at; *leil* five;
-asi participle)

l' dastā'sgidasi he pushed a curved (bow) against it 79.7

staga'otc!ayasi they came in and sat down in circular lines (*gao* stem; *-tcla* motion into; *-y* perfect; *-si* participle)
qwe'stal gatsta'sgit!a'lgans a rainbow moved up and down (*qwe* *stal* rainbow; *gat-* with rapidity; *sgi=sgit* stem; *-t!al* motion down from above; *-gan=-gan* continuative; *-s* participle)
ga stagi'danās something ring-shaped 9.1

8. **sk!a-** small cylindrical, and occasionally square objects.

gi'na sk!a'dala some cylindrical objects (stones) (*gi'na* thing; *dala* plural with adjectives [§ 39])
sqoda'n qe'ista qe'gu sk!asda'yas he had pulled a basket out from under his armpit (*sqoda* armpit; *-an* his own [§ 28.3]; *gei* into; *sta* from; *qe'gu* basket; *sda=sta* stem; *-y* perfect; *-s* participle)
si'wai wada'nat gu'tgui la dask!axunā'nasi he was rolling the lake together with it (*siw=su* lake; *ai* demonstrative; *w* it; *dā'nat* together with; *gut* toward; *gui* toward [with motion]; *da-* motion outward; *xun* stem [?]; *-an* continuative; *-asi* participle)
nañ sk!a'idjuwagas the one that had a knot-hole (shape) in it (*nañ* the one; *dju* it is of that sort; *-ga* to be; *-s* participle)
lgudja'-i la ga sk!axuna'ndalasi mats rolled toward him 89.11

9. **ska-** round objects, like marbles, berries, eggs, and potatoes.

asi dji'xi' skadalda'nsi the waterdrops falling from this were round (*asi* this; *dji'xi'* [?]; *dal=dala* plural with adjectives; *dan* stem; *-si* participle)
la la gaska'xidas he picked it (cranberry) up with it (spoon) (*ga-* [?]; *xid* stem; *-as* participle)

10. **sqa-** (Masset *s'a-*) strings, ropes, hairs, etc.

dā'gil sqahu'nal three strings (*dā'gil* strings; *lu'nal* three)
wa'luxan ga galsga'stala'yañ wansū'ga something pulled all of them up (*wa* it; *lu* when; *xan* just so; *ga* something indefinite; *gal-* by pulling; *sta* stem; *-la* suffix meaning UP; *-y* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)
'āl s'ā'sgu ALL NIGHT, night being spoken of metaphorically (Masset) (*'āl* night; *sgu* it is all [?])

11. **sq!a-** long objects, like sticks and paddles.

sq!agilā'nas extending out in lines (from the island) (*gil* seaward [?]; *-āñ* continuative; *-as* participle)
ā'lai sq!ala'al ten paddles (*āl* paddle; *ai* demonstrative; *la'al* ten)
lqea'ma qā'dji sq!astī'ñ two kelp-heads 53.24 (*lqea'ma* kelp; *qā'dji* heads; *stīñ* two)
sq!axiū'sqagai sq!astā'nsiñsga'si four lines of people danced toward the beach (*xiū* stem; *-sqa* toward beach; *gai* the; *sta'nsiñ* four; *-sqa* toward beach; *-si* participle)

- la dāñsq!asdağa'-i lū'hao* when he pulled (it) out 77.43 (*dāñ-* by pulling)
dasq!ā'sgidāñ push on the long one 55.18 (*da-* by pushing)
sqā'baga-i sq!ala'Al ten deadfalls 61.3
sqā'na lga'na sq!astī'ñ two dorsal fins 89.3
kī'tawe sq!astā'ñ two spears (Masset) (*kī'tao* spear; *e = ai* demonstrative; *stāñ* two [Masset dialect])

See also

- sq!ā'ño* pole 41.1
sq!agawa'-i stringers 89.12

12. *sL!*- indicates the shape assumed by objects lying in a heap, such as driftwood, pieces of dry halibut, a cord of wood.

tc!ā'anuai sL!qā'wasi the fire lay there (*tcāanu* fire; *ai* demonstrative; *qā'w = gao* or *go* to lie; *-si* participle)

13. *gñ-* materials such as blankets, shawls, tablecloths, mats, thin sails. It is sometimes used for canoes, instead of *ga-*.

mat qā'ti la gīgaL!xa'sgas he brought the insides of a mountain-goat (*mat* mountain-sheep; *qā'ti* insides; *ga* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-sga* seaward; *-s* participle)

ga'ilgañ la sL!gīsta'yas he pulled out a blood-clot with his fingernails (*ga'ilgañ* blood-clot [from *gai* BLOOD]; *sL!* with fingers; *sta* stem; *-y* perfect; *-as* participle)

qwē'gal giā'at gīstī'ñ two sky blankets (*qwē'gal* sky; *giā'at* blankets; *stīñ* two)

lgūs gīle'il five mats 55.12

la dāñgī'statia'-i lū when she pulled up (her dress) 31.19

la dāñgī'djil!xaga'ñasi he pulled out the canoe 29.28 (*dāñ-* by pulling; *dji* stem; *-L!xa* towards)

la kitgī'slgā'nsga he will push (the canoe) 41.30 (*kit-* with pole; *-sL* stem; *-sga* future)

14. *gū-* flat but broad and thick objects.

Skī'na qāsga la la q!ogusgidañ . . . he emptied all from his mouth at the head of Skeena, they say (making a lake) (*Skī'na* Skeena; *qās* contraction of *qā'djī* HEAD; *-ga* at; *q!o-* with teeth [§14.23]; *skid* stem; *-añ* past inexperienced)

Qī'ngī lanā'ga xē'tgu anō' qāL gudja'ogīdas it must have been in front of Qī'ngī's town that a reef came up (*Qī'ngī* [name]; *lanā'* town; *-ga* possessive; *xēt* down in front of; *gu* there; *anō'* it must have been; *qāL* reef; *djao = dju* it was of that sort; *gid* stem; *-as* participle)

l' gūlasga'ñ wānsū'ga he went off in the shape of a flounder, they say (*la* stem; *-sga* toward the sea; *-añ* past inexperienced)

xā'gu la dāñgūga' L!xa'si he pulled the halibut out on the surface
(*xā'gu* halibut; *dāñ-* by pulling [§14.4]; *ga* stem; *-L!xa* to-
ward; *-si* participle)

la dāñgulgalda'asi he pulled (a cloud) around it 41.40

la dāñgū'slaleilas he pulled out five (boxes) in succession 55.24

15. *k!u-* short objects. Posts, nails, and some short loops are so denominated.

sta la k!ū'gwētc!asi he (a short bird) came in from it (*sta* from; *gwē* stem; *-tc!a* motion into; *-si* participle)

la dāñk!ū'stasgoā'ñāñāgani he pulled (the spear) out for good
69.9 (*dāñ-* by pulling; *sta* stem; *-sgoañ* for good)

la L'golgak!uslai'yañ wānsū'ga it is said he made (gambling sticks)
53.1

gī'na k!ū'gīñasi something he held in hand 73.40

- 15a. *k!At-* small objects.

k!ū'da k!A'td̄j̄n!xaga'-i a small beak came out 53.28 (*-L!xa*
towards)

qe'igao k!A'td̄ju a small basket (*qe'igao* basket; *k!At-* classifier; *d̄ju*
it was of that sort)

16. *ʔAt-* small objects. Used like the above.

ga ʔA'td̄ju some small (olachen) (*ga* some; *d̄ju* they were of that
sort)

nañ lgal ʔA'td̄ju a small dark person (*nañ* a; *lgal* dark or black;
d̄ju it was of that sort)

s'an ʔA'td̄ju a small killer-whale (Masset) (*s'an* killer-whale; *d̄ju*
it was of that sort)

17. *ga-* (Masset *ʔa-*) flat objects, such as boards, doors, pictures,
looking-glasses, dishes, lakes, canoes.

lnaga'i gala'il d̄aya'gani there were five towns (*lna* = *lana* town;
gai the; *La'il* five; *-d̄a* causative; *-ya* perfect; *-gan* past inex-
perienced; *-i* perfect)

q!adaʔui' aga'n la gaslsga'yas he turned himself in his canoe
(indicated by its shape) toward the mainland (*q!ada* toward sea
[mainland being considered outward]; *ʔui* toward; *aga'n* him-
self [§ 28.3]; *sl* stem; *-sga* seaward; *-ya* perfect; *-s* participle)

lā'ya la gagaL!xa'sgas he brought out a dish of cranberries (*lā'ya*
cranberries; *ga* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-sga* toward open place)

gū'gus t!agane' ga'godies lo! a level (pond) lay there (*gū'gus* what!
t!agane' behold! *go* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix [§20.7])

Lū gasgoā'nsiñ one canoe 10.9

sqa'ola-i gale'il five clam-shells 55.11

lā'na ʔas'oa'nsiñ one town (Masset) (*lā'na* town; *sʔoansiñ* one)

18. *q'at-* (Masset *q'e-*) roundish objects, such as rolls of dry-goods, lumps of bacon, and pieces of whale-meat.

qā'la q'ā'igodies a roundish reef (*qā'la* reef; *go* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; *-es* participle); see also 77.45

gī'garwai la dāñq'a'iūstasī he pulled out the fish-trap (*gī'garw* = *gī'gao* fish-trap; *ai* the; *dāñ-* by pulling; *ūsta* stem [?]; *-sī* participle)

sta sī'nañ la q'a'islasī he snuffed from the (round basket) (*sta* from; *sī'nañ* snuffing; *sl* stem; *-asī* participle)

ge'ista la gi la l' q'ā'istas they gave him a round thing out of it (*gei* into; *sta* from; *gi* to; *sta* stem; *-s* participle)

kītq'lā'idjilgwagagan (they) put down (a copper plate) 87.24 (*kīt-* with a point)

la qea'q'a'-idā'ldi qa'odi after he had looked at (the sun) for a while 29.9 (*qea-* by looking; *dal* motion; *-di* [§ 20.7]; *qa'odi* after)

l' q'a'-islgiasī they put down (the drum) 14.3

l' qā'dji ga q'oq'lā'-isgidagan by biting it jammed his head 91.11 (*qās* head; *q'o-* by biting; *sgid* contact)

We find also

l' q'ā'-isll!xatc!ai'yagani they brought (the canoe) in to him 101.4 (*sl-* stem; *-l!xa* towards; *-tc!* into)

la l' q'a-islsqai'yagan they took him (porcupine) out to sea 45.16 (*sl-* stem; *-sga* out to sea); the same for KNIFE 87.7

la l' q'a-isllai'yagan they took him (beaver) up 47.1 (*-l* up)

q'a'-idjul!xadies (foam) coming piled up 95.10 (*-l!xa* towards)

qoñ q'ēstā'nsañan four moons (= four months) (Masset) (*qoñ* moon; *stā'nsañ* four; *-an* past inexperienced)

19. *q'ōl-* the shape assumed by long flexible objects, such as hairs or strings, when they are tangled together; also bushes with many stems.

a'lgan q'añ djīdja'i wa'gut q'ōlxā'was here was a hemlock with a clump of branches sticking out all over it (*a'lgan* here; *q'añ* hemlock; *djīdja'i* the branches; *wa* it; *gut* upon; *xāw* = *xao* stem; *-as* participle)

k'lā'lda q'ōlque'la clump of branches; fall down! (*k'lā'lda* clump of branches; *que* stem; *la* imperative)

k'ī'nxan ga la daq'ō'lskidesī he shoved in a bunch of moss to stop up the hole (*k'ī'nxan* moss; *ga* in; *da-* by pushing; *skid* stem)

stn q'ōldjū'gan a bunch of gambling-stick wood 55.2

20. *l-* animate things, such as human beings, animals, fish, insects.

l' lxiendā'las he was running along (*xien* probably means quickly)

la *L!A* *sīla'iga* *lgodia'si* he, however, was lying down in the baby's place (indicated by shape) (*L!A* however; *sīla'i* the place; *ga* in; *go* to lie; *-di* determinate; *-asi* participle)

īā'xodača *īdjīL!xas* a grebe came out of the water (*īā'xodada* grebe; *djī* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-s* participle)

la'gui *aga'ñ* *la* *lsLgia'las* he (a fish) turned himself toward him (*gui* toward [with motion]; *aga'ñ* himself; *sL* stem; *-gial* toward shut-in place; *-as* participle)

la *q'a-itt'!sLas* he cut up (a whale) 51.7 (*q'a-itt-* by cutting)

la *dañlsta'iyagani* he pulled out (a bear) 95.14 (*dañ-* by pulling; *sta* to move away)

la *l'sltc!as* he brought in (a bird) 27.31 (*-tc!* into)

la *la* *l'linā'gas* he put a living one down 13.1

l'xida to take (a child) 27.17

l'sgugeils found a whole one 49.11

21. *L-* or *Lu-* the shape assumed by a number of clams or fish with a stick run through them to hold them together, and also by a canoe with many persons standing up in it.

ya'gulsi *la* *gīxa'ñ* *ludjūdā'asi* he placed them standing in line in the middle of the canoe (*ya'gu* = *ya'ku* middle; *l* euphonic; *-si* participle; *gīxa'ñ* standing; *djū* it was of that sort; *-dā* causative [§18.2]; *-asi* participle)

ku'ngado *ldā'!L!xas* (a canoe full of men) is coming around the point (*kun* point; *gado* around; *dāl* to go [pl.]; *-L!xa* toward; *-s* participle)

22. *L!-* thin objects, such as thin boards, berry-cakes, pies and pie-plates, flat cans of beef.

gu'tgi *la* *la* *dāL!skīda'si* he flattened it together (*gut* together; *gi* to; *dā-* by pushing; *skīd* stem; *-asi* participle)

ga *tī'djai* *L!qōsgā'* certain flat rocks lying out from (the woods) (*ga* certain; *tīdj* = *tīs* rocks; *ai* the; *go* to lie; *-sgā* seaward)

L!Le'il five (plugs of tobacco) (*Le'il* five)

ya'mdjī *L!djiwogangā* go to the flint which sticks out thin! (*ya'mdjī* flint; *djiwo* = *dju* it is of that sort; *gan* = *gañ* continuative; *-gā* to be [§18.5])

23. *lga-* branching objects, such as bushes with numerous branches from one stem, combs, several hooks on one line, clothing with a coarse weave, the vertebral column, and even a person who is very thin.

L! Lā'djī *la* *gilga'Las* he broke off the ends of some cedar-limbs (*L!* some; *Lā'djī* limbs; *gi-* [?]; *L* stem TO TOUCH)

la lga'ngawus he put up (a stone wall) (*'ngaw* perhaps contains *go* TO LIE; *-us* participle)

la dāñlgā'stagwa'gasi he pulled out (a hemlock branch) 10.6

ia'olē lgalunul'ā'wan there were three hooks (Masset) (*ta'ol* hooks; *ē* the; *lunul* three; *'aw* = *'o* to lie; *-an* past inexperienced)

24. *lgAm-* large roundish or cubic objects.

sī'sa lga'mqēda L! lga'mgatxi they had large round rattles in their hands (*sī'sa* rattle; *qēda* large; *gatxi* stem [?])

ṣallga'mdaṣide's (skin) shriveled up in fire 37.15 (*ṣal-* by fire)

25. *lgi-* large cylindrical objects, like logs, steam-boilers, smoke-stacks, rolls of bedding, many objects flowing in a stream, also driftwood sometimes, and large fence-rails.

wage'ista kwalgi'staga'si (olachen) ran out of it in a stream toward the sea (*wa* it; *gei* into; *sta* from; *kwa-* in a stream; *sta* stem; *-sga* outward; *-si* participle)

t!an la lgi'gīñas he was carrying a hard, dead limb (*t!an* limb or knot rotted out of a tree; *gīñ* stem; *-as* participle)

lāi ṣutlgidjū' L! xagias there cranberries were blown out (in a cylindrical body) (*lāi* cranberries; *ṣut-* by the wind [§14.19]; *djū* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-gia* outward; *-s* participle)

ī' L!ga xō'dai dā lgi'atalgagasañ you might eat our hair-seal (*ī' L!* our; *-ga* possessive; *xōd* = *xōt* hair-seal; *ai* the; *dā* you; *a* [?]; *ta* stem TO EAT; *-Lga* all [§20.2]; *-ga* to be; *-asañ* infallible future)

L! lgi'stansīñdai'yagan they make four (grave-posts) 91.29 (*stansīñ* eight; *-da* to make)

lgidjū'usgadia's (glow of fire) shines toward beach 39.6

skī'lē l wē lā lgidjū'diwan put a tall dance-hat on his head! (Masset) (*skīl* dance-hat; *ē* the; *l* imperative particle; *w* = *wa* it [hat]; *'ē* into; *lā* probably = *la* with the possessive *-ēa* HIS; *djū* stem; *-di* determinate suffix; *-an* past inexperienced)

26. *xa-* many inanimate small objects.

... *xā'godigani* they (gills) lie 97.26 (*go* to lie; *-di* determinate; *-gan* experienced; *-i* [p.253])

ta-ū xā'ṣiwas halibut-hooks were hanging 67.19 (*ta-ū* hook; *ṣi* to hang; *-as* participial)

27. *sLAp-*

gi'na gō'lgał sLA'pdala some slim, blue things (*gi'na* some; *gō'lgał* blue; *dala* plural with adjectives of shape)

28. *t!Ap-*

gi'na sgēt t!A'pdjū L!xa something short and red protruded (*gi'na* something; *sgēt* red; *djū* stem; *-L!xa* toward)

29. *k!Am-* small (cf. no. 15a, p. 231).

Lū k!A'mdala small canoes (*Lū* canoe; *dala* plural with adjectives)

t!a'gas k!A'mdala small flakes of snow 31.28

30. *gām-*

ga q!ā'laqa gā'mgodies a large open space in the woods (*ga* some [indef. pl.]; *q!ā'laqa* open place or swamp; *go* to lie; *-di* determinate; *-es* participle)

31. *L!Ap-*

la L!Apdji'laxadas he let a small part (of the surface of the moon) be seen (*djilaxa* [?]; *-da* causative; *-s* participle)

32. *sLām-*

q!ā'djai l' xē'la ge'ista sgēt sLā'mdji'golā'ndālasī the gum hung out from his mouth red (*q!ādj* = *q!ās* gum; *ai* the; *xē'la* mouth; *gei* into; *sta* from; *sgēt* red; *dji* probably = *dju* it is of that sort; *golā'ndal* analysis uncertain; *-asi* participle)

33. *tc!n-* the insides of such objects as sea-eggs.

34. *st!a-* dumb-bell shaped objects, such as the liver of a dog-fish.

35. *skAp-* applied to such an object as the curled tail of a dog.

skA'pdala crooked wedges 33.13

36. *skitēt-* small and very slender objects, such as certain small, slender teapots.

Third Group: Principal Predicative Terms (§§ 16-21)

§ 16. Characterization of Predicative Terms

Most elements of this group must be considered as independent verbs. It has been pointed out before that they may also enter into combinations. Among some of them this tendency is strongly developed. Here belong the verbs forming terms of the first group (see § 14). A number of others are so intimately related with other ideas in their significance that they occur only rarely alone, if at all, and appear, therefore, in part rather as auxiliary verbs, or even as affixes.

§ 17. Stems in Initial Position

Some of these stems take initial positions.

1. *gai-* (Masset *gī-*) refers to any object floating upon the water, *gai* being the stem of the verb TO FLOAT.

Na-giū' ga la gā'isLgeilgīgas he stopped at House-fishing-ground (floating there upon the water) 29.8 (*Na* house; *giū* fishing-ground; *ga* in; *sL* stem; *-gīl* to come to be [§18.10]; *gī* completion of action; *ga* to be; *-s* participle)

gam l' lanā'ga da'osqual ga'isLga'oqāñgañga driftwood never floated ashore in his town (*gam* not; *lanā* town; *-ga* possessive; *da'osqual* driftwood; *sz* stem; *gao* [?]; *-gañ* negation; *-gañ* continuative; *-ga* to be)

l' xe'tgu l' gā'isLgĩls it floated ashore in front of him (*xet* down in front of; *gu* there; *sz* stem; *-gĩl* shoreward; *-s* participle)

l' gā'ĩñgwañas it was floating about (*gā* = *gāi-* floating; *-ĩñ* on sea; *-gwañ* about; *-as* participle)

[This stem might be considered as an instrumental, like those discussed in § 14. It takes the same position before classifiers as other instrumentals do: *gā'-it!aoga'ogadie's* a feather floated ashore 37.24 (*t!ao-* feather-shaped object).—ED.]

2. *gan-* applied when a number of people are doing a thing *en masse*.

la sta L! ga'ndaṣitdĩlasi they all started away from her (*sta* from; *da* = *dal* to go [pl.]; *-ṣit* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-dĩl* truly)

la sta L! ga'nlgalañas they went home from him (*sta* from; *lgal* to go indirectly; *-añ* continuative; *-as* participle)

la ga'nsta gandā'!L!xaqĩlsi they came to him together (*ga'nsta* to [= *gan* FOR AND *sta* FROM = COMING FOR A PURPOSE]; *dāl* to go [pl.]; *-L!xa* toward; *-gĩl* landward; *-si* participle)

lgũ'nul gandax'ĩdan three came along 107.20

l' ganā'lgō qa'odihao after they had gone along 37.2

[It would seem that this element must be considered as a classifier, analogous to those discussed in § 15 and meaning GROUP OF PEOPLE. The following example illustrates its use following an instrumental: *la L! galga'ndaṣitgā'wañ wansū'ga* it is said, they led him home 81.39 (*gal-* by leading).—ED.]

3. *ṣao-* (Masset *ṣō-*) TO DO A THING QUICKLY.

la at gut la da'oxaostas they seized each other quickly (*at* with; *gut* each other; *dao-* to go and get [prefixed]; *sta* stem)

la ga ga nā'ñṣaoLgañasi it quickly ground off his skin (*ga* to; *ga* something; *nāñ* = *nan* to grind [§ 14.8]; *L* stem [?]; *-gañ* continuative; *-asi* participle)

l' dā'ēalañ stañ l' dōṣō'stasēaian her two brothers ran down to take her (Masset) (*dā'ēa* younger brother; *-lañ* plural; *stañ* two; *dō* to go and get; *sta* stem; *-sēa* seaward; *-i* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced)

4. *ta-* expresses the use of a transitive verb without object.

taga'ogañāñ wansū'ga they say few were left 11.8

taqlā'das she cut up 49.1

tagō'ldjwulas he spread out in morning 53.4

taskidā'ñagani they plundered 105.4

§ 18. Stems in Terminal Position, First Group

Most of these verbal stems take a terminal position:

1. *ū* TO SIT OR CONTINUE TO BE.
2. *da* TO CAUSE.
3. *dal* TO MOVE ALONG WHILE SOMETHING ELSE IS TAKING PLACE.
4. *sîñ* TO WISH.
5. *ga* TO BE.
6. *xit* (Masset *-id*) TO BEGIN
7. *χAl* or *χAl* (Masset *Al* or *Al*) TO TELL.
8. *ga* (Masset *'a*) TO GO.
9. *gaya* (Masset *'aya*) TO KNOW HOW TO DO A THING.
10. *geil* or *geal* (Masset *'el* or *'el*) TO BECOME.
11. *xañ* TO THINK OR GUESS.

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with nouns:

ganl xē'lauas there lay a water-hole (*ganl* fresh water; *xēla* a water-hole; *u* to lie or sit [no. 1]; *-as* participle)

l! lqā'uas they put stones into the fire (*lqā* stones; *u* auxiliary [no. 1]; *-as* participle)

la gā'ldas he stayed all night (*la* he; *gāl* night; *da* [no. 2])

la la sū'udas he said to him 27.2 (*sū* to say, intransitive)

l' tcā'alDas he had a war-spear (*l'* he; *tcā'al* war-spear; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-s* participle)

dañ gu l madā'dasga I will put mountain-goats upon you (*dañ* you; *gu* there; *l* I; *mad* = *mat* mountain-goats; *ā* [?]; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-sga* future)

nañ tlē'djî lqā'gas the one who was half rock 8.9 (*nañ* one; *tlē'djî* half; *lqā* stone)

l' nā'tga gazā'gas his nephew was a child¹ (*nā't* nephew; *-ga* possessive [§ 28]; *gazā* child; *-ga* to be [no. 5]; *-s* participle)

lā'ga χalagā'gan his (implement) was copper (*-ga* possessive; *χalā* copper; *-gā* to be [no. 5]; *-agan* past inexperienced)

la gi yā'nāñgeilgoas it became foggy upon them (*la* them [with suffix *-go*]; *gi* at or upon; *yā'nāñ* clouds or fog; *-geil* to become [no. 10]; *-as* participle)

Examples of the use of auxiliaries with other verb-stems:

l' qīā'o-ū qa'odî after he had sat there for a while (*qīā[o]* to sit; *u* auxiliary [no. 1]; *qa'odî* after a while)

la qoyā'das he caused it to be dear (= he valued it) (*qoyā* dear; *-da* auxiliary [no. 2]; *-s* participle)

¹ *Qāza* appears to have been originally a verb meaning TO BE WEAK (see § 19.1), but here it is made a verb over again just as if it were a noun.

- l' dā'yāñdal qa'odî* after he had gone along hunting for a while
(*dā'yāñ* hunting; *dal* to go [no. 3]; *qaodî* after a while)
- dāñ gi L! gī'dayū'ansīñga* they wish to give you much food
(*dāñ* you; *gi* to; *gīda* to give food to any one; *yū'an* much;
-*sīñ* auxiliary [no. 4]; -*ga* perhaps this should be -*sga* future)
- l'a'oga l' tā'gas* his mother ate it 27.28 (*ao* mother; -*ga* possessive;
tā to eat; *ga* to be [no. 5]; -*s* participle)
- la la qā L! xaxalgoas* they told him to come out to them (*la* they
[with suffix -*go*]; *qā* to go; -*L!xa* toward; -*xal* auxiliary [no. 7])
- nañ qea'ñqasi* one went to look (*nañ* one; *qea* stem to LOOK; -*añ*
continuative; -*ga* auxiliary [no. 8]; -*si* participle)
- nañ qaxā's nā'ñagayageils* the child came to know how to play
(*nañ* the [with suffix -*s*]; *qaxā* child; -*s* participle; *nāna* = *nan*
stem; -*gaya* to know how to [no. 9]; -*geil* to come to [no. 10];
-*s* participle)
- qoñā'i lā'ña q'ēstā'nsañai'els* their months became eight, or eight
months passed over them (Masset) (*qoñ* moon; *ai* the; *lā'ña*
their [singular form covering plural] = *la* + *aña* their own; *q'ē*-
classifier [§ 15.18]; *stā'nsañ* = *stā'nsañxa* eight; *i* probably
euphonic; -*el* auxiliary [no. 10]; -*s* participle)
- hayī'ñxan laga xia'lxā'ñgua* I think he has danced long enough
(Masset) (*hayī'ñ* instead of [dancing longer]; *xan* so, thus;
laga enough [?]; *xial* to dance; -*xāñ* auxiliary [no. 11]; -*gua*
declarative suffix [25.5])

§ 19. Stems in Terminal Position, Second Group

A number of others are also apparently verbal stems, but appear in close connection with other verbs, so that they almost convey the impression of suffixes. In some of them, however, their independent character is quite apparent.

1. -*xa* usually occurs in such close conjunction with the verb stem that it is hard to determine whether it is a true suffix or not. It may indicate state.

- dī dala'ñ lgaxagī'lga* you tire me with your handling (*dī* me;
dala'ñ you [pl.]; *L-* by handling [§ 14.26]; *gaxa* together means
WEAK; -*gīl* to become [§ 18.10]; -*ga* auxiliary [§ 18.8])
- Sawalī'xa gia'xayas* Sawalī'xa stood up (*Sawalī'xa* man's name;
gia to stand; -*y* perfect; -*s* participle)
- la gan l' st!ē'xagiālañ wansū'ga* he became angry with him, they
say (*gan* with [?]; *st!ē* angry or sick; *giāl* to become [§ 18.10];
-*añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)
- la'gi l' lgoa'xagīls* he became afraid of him (*gi* of; *lgoa* stem to
FEAR; -*gīl* auxiliary; -*s* participle)

1A *la kílge'idaxa-k!ōtwā'lañ* . . . he made her so ashamed by his words that she died (*kíl-* by words [§ 14.14]; *geida* perhaps means IT IS THAT WAY, but with *-xa* it signifies TO BECOME ASHAMED; *k!ōtul* to be destroyed; *-añ* past inexperienced)
gAm *l! qē'xagañas* they did not find him (*gAm* not; *qē* perhaps is *qea* TO SEE, but with *-xa* it means TO FIND; *-gañ* negation)

2. **-gññ, -gñn, or -ñn** MOTION BY SEA; also an independent stem.¹

l' qa'idañgññas it went of itself by sea (*qa* to go; *-id* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-añ* continuative [?]; *-as* participle)

qā'gññ qa'odî after it had gone along on the ocean for a while (*qā* to go; *qa'odî* after a while)

l' xa'oîns he was fishing 29.7 (*xao* to fish; *-s* participle)

l' sa'iîns he went out hunting by sea (*saî* to hunt; *-s* participle)

3. **-qōñ** (Masset **-ōñ**) conveys the idea of random progression on foot, and is used only after the verb stems *qā* and *îs*.

l' dji'lgoqagō'ndî after he had danced around for a while (*l'* they [with suffix *-go*]; *dji'l* stem TO DANCE; *qa* to go; *-qōñ* = *-qōñ* suffix; *-dî* determinate suffix)

l' qā'goñganî he wandered around (*qā* to go; *-gan* past inexperienced; *-î* perfect)

la qñqā'goñas he saw walking about 12.2

la qā'qōñ qa'odî after he had walked about 67.33

4. **-gia** is also used principally after *qā*, and seems to indicate that the motion is with a definite object in view, straight on to a certain place. Possibly it is the stem of the verb TO STAND, with which it is morphologically identical.

gut la qagiaga'ñ qa'odî after he had gone along upon the trail for a while (*gut* upon; *qa* stem TO GO; *-gañ* continuative; *qa'odî* after a while)

ga la qā'giaga'nsî he was going thither (*ga* to; *qā* stem TO GO; *-gan* past experienced; *-î* perfect [§ 25.6])

la'ga nañ qā'giagañas one came to him upon the trail (*ga* to; *nañ* one; *qā* stem TO GO; *-gañ* continuative; *-as* participle)

5. **-q'ol** or **-q'ol** TO DO SECRETLY; also independent verb stem.

Sawalī'xa l' qññq'ol'tadiês Sawalī'xa looked at him unobserved (*Sawalī'xa* man's name; *qññ* stem TO LOOK; *-ta* perhaps FOR; *-da* auxiliary; *-dî* determinate suffix; *-ês* participle)

la l' sū'daq'oldaian he whispered to her secretly (*sū* stem TO SAY; *-da* to cause; *-da* to cause [used twice]; *-î* perfect [§ 23.7]; *-an* past inexperienced)

¹[Nos. 2-4 might be classed with the locative suffixes described in § 22. - Ed.]

dī lā q!olgi'nda don't let any one know of me (*dī* me; *lā* imperative particle; *gi'n* [?]; *-da* to cause)

§ 20. Stems in Terminal Position, Third Group

It is probably due to their significance that the following groups take ordinarily their position following the last series:

1. **-go** (Masset **-o**) PLURALITY. Originally this probably marked distributive plurality. It always follows *la*, the personal pronoun of the third person singular.

gan lā la dji'lā'dagoas they had her as bait for it (*gan* for; *la* they [with *-go*]; *dji'lā* bait; *-da* to cause; *-as* participle)

sta l!ā luqā'itgoasī they went away (*sta* from; *l!ā* they; *lu-* by canoe [§ 14.27]; *qā* to go; *-it* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *-asī* participle)

l' nā'xaga'ngoga'nga they fly about (*l'* they [with *-go*]; *nā'xa* to fly [pl.]; *-ga'n* continuative; *-ga'n* probably continuative also, the suffix being doubled; *-ga* auxiliary)

lā q!a'oslogagawañ . . . they came and sat down by the fire (*lā* they [with *gaw* = *-go*]; *q!a* to sit; *-o* probably auxiliary; *slo* stem [?]; *-ga* auxiliary [?]; *-a'n* past inexperienced)

lā sta lā luqā'itgoas they left him by canoe 59.3

l' gē'tgatgawa'-i lū when they had gone 59.4

lā lanadageitgā'wagan they had a town 103.11

2. **-lga** (Skidegate dialect) indicates that all of the objects or persons just mentioned are included in the action.

l' ga'olūlgagawas they all got up (*l'* they [with *-gaw* = *-go*])

la'giaga gi'nagai qa'illgagas all his property was lost (*gia* property; *-ga* possessive; *gi'na* things; *gai* the; *qa'il* stem; *-ga* auxiliary; *-s* participle)

3. **-odjū** Masset equivalent of the above.

alā'nsL^oodjawanī it was all cooked (*alā'n* to cook; *sL* appears to be the principal stem; *odjaw* = *odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect)

a l! i'sdals^oodjawan all went down to it (*a* to; *is* [?]; *dal* to go; *s* [?]; *odjaw* = *odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced)

l! i' l!ada^oodjawan all went down to it (*i' l!ada* [?]; *odjaw* = *odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced)

lū'guē a'ñā l' i'sda^oodjawan he took all into the canoe (*lū* canoe; *gu* there; *ē* = *ē* into; *a'ñā* his cwn; *isda* stem; *-odjaw* = *-odju* all; *-an* past inexperienced)

4. **-skī** applied to an action that fails of accomplishment, or perhaps to one that nearly succeeds.

k'iwā'i gei l' xA'ptagoaskiä'si he almost went flying through the doorway (*k'iw* = *k'iu* doorway; *ai* the; *gei* into; *xAp* probably means quickly; *tagoa* [?]; *-äsi* participle)

la dā'yîñskia'gadjūugāñ he hunted for it in vain (*dā'yîñ* to hunt; rest uncertain)

gei l! dayî'ñskiya'i xū when they found nothing there by hunting (*gei* into; *dayîñ* to hunt; *-y* perfect; *ai* the; *xū* when)

gadō' l ge'tskiañ I could in no way get them (*gadō'* around [always used with this stem]; *l* I; *get* stem; *-añ* [?])

5. **-goañ.** A frequentative best translated by the English word ABOUT.

l' xetî't tc!î'nlgogañgas he went about hunting birds (*xetî't* birds; *tc!îñ* to shoot or hunt; *l* perhaps euphonic; *-ga* to go; *-s* participle). See also 27.27

l' gā'yîñgoañas it was floating about (*gāy-* = *gai-* floating; *-îñ* on water; *-as* participle)

gō'ñgañ dA'ñat lA na'ugoañ qa'odî after he had lived along with his father for a while (*gōñ* man's father; *-gañ* his own; *dA'ñat* in company with; *na* to live; *ū* auxiliary; *-goañ* along or about; *qa'odî* after a while)

lA la i'na-ūgoañ qa'odî after he had remained with his wife for a while (*i'na* to marry; *-ū* auxiliary; *qa'odî* after a while)

6. **-gî** the completion of action; also, sometimes, continuation, in which case it probably means continuation to the end.

la geîlgîdaga'i xū when she had finished (*geîl* to become; *-da* auxiliary; *gai* the; *xū* when)

la sugî'gai xū when he was through talking (*su* to talk; *gai* the)

la qîñgî'gwasi they looked at it for some time (*la* they [with *-gw* = *-gol*]; *qîñ* stem TO LOOK; *-asi* participle)

xao g^u tadjugî'gañan the raven always sat upon it (*xao* [?]; *g^u* at or upon; *ta* probably a classifier; *dju* stem [?]; *-gañ* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced)

7. **-di** a suffix that seems to define the action as having taken place at a certain particular place and moment. Its use is not so pronounced in the Masset dialect as in Skidegate.

q!al lgał k!A'tdala q!as gōxā'godiês some small black-skinned persons held burning pitchwood then (*q!al* skins; *lgał* black; *k!At-* short or small; *-dala* plural with adjectives [§39]; *q!as* pitchwood; *go-* burning; *xa* inanimate pl.; *-go* to be somewhere; *-ês* participle)

lA Liñā'ñdigandi xan at the moment when she was striving to disentangle it (*Li-* with the hands [?]; *ñan* probably stem; *-di* seems to be determinate suffix used twice; *-gan* continuative; *xan* thus, at that moment)

gu *la ta'idias* he lay right there (*gu* there; *tai* to lie)
l' gazā'di at the time when he was a boy (*gazā* boy)
 This suffix is used very often before *qa'odi*.

l'sūdi qa'odi after he had cried 7.7

8. **-ul** or **-ul** TO DO A THING EARLY IN THE MORNING.

Q!ana'ñ t!a'ga l q!a'o-ulas I sit early in the morning at the mouth of *Q!ana'ñ* river (*Q!ana'ñ* river name; *t!a* mouth of; *-ga* at; *l* I; *q!a* to sit; *-o* auxiliary; *-as* participle)

gaña'ñ ge'itulas (the weather) becomes like this early in the morning (*gaña'ñ* like; *geit* stem IT WAS SO; *-as* participle)

yā'naña ta'igññulia'i lu when it was cloudy (or foggy) early in the morning (*yā'naña* clouds or fog; *tai* to lie [close to water]; *gñ* on water; *ai* the; *lu* when)

l' lā'uliga it is fine weather so early this morning (*lā* good, fine)
nañ k!wai'yagas k!oda'go-ulaiyañ one brother lay dead in the morning 77.33 (*k!oda-* dead; *l-* classifier; *go* to lie)

9. **-lñā'** marks potentiality.

l'siñ Lgao L! xadaliñā'ñgūdā'nsi he thought he might restore them (*l'siñ* again; *Lgao* new; *L!* he [plural because a great hero is speaking]; *xada* human being; *-añ* continuative [?]; *-gūd* to think; *-āñ* continuative [contracted before *s*]; *-si* participle)

gi'na at l' lālñā' wa'luxan la'gi la i'sdas he gave him all things which might make him happy (*gi'na* things; *at* with; *lā* good or happy; *wa'luxan* all [*wa + lu + xan*]; *gi* to; *i'sda* gave)

skañ, sta'iga Lgua l sqasgā'itlñā' blockhead, I can knock out your labret (*skañ* blockhead; *sta'i* labret; *-ga* possessive; *Lgua* a sort of adverbial interjection, whatever it is; *l* I; *sqasgā'it* to knock out)

gam gu 'anlāñ ga t!alā'ñ i'nalñāñus may we not leave fresh water with you? (Masset) (*gam* not; *gu* interrogative particle; *'anl* fresh water; *lāñ* you; *ga* to; *t!alā'ñ* we; *i'na* stem; *-āñ* continuative [?]; *-us* interrogative suffix)

lñā' may also be employed as the stem of an independent verb and as an adjective.

L! dō'na k!adāñā'sis ū l' lñā'yan she made it so that younger sisters are wise (Masset) (*L!* indefinite; *dō'na* younger sisters; *k!adāñā'* wise; *-s* participle; *-is* probably contracted form of verb TO BE; *ū* general demonstrative; *lñā* stem; *-y* perfect; *-an* past inexperienced)

Nañk'lsLas lñā'i he who was going to become *Nañk'lsLas*, or the potential *Nañk'lsLas* (*Nañ* one; *k'íl-* voice; *sl* stem; *-as* participle [all meaning ONE-WHOSE-VOICE-IS-OBEYED]; *ai* the)

a'hao qait kīñā'i hao īdja'ñ wansū'ga those were the future (or potential) trees, they say (*a* this; *hao* general demonstrative; *qait* trees; *kīñā'i* the potential; *hao* general demonstrative; *īdja* to be; *-a'ñ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

It is also often used in the formation of names.

§ 21. Stems in Terminal Position, Fourth Group

All of these except two are nothing more than incorporated adjectives.

1. *yū'* BIG.

lā gā'ña yū'andayagan he had it very thick 33.9 (*gā'ña* thick; *-da* to cause [§18.2]; *-y* perfect [§23.2]; *-agan* past inexperienced [§23.2])

lā'gan sk'ūlyū'anās it was very crowded for her (*gan* for; *sk'ūl* a crowd; *-as* participle [§25.7])

l' lāi l' daoyū'anās they came near him on the opposite shore in a very great crowd (*lāi* abreast of on shore; *dao* to go to get)

l' qoanyū'anān they were very many (*l'* they [sing. used for pl.]; *qoan* many; *-an* past inexperienced [§23.2])

2. *djīl'* REAL.

gā'lga-geīldjīl'gai lu when it became quite dark (*gā'l* night, dark; *-ga* [?]; *geīl* to become; *gai* the; *lu* when)

gī lā gwao djīl'gasi he really did not care for (it) (*gī* for; *gwao* stem NOT TO CARE FOR; *-ga* auxiliary [§18.5])

dī sk'īsl djīl'ga I am truly full (*dī* I; *sk'īsl* to be full [perhaps compounded of *sk'ī* and *sl*]; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE)

lā'gi lā dayī'nskidjīl'gas he was absolutely unable to find him (*gi* to or for; *dayī'n* to find; *-ski* in vain [§20.4]; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE [§18.5]; *-s* participle)

3. *lā'gañ* THE FIRST.

nāñ lā geīlgī'galā'gañās he finished a certain one first 33.2 (*nāñ* one; *geīl* to become; *-gī* completed action [§20.6]; *-ga* auxiliary [§18.5]; *-as* participle)

gi lā kia'gañlāgañagan he asked for him first 33.26 (*kia* stem; *-gañ* continuative [§24.1]; *-agan* past inexperienced [§23.2])

1. *gō'da* (Masset 'oda) THE LAST. Originally this appears to have been the word for BUTTOCKS. In the Masset dialect it is used as a connective meaning AFTER.

lā ga tā'gagotslas the ones he ate last (*lā* [?]; *ga* the ones; *tā* stem TO EAT; *-ga* auxiliary TO BE [?]; *-got* last; *sl* stem; *-as* participle)

5. *sgoan* FOREVER, OR FOR A LONG TIME. This is derived from the same stem as *sgoa'nsiñ* ONE, *sgu'nzan* ONLY.

ga'igu hao l' tc'i'ageĩlsqoānañ wansū'ga he came to have a place there forever, they say (*gai* the or that; *gu* there; *hao* general demonstrative; *tcia* a place; *geĩl* to come to; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

lā'ga la dañda'ostasqoā'nañasi he pulled his [spear] out for good (*-ga* possessive; *dañ-* by pulling; *dao* to go and get; *sta* to move from a place; *-añ* continuative [§24.1]). See also 69.9

The numerals from two up are suffixed to take the place of ordinals, numerals, and numeral adverbs.

la gōtṛia'tc!asta'nsañā'i ɬu after he had swallowed four times, or the fourth time (*gotṛia* stem [?]; *-tc!a* motion into [§22.1]; *-sta'nsañ* four; *-ai* the; *ɬu* when)

atha'o la la tc!iga'stiañāñ . . . he shot him twice with it (*at* with; *hao* general demonstrative; *tc!i-* by shooting [§14.2]; *ga* stem; *-stiañ* = *stiñ* two; *-añ* past inexperienced [§23.2])

gutge'ista la la dandjistaLe'ilas he pulled apart five times (*gut* together; *gei* into; *sta* from; *dan-* by pulling [§14.4]; *djista* stem [?]; *-Leil* five; *-as* participle)

§ 22. Fourth Group: Locative Suffixes¹

1. *-tc!a* or *-!c!i* indicates motion or action into something, especially a house.

k!ia'lu au'ñ gi la k!ū'sltc!is he brought a cormorant in to his mother 27.27 (*kiā'lu* cormorant; *au* mother; *-uñ* his own; *gi* to; *k!u-* classifier [§15.15]; *sl* stem; *-s* participle [§25.7])

da'tc!i la ɬ'sltc!as he brought in a wren 27.31 (*da'tc!i* wren; *ɬ-* classifier [§15.20]; *sl* stem; *-s* participle)

l' qatc!a'yas he came in (*ga* stem; *-ya* perfect; *-s* participle)

ga'gei la qin'tc!ayas he looked into some houses (*ga* some; *gei* into; *qin* stem; *-y* perfect [§23.7]; *-s* participle)

2. *-gua* direction of action out of something, especially a house.

la la da'oxaostagua'gawañ wansū'ga they ran out of the house to him quickly, they say (*la* they [with suffix *-garw* = *-go*]; *dao* to go to get; *ṛao-* quickly [§17.3]; *sta* stem; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la gi la qin'gua'gasì she looked out at him (*gi* at; *qin* stem; *-ga* auxiliary; *-sì* participle)

l' a'ndjigoagai ɬu when he put his head out (*andji* erect; *gai* the; *ɬu* when)

¹ See also § 19.2-4.

k!iwa'i qa la giā'zagoasī he stood at the door outside (*k!iw* = *k!iu* door; *ai* the; *qa* at; *giā* stem; *-xa* suffix of unknown significance; *-goa* out; *-sī* participle)

3. *-xūl* or *xual* (Masset *-gul* or *-gual*) has a meaning similar to the above, but in this case actual motion out is always meant.

la qaxuā'lañ wansū'ga he went out, they say 29.38 (*qa* stem; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

s ludjā'gadāñai i'siñ dā'nat la qā'xuls he also went out with the woodpecker 29.46 (*s ludjā'gadāñ* woodpecker; *-ai* the; *i'siñ* also; *dā'nat* with; *qa* stem; *-s* participle)

l' lā'lga qaxuā'lasī her husband went out (*lāl* husband; *-ga* possessive [§28]; *qa* stem; *-asī* participle)

l' qā'gualan he went out of doors (Masset) (*qa* stem; *-an* past inexperienced)

gam hawī'dan l' qagulā'añan he did not go out quickly (Masset) (*gam* not; *hawī'dan* quickly; *ā'* carries accent; *-añ* negative)

4. *-t!adj* ACROSS A BODY OF WATER, especially an arm of the sea.

Sī'k!a kun 'a ō l' sa'int!adjan he went across to Sīk!a point to hunt (Masset) (*Sī'k!a* name of a point; *kun* point; *'a* to; *ō* general demonstrative; *sa'in* stem; *-an* past inexperienced)

L! Lūdō't!adjan they went across the harbor (Masset) (*Lū* by canoe [§14.27]; *dō* to go to get; *-an* past inexperienced)

wa'a L! Lī't!adjanī they brought them across to it (Masset) (*wa* it; *'a* to; *Lī* stem; *-an* past inexperienced; *-ī* perfect)

q!ā'dat!adjasi (he) threw across 73.42

5. *-sgtēn* ACROSS A STRIP OF LAND, such as a peninsula.

'a l' qā'sgtēnanī he went across to it (Masset) (*'a* to; *qā* stem; *-an* past inexperienced; *-ī* perfect)

wagui' l' qā'sgtēnan he went across to a distant point (Masset) (*wa* it; *gui* toward [with motion]; *qā* stem; *-an* past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

6. *-t!Al* or *t!Al* MOTION DOWNWARD.

tcī'wai u'ngei kīt!Alpha'ot!Alsī it stuck into the floor-planks from above (*tcīw* = *tcu* plank; *ai* the; *un* on top of; *gei* into; *kīt-* by a stick [§ 14.13]; *t!Alpha'o* stem [?]; *-sī* participle)

lnaga'i dala'nga la kītgu't!Aldaasañ I will tip over your town (*lna* = *lana* town; *gai* the; *dala'n* you [pl.]; *-ga* possessive; *la* I; *kīt-* with a stick; *gū* stem; *-da* to cause; *-asañ* future [§ 23.5])

sīlgui'gañ la gaxia't!alagan he descended to his home (*sīl* back; *gui* toward [with motion]; *-gañ* his own [§ 28]; *gaxia'* stem [?]; *-agan* past inexperienced [§ 23.2])

la l! qā't!Alagandasi they let him off first (*qā* stem; *la* [?];
gan = *gañ* continuative [§ 24.1]; *-da* to cause [§ 18.6])
l! dadjūt!aldai'yaganī they pushed (it) down 45.15

7. **-l** MOTION UPWARD.

l' qa'ildī qa'odī after he had gone up for a while (*qa* stem; *-dī*
 determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; *qa'odī* after a while)
l' k!utlū'stala he spits water upward (*k!ut-* with the lips [§ 14.16];
lu- probably a classifier; *sta* stem; *-la* up)
naga'i qa la qā'ilstī he went up to the house (*na* house; *gai* the; *ga*
 to; *qā* stem; *-sī* participle)
l' dā'ñandjilas he pulled it up out of the water (*dāñ-* by pull-
 ing; *andjī* erect; *-as* participle)
l! qī'ngalasi they went up to see 12.4

8. **-sga** (Masset *s'a*) MOTION TOWARD AN OPEN PLACE, particularly toward the open sea, toward the fire.

q!adaxuā' la sa'ana q!a'usga come down toward the sea and sit
 idle 29.4 (*q!ada* seaward; *-xua* toward [without motion]; *la*
 imperative particle; *sa'ana* idle; *q!a* to sit; *-u* auxiliary)
tā'djīlsqas the wind blew out of the inlet (*tādji* wind; *l* [?])
l' xā'gatsqas she stretched her arm seaward to grasp (something)
 31.22 (*xā-* by grasping; *gat* stem; *-s* participle)
lāl'lañ dā'ñat q!ā'wōsga sit down by the fire with your husband
 (*lāl* husband; *-añ* own; *dā'ñat* with; *q!ā* stem; *-o* auxiliary
 [§ 18.1])

9. **-gīt** or **-gial** MOTION TOWARD A SHUT-IN PLACE.

l' ga'islgīls it came in and floated (*gai-* floating; *sl* stem; *-s* par-
 ticiple)
l' qaxiagiā'lañ wansū'ga she started into the woods (*qa* stem; *xia*
 perhaps = *xit* to start; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quo-
 tative)
l' gōdā'lgialañ wansū'ga she moved farther inland, in a sitting
 posture (*gōdā* buttocks; *l* [?]; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wān-*
sū'ga quotative)
gwa'iyē 'a l' Lū'qagāl'awan they went up to the island (Masset)
 (*gwaī* island; *yē* = *ai* the; *'a* to; *l'* they [with suffix *-'aw* = *-'o*];
lu- by canoe [§ 14.27]; *qa* stem; *-gał* landward; *-an* past inex-
 perienced)
la sqū'gagatgīls he swam ashore 12.11

10. **-L!xa** (Masset *-L!a*) TOWARD ANYTHING.

l' stī'l!xagai lu when he came back toward (it) (*stīl* stem; *gai* the;
lu when).
la Lūqā'L!xagoas they approached by canoe 39.5

la gu la q!a'ol/xayañ wansū'ga it came and got on it, they say (*gu* on; *q!a* stem TO SIT; -o auxiliary; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -añ past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

la dāñā'ndjīl/xas he pulled it out head first 29.26 (*dāñ* by pulling [§ 14.4]; *andjī* erect; -s participle)

au'ñ gi la zagal/ag'lgāñasi he brought it up to his mother (Mas-set) (*au'ñ*=ao MOTHER + -añ HIS OWN; *gi* to; *za-* inanimate objects [§ 15.26]; *ga* stem; -gīl shoreward; -gāñ continuative [§ 24.1])

(*l'*) *ga-isll/xas* he came floating 7.8

11. -*gia* or *gī* UNDER WATER.

l' ga'ogias it vanished under water (*gao* stem; -s participle)

lua'i dagu'l gī gatgia'sī (the arrow) fell into the water at the side of the canoe (*lu* canoe; *ai* the; *dagu'l* side; *gī* at; *gat* stem; -sī participle)

wa'gei la gī'hālgiasī they poured it into (the ocean) (*wa* it [ocean]; *gei* into; *la* they [singular used for plural]; *gīhāl* [?]; -sī participle)

la la xī'dagias he let him down into the sea (*xīda* stem; -s participle)

12. -*l* INTO A CANOE.

gu'gei la qal'gasi he got into his canoe (*gu* there; *gei* into; *qa* stem; -ga auxiliary; -sī participle)

la gū'gei la i'slgwas they got into the canoe with him (*gu* there; *gei* into; *la* they [with -gw = -go]; *i's* stem; -s participle)

la la gē'tgaɬdayagan he got him into the canoe (*gēt* stem; -ga auxiliary [?]; *da* to cause; -i perfect [§ 23.7]; -agan past indeterminate)

la la qal'dagwas they took her aboard 41.8

Syntactic Treatment of the Verbal Theme (§§ 23-26)

§ 23. Temporal Suffixes

1. -*gan*, sometimes -*An*, indicates past events which the speaker has himself experienced.

la l! tc!inlgoā'ñgan they began shooting at them (that is, us) (*la* them [singular form used for plural]; *tc!in* stem; *l* probably euphonic; -goāñ about)

la nañ sī'ldagan I borrowed one (*la* I; *nañ* one; *sīl* stem; -da auxiliary)

l!la l! tc!i'nlgoañxīdan they started shooting at them (*l!la* them; *tc!in* stem; *l* euphonic; -goañ about [§ 20.5]; -xīd inchoative [§ 18.6])

dā'ñxua aḡa'ñ l skia'ga lḡan I jumped into the stern (*dā'ñxua* stern; *aḡa'ñ* reflexive; *l* I; *skia'ga* stem [?]; *-l* aboard [§ 22.12])

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 105-109, Bulletin 29.

2. **-aḡan** (Masset **-an** or **-gan**) past events known to the speaker only by report.

l' dḡā'ga lA ḡī'a-ñxayagān his wife left something for him (*dḡā* wife; *-ga* possessive; *ḡī'a-ñxa* [?]; *-i* perfect [§ 23.7])

la l' sā'wagān she spoke to him (*sāw* = *su* to speak)

lA la i'nagealagān he married her (*ina* stem; *-geal* to come to [§ 18.10])

nañ i'liña hao sqā'badax'idagān a man began to set deadfalls 95.1 (*nañ* a; *i'liña* man; *sqā'ba* deadfall; *-da* to make; *-x'id* to begin)

luē' tclasta'nsañan the canoe had four men (Masset) (*lu* canoe; *ē* the; *tc!a-* people in canoe; *sta'nsañ* four)

See the use of this suffix in the text on pp. 33-35, Bulletin 29.

Before *wānsū'ga*, the quotative in the Skidegate dialect, this suffix takes the form *-añ*.

A'ñga lA sqotskidā'ñañ wānsū'ga he struck his canoe with his hands, they say 29.22 (*A'ñga* his own; *sqot* with arms [§ 14.29]; *skid* contact; *-añ* continuative; *wānsū'ga* quotative)

ḡitḡa'ñ ḡan lA ḡagoyā'ñañ wānsū'ga he was calling for his son, they say (*ḡūl* son; *-ḡañ* his own [§ 28.3]; *ḡan* for; *ḡago* [?]; *-i* perfect; *-añ* continuative; *wānsū'ga* quotative)

la ē'siñ qa'idañ wānsū'ga he also started off, they say (*ē'siñ* also; *qa* stem; *-id* inchoative [§ 18.6]; *wānsū'ga* quotative)

lA la qā'gandagāñ wānsū'ga she saved him, they say (*qā'gan* to save; *-da* to cause [§ 18.2]; *wānsū'ga* quotative)

3. **-ḡin** events that occur or occurred habitually, and usually those which the speaker himself has experienced or is experiencing.

ā'thao ḡam "Dā'ḡal" hañ L! sū'ḡañḡañḡin therefore they were not in the habit of saying "to-morrow" 35.4 (*ā'thao* therefore; *ḡam* not; *dā'ḡal* to-morrow; *hañ* like it; *sū* stem; *-ḡañ* negation [§ 25.3]; *-ḡañ* continuative)

ḡaḡa'nhao lA wā'ḡañḡinī that is the reason why I do so (*ḡaḡa'nhao* that is why [= *ḡaḡa'n* + *hao*]; *lA* I; *wā* stem TO DO; *-ḡañ* continuative; *-ḡin* = *-ḡin* usitative; *-i* perfect [§ 25.6])

‘A'nLē wa'a i'si l nīlḡi'nī I used to drink the water that was in it (Masset) (*‘A'nL* water; *ē* the; *wa* it; *‘a* in; *i'si* was; *l* I; *nīl* stem TO DRINK; *-i* perfect [§ 25.6])

ḡa dī l'oa'ḡaḡi'nī I used to be afraid of it (Masset) (*ḡa* something indefinite; *dī* I; *l'oa* stem; *-ga* auxiliary [§ 18.5]; *-i* perfect)

4. **-sga** simple futurity.

sgā'na-qeda's *da'ñga qea'xolgilgā'nsqa* the supernatural beings will not become tired of looking at you 31.4 (*sgā'na* supernatural; *qeda's* probably those that are so born [from *qe* TO BE BORN, *-da* auxiliary, *-s* participle]; *dañ* you; *ga* at; *qea* by looking; *xol* stem; *-gil* probably *-gil* TO BECOME; *-gān* = *-gañ* continuative)

dī gi sīñā'gasga no one is going to touch me 31.7 (*dī* me; *gi* to; *sīñā* stem; *-ga* auxiliary [§ 18.5])

dañ l qīñgā'nsqa I shall see you sometimes 31.13 (*dañ* you; *l* I; *qīñ* stem; *-gān* continuative)

5. **-(a)sañ** infallible future occurrence, similar to English YOU SHALL.

[In both these suffixes the future element is probably *-s*, while *-sga* contains also a declarative ending (*-ga*).—ED.]

lua'i dañ la sī'ldadaasañ I will let you have the canoe (*lua* canoe; *ai* the; *dañ* you; *la* I; *sīlda* stem [?]; *-da* auxiliary)

djā'gañ dā da'ogasañ you shall go and get your wife (*djā* wife; *-gañ* your own; *dā* you; *dao* stem; *-ga* auxiliary) ,

l' sqa'lgatgaasañ he will conceal you (*sqa* 1st verbal stem TO CONCEAL; *gat* 2d verbal stem IT WAS LIKE THAT; *-ga* auxiliary)

gūsu l i' l' agidas ta'asañ what will the chiefs eat (*gūsu* what? *l*! indefinite demonstrative; *i' l' agidas* chief; *ta* stem TO EAT)

6. **-qasañ, -qasas**, immediate or imminent future occurrence; evidently compounded from the above.

a'da l dī l tā'nsanqasañ they will come to get me to-morrow (*a'da* to-morrow; *dī* me; *tā'nsan* to come by sea)

gīt qā' l a'añqasañ her child was about to come (Masset) (*gīt* child; *qā* stem; *-l/a* toward [§ 22.10]; *-añ* [?])

nañ ya'e'ts ū da'ñat i' n l axañqasañgua the princess is going to bring plenty of food (Masset) (*nañ* the [becomes definite with suffix *-s*]; *ya'e't* chief's child; *-s* participle; *ū* general demonstrative; *da'ñat* with; *in* stem; *-l/a* toward; *-xañ* continuative; *-gua* declarative)

l laganā'ñqasas they were about to make a feast (*lagan* to make a feast; *-añ* continuative; *-qasas* imminent future followed by participle)

7. **-i**, in intervocalic position *y*, perfect time.

lgitgu'n awā'ñ gi la lsltc!a'yañ wansū'ga he had brought in a goose to his mother, they say (*lgitgu'n* goose; *aw* = *ao*? mother; *-añ* his own; *gi* to; *l-* classifier [§ 15.20]; *sl* stem; *-tc!a* motion into [§ 22.1]; *-añ* past inexperienced; *wansū'ga* quotative)

dagalē'ga i'siñ l' xeti't tc!i'ntgoañgayas next day he had again gone out shooting birds (*dagal* the next day; *ē* the; *-ga* on; *i'siñ* again; *xeti't* birds; *tc!i'n* to shoot; *l* euphonic [?]; *-goañ* about [§ 20.5]; *-ga* auxiliary; *-s* participle)

la sudā'yaganñ ila' isda'si he did differently from the way he had said (he would do) (*su* stem TO SAY; *dā* to cause; *-agan* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect; *ila'* differently; *is* stem; *-da* auxiliary; *-si* participle)

gañā'xan la sū'dayaganñ so he had said (*gañā'xan* so [from *gañā'ñ* LIKE; *xan* JUST]; *sū* to say; *-da* auxiliary; *-agan* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect)

§ 24. Semi-Temporal Suffixes

Suffixes related to temporal suffixes, but defining the nature or time of the action more minutely.

1. *-gañ*, *-añ*, or *-iñ*. The common continuative or perhaps rather habitual suffix, similar to the English form of the verb ending in -ING.

au'ñ gi la xagal!xagi'lgañasi he was bringing up things to his mother (*au'ñ* [= *ao* MOTHER + *-añ* HIS OWN]; *gi* to; *xa-* by grasping [§ 14.24]; *ga* stem; *-L!xa* toward [§ 22.10]; *-gil* shoreward [§ 22.9]; *-si* participle)

gi'na at la nā'ñgañas he was playing with something (*gi'na* something; *at* with; *nāñ* stem TO PLAY; *-as* participle)

gitga'ñ la gagoyā'ñañ wansū'ga he called for his son, they say (*git* son; *-gañ* his own; *gagoy* = *gagoe* stem [?]; *-añ* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *wansū'ga* quotative)

Sometimes this suffix takes the form *-xan* or *xan*.

ga q!a'oxañas the ones sitting there (*ga* the ones [indefinite]; *q!a* stem TO SIT; *-o* auxiliary [§ 18.1]; *-as* participle)

L! naxa'ndi qa'odi after they had lived there for a while (*na* stem TO LIVE; *-di* determinate suffix; *qa'odi* after a while)

L! taixā'ndi qa'odi after they had remained in bed for a while (*tai* stem TO LIE; *-di* determinate [§ 20.7]; *qa'odi* after a while)

The occasional reduplication of this process has been referred to in § 6.

§ 25. Modal Suffixes

The following have also a modal significance:

1. *l* or *la* indicating the imperative; placed before or after the verb.

dī la q!ōsL let go of me with your mouth (*dī* me; *la* imperative; *q!ō-* with mouth; *sL* stem)

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stī'lda la let us go back (*stīl* stem; *-da* auxiliary; *la* imperative)
hai lgā'nai dī ga'nstA lA kī'ndA now, cousin, be my herald (*hai*
 now; *lgān* male cousin on father's side; *ai* the; *dī* me; *ga'nstA*
 for; *lA* imperative; *kī'n* stem; *-dA* auxiliary [§ 18.2])

gīn t!ēl s'u'nan l tc!ā'anu 'AN ista'ñ get only wet things for fire-
 wood (Masset) (*gīn* things; *t!ēl* wet; *s'un* only; *-an* just;
tc!ā'anu firewood; *'AN* for; *ista* stem [?]; *-añ* continuative)

With the auxiliary *ga* TO GO, however, instead of *l*, *-la* is suffixed to the verb.

hAN A l' sū'dagala go and speak to it like this (*hAN* like; *A* this;
sū stem; *-da* auxiliary; *-ga* auxiliary)

tc!ā'anu da'ogala go and get firewood (*tc!ā'anu* firewood; *dao*
 stem TO GO AND GET; *-ga* auxiliary)

lkiā'gua na'galdjū'qala go and sit toward the door (*lkiā* side
 toward door; *gua* toward; *na'gal* [?]; *-djū* it is of that sort;
-ga auxiliary)

Lqēt dala'ñ tciagā'nsa ga i'sgogala go to the place where you are
 going to settle (*Lqēt* where; *dala'ñ* you [pl.]; *tcia* stem TO
 HAVE A PLACE; *-gān* continuative; *-sa=sañ* infallible future
 [§ 23.5]; *ga* to; *is* stem; *-go* plural [?]; *-ga* auxiliary)

2. *-djañ* (Masset *-tcīn*) is employed to indicate what is usually
 denominated the first person imperative, both singular and
 plural, LET ME, LET US.

ha'la t!ala'ñ tc!ā'anugadajañ come and let us make a fire (*ha'la*
 come! *t!ala'ñ* we; *tc!ā'anu* fire; *-ga -da* auxiliaries [§ 18.5, 2])

hala' dAñ gī l gī'ngatdjañ come and let me adorn you 29.2 (*hala'*
 come! *dAñ* you; *gī* to or for; *l* I; *gīn*-agent in general [§ 14.12];
gat stem)

ha'la t!ala'ñ gaLgā'ñi'ndjañ let us go over to look (*ha'la* come!
t!ala'ñ we; *gaLgā'ñin* [?])

t!al qasā'tc!īn let us go away (Masset) (*t!al* we; *ga* stem TO GO;
-sa probably infallible future [§ 23.5])

3. *gañ* (Masset *'Añ*) NEGATION, always preceded by the negative
 particle *gam*.

gam gī'na gut l qea'ga'ñgan I saw nothing upon it (*gam* not; *gī'na*
 thing; *gut* upon; *l* I; *qea* stem TO SEE; *l* euphonic or possibly
 UP; *-gan* past inexperienced)

sgā'na-qeda's gam lA gut gaqā'dagañgansga the supernatural
 beings will never know it (*sgā'na qeda's* supernatural beings
 [see § 23.4]; *gam* not; *gut* upon; *gaqāda* [?]; *-gan=-gañ* con-
 tinuative [§ 24.1]; *-sga* future [§ 23.4])

... *gam la sū'udagañasi* (he) had not told him 27.6 (*sū* to say; *-da* auxiliary; *-si* participle)
gam l' 'ā'ndañ'añanî he did not feel it (Masset) (*gam* not; *'ā'ndañ* stem [?]; *-an* past inexperienced [§ 23.2]; *-î* perfect [§ 25.6])
gam la ga l! gī'da'añgañan they did not give him food (Masset) (*gam* not; *ga* indefinite things [food]; *gīda* stem TO GIVE FOOD; *-gañ* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced)

4. *-udja*, contracted sometimes to *-us*, marks interrogation, and, like the two suffixes last mentioned, is always preceded by a particle (*gua* or *gu*) or by an interrogative pronoun.

djā kī'lsasi gasi'ñhao dāñ qea'ga isū'udjañ say, chief, what has happened to your brother-in-law? (*djā* say! *kī'lsasi* chief [WHOSE VOICE IS OBEYED]; *gasi'n* what? *hao* general demonstrative; *dāñ* your; *qea* brother-in-law; *-ga* possessive; *is* stem; *ū'udja* = *udja* interrogative suffix; *-añ* continuative)

axada'i gua ga gal!alsqā'udja were the meshes of the net pulled off? (*axada'i* the net; *gua* interrogative particle; *ga* indefinite plural subject of verb, and agent of pulling; *gal-* by pulling [§ 14.20]; *t/a-* classifier [§ 15.4]; *l* stem; *-sqā* seaward [§ 22.8])

gasi'nL!ao la dāñ i'sta-udjañ why did you tease her? (*gasi'nL!ao* why? *dāñ* you; *ista* stem [?]; *-añ* continuative)

gasi'nL!ao l la dāñ qō'yadaljdjuudjñ why do you love it so much? (*gasi'nL!ao* why? *l* [?]; *dāñ* you; *qō'ya* stem TO LOVE; *-da* auxiliary [§ 18.2]; *ldju* [?]; *-udjñ* interrogative; *-ñ* continuative)

Gua (Masset *gu*) or the pronoun *may*, however, be employed independently.

dā gua skiā'nadi are you awake? (*dā* you; *skiā'na* stem [?]; *-di* determinate suffix [§ 20.7])

gam gua q'leiga'ña gan dala'n u'nsaatgañ don't you know any stories? (*gam* not; *q'leiga'ña* stories; *gan* for [always precedes *u'nsaat*]; *dala'n* you (pl.); *u'nsaat* stem TO KNOW; *-gañ* continuative)

dāñ gu l! i'n'etūdja were you married? (Masset) (*dāñ* you; *l!* they [used in lieu of passive]; *in* to marry; *'et* principal stem)

dā gu sla'gu tī'a-udja did you kill a land-otter? (Masset) (*dā* you; *sla'gu* land-otter; *tīa* stem TO KILL)

gī'stō ē'djñ who are you? (*gī'stō* who? *ē'djñ* stem TO BE)

gasi'nL!ao dāñ i'djñ what is the matter with you? (*gasi'nL!ao* what? *dāñ* you; *i'djñ* stem TO BE; *-ñ* continuative)

gū'su l! i'L!xagidas tā'asañ what will the chiefs eat? (*gū'su* what? *l!* indefinite demonstrative; *i'L!xagidas* chiefs; *tā* stem TO EAT; *-asañ* future infallible occurrence and continuative)

5. *-gua* suffixed in the Masset dialect to declarative sentences in direct discourse.

gam tao t!ala'ñ da'a^añgañgua we have no food (*gam* not; *tao* food; *t!ala'ñ* we; *da'a* stem TO HAVE; *-a^añ* negation; *-gañ* continuative)

dī q!o'lū 'anl i'djññgua I have fresh water (*dī* me; *q!o'lū* probably means NEAR BY; *'anl* fresh water; *i'djñ* to be; *-ñ* continuative)

lū dī 'an qā'l!as^aigangua a canoe came out for me (Masset) (*lū* canoe; *dī* me; *'an* for; *qā* stem TO GO; *-l!a* toward [§ 22.10]; *-s^ai = s^a* seaward [§ 22.8]; *-gan* continuative)

dī 'an l! 'ā'yññgñigua they used to call me (*dī* me; *'an* for; *'ā'yñ* stem [?]; *-gñ* usitative [§ 23.3]; *-i* perfect)

nañ i'l!adas 'a-iyū tañā'gañgua the chief's blood is salt 22.14 (*nañ* with following *-s* definite article; *'a-i* blood; *tañ* sea-water)

6. *-î* is a final vowel used very frequently after the past and usitative suffixes. In most cases it may be employed or omitted indifferently; but the cases in which there is a choice seem to show that it closes the sentence, and so probably indicates the completion of the idea.

l' gīdatc!ia'i lu la'gī la isdagā'waganî when she brought food, they gave them to her (*gīda* to bring food to give to people; *tc!i* into [§ 22.1]; *-ai* the; *lu* when; *gī* to; *la* they [with suffix *-gaw = -go*]; *-gan* past inexperienced)

k!iā'lhao lua'i a'ñga la lgołga'yaganî all that time he worked upon his canoe (*k!iā'lhao* all that time [= *k!iā'l* + the general demonstrative *hao*]; *lu* canoe; *ai* the; *a'ñga* his own; *l-* with hands [§ 14.26]; *gołga* to make; *-ya* perfect [§ 23.7])

gaga'nhao la wā'gañgñî that is the reason why I do it (*gaga'nhao* that is the reason [= *gaga'n* + *hao*]; *la* I; *wā* stem TO DO; *-gañ* continuative; *-gñ* usitative [§ 23.3])

gam 'a l qa'^añgññigua I did not go thither (Masset) (*gam* not; *'a* to; *l* I; *qa* stem TO GO; *'a^añ* negation; *-gñ* usitative; *-gua* declarative)

Possibly the *î* after *-s* is the same in meaning; but I doubt whether it had the same origin.

lnaga'i gu l q!ō'dalsî they were in a starving condition at the town (*lnaga'i* the town; *gu* at; *q!ō-* mouth [§ 14.23])

la qa'ñgasî he dreamed (*qañ* stem TO DREAM; *-ga* auxiliary)

lā'ga hā'ilūrsî his (food) was gone (*lā* his; *-ga* possessive; *hā'ilū* gone or destroyed; *-asi* participle)

7. **-s** or **-sî** is properly used in forming infinitives and participles, but by some speakers it has come to be employed as the equivalent of the past-temporal suffix. It indicates that everything in the preceding clause or set of words is to be taken as a unit, and so occasionally appears to have a plural significance. It also has the force of **AFORESAID**, **and**, after a noun preceded by *nañ*, gives the indefinite article the force of a definite.

la la tc!i'gas he shot it

la la q!ā'gadas he dried it

nañ sgoa'na l' qē'iñas he saw one

Ēgā'xetgu lā'nas the Pebble-town people

nañ Ēgā'xetgu lā'na a Pebble-town person

nañ la'oatarwas one who was whittling, or the whittler

nañ sqadjā'sas the future brave man

nañ sqadjā'sa a future brave man

nañ qaxā'gas the child, or one who was a child

In the Masset dialect it generally concludes a subordinate clause.

l' i' L!agīd'ēls lu Nastō' gu 'aq!ē'dadjan when he became a chief, his mother was drowned at Nasto (*i' L!agīd* chief; *'ēl* to become [§ 18.10]; **-s** participle; *lu* when; *Nastō'* name of an island; *gu* at; *'aq!ē'dadj* [?]; **-an** past inexperienced)

§ 26. Unclassified Suffixes

1. **-u** is suffixed to descriptive terms to form the names of instruments, manufactured and store articles.

nādjā'ñu mask (for derivation compare *la at l' nī'djañāñ wānsū'ga* he made an image of it, they say)

sl!anā'ñu that with which the hands are washed (=soap) (*sl!a-* with hands [§ 14.11]; *nāñ* to play with or wash)

q!ai'ritagā'ñu round thing shaken (=rattle) (*q!ai* round-shaped object [§ 15.18]; *xit* to shake; *gāñ* continually)

2. **-al** a suffix used in speaking condescendingly, as to a slave, or sometimes in a kindly manner, to one's equal. It is also employed sarcastically, or in belittling one's self, out of courtesy.

gañā'ñ hao la sū'uāldā'lgāñ he spoke like that (as if speaking to a slave) (*gañā'ñ* like; *hao* that; *sū* stem TO SPEAK; *dāl* [?]; *-gāñ* continuative)

ha'osk!iēn dāñ gi'ga qa'gana'ldas and yet yours will be safe (*ha'osk!iēn* and yet [= *hao* + connective *sk!iēn*]; *dāñ* your *gi* thing, or property; *-ga* possessive; *qa'gana* stem TO BE SAFE; *-da* auxiliary; **-s** participle)

dāñ gō'ñga *ʼldjiwai* your slave-father (*dāñ* your; *gōñ* man's father; -*ga* possessive; *djiw* = *dju* he is of that sort; *ai* the)
dāñ nā'tga *ʼldjiwai* your slave-nephew (*dāñ* your; *nāt* nephew; -*ga* possessive; *ʼldjiwai* [as above])

3. -*aanî* astonishment or wonder.

gam gua la gei gī'na k!udjū's *L!* *qīñgā'ñaanî* I wonder that they do not see the object sticking into him (*gam* not; *gua* interrogative; *gei* into; *gī'na* something; *k!u-* classifier [§ 15.15]; *dju* it was of that sort; -*s* participle; *qīñ* stem TO SEE; -*gāñ* continuative)

gīsī'sdo hao *L!* *waga'anî* I wonder whence the people came who did this (*gīsī'sdo* whence [contains *sta* FROM and *o* general demonstrative]; *hao* general demonstrative; *wa* stem TO DO; -*ga* auxiliary)

4. -*algîñ* appears to be identical in meaning with the above.

a'saga êsī'ñ *L!* *q!a'gaalgîñ* I wonder if I slept here (*a'sa* this place; -*ga* in; *êsī'ñ* also; *L!* I [literally THEY], often used for first person singular or plural; *q!a'ga* stem TO SLEEP)

wa lgu gī'na ge'ida l tagasā'algîñ what a small thing I am going to eat! (*wa* that [thing]; *lgu* how or what; *gī'na* thing; *ge'ida* it is so or it is like; *l* I; *ta* stem TO EAT; -*gasa* probably -*gasa* about to [§ 23.6])

st!ao hao gawaalgîñ I wonder if you have become witches (*st!ao* witches; *hao* those; *gawa* stem)

5. *da'ogō* this is rather a particle than a suffix, but is usually placed after the verb. It may be best defined as a sort of dubitative, though its use is very varied. Sometimes its meaning is conditional.

n-n-n hit!aga'n lā'sta i'djîns at lā'staia da'ogo isgwā'ñxāñ probably it is because she has been doing the same thing again (*n-n-n* exclamation; *hit!aga'n* then; *lā'sta* [?]; *i'djîns* it is [including stem, continuative, and participle]; *at* with; *is* stem; -*gwañ* moving about [§ 20.5]; -*xāñ* continuative [§ 24.1])

hadjadī'a gasī'nL!ao dī taigā'sa da'ogo alas! I wonder what is going to become of me (*hadjadī'a* alas! *gasī'nL!ao* what! *dī* me; *taigā'sa* contains the infallible future [§ 23.5])

l' i'ndaxuai gut gīdjîgī'da da'ogo la Ldā'ñlgāl!xas lo! when he pulled him out of the water, he only held together by the joints (*i'ndaxuai* the joints; *gut* together; *gīdjî* to hold; *gī* [?]; -*da* causative; *L-* by handling [§ 14.26]; *dāñ-* pulling [§ 14.4]; *L-* classifier [§ 15.20]; *ga* stem; -*L!xa* toward [§ 22.10]; -*s* participle)

ī' līñ l qei k!wa'igai gao da'ogo the eldest son that I bore is as if he were non-existent (*ī'līñ* male person; *l* I; *qei* to bear; *k!wai* elder son; *gai* the; *gao* to be wanting or gone)

lqēt dā dā'ga da'ogo la ī'sdañ if you own a bow, take it along (*lqēt* bow; *dā* you; *dā'ga* to own; *la* imperative; *ī'sdañ* stem and continuative suffix)

kī'lsLai ha'la dā īs da'ogo qāL chief, if it is you, get into the canoe (*kī'lsLai* the chief; *ha'la* come! *dā* you; *īs* it is; *qā* stem TO GO; *-L* aboard [§ 22.12])

gasī'nL!ao ga qē'gasa da'ogo I wonder how things are going to be (*gasī'nL!ao* how; *ga* things [indefinite]; *qē* probably for *qēt* stem TO BE LIKE; *-gasa* = *gasa* imminent future)

t!ak!ī'nga ha'la dā īs da'ogo dī gu qā' L!xa grandchild, if it is you, come to me (*t!ak!ī'n* grandchild; *-ga* possessive; *ha'la* come! *dā* you; *īs* it is; *dī* me; *gu* at or there; *qā* to go; *-L!xa* toward)

l' Lga da'ogo gut aga'ñ la kutīda'ldias becoming a weasel, he climbed up (*Lga* weasel; *gut* upon; *aga'ñ* reflexive; *kut-* probably an instrumental prefix; *L-* classifier [§ 15.20]; *da* stem [?]; *-l* up [§ 22.7]; *-dī* determinate suffix [§ 20.7]; *-as* participle)

dī djā'ga īnagai gī gudā'ña da'ogo l tia'gas l qī'ngo look at the man I killed who wanted to marry my wife! (*dī* my; *djā* wife; *-ga* possessive; *īna* to marry; *gai* [?] the; *gī* to or for; *gudā'ña* to think or want; *l* I; *tia* to kill; *-ga* auxiliary; *-s* participle; *l* imperative; *qīñ* stem TO LOOK; *-go* plural)

§ 27. Personal Pronoun

I	<i>l</i>	me	<i>dī</i>
thou (subj.)	<i>dā</i>	thee	<i>dāñ</i>
he, she, it	<i>la</i>	him, her, it	<i>la</i>
he, she, it (indef.)	<i>nāñ</i>	him, her, it (indef.)	<i>nāñ</i>
we	<i>t!alā'ñ</i>	us	<i>il!</i>
you (plural)	<i>dalā'ñ</i>	you (plural)	<i>dalā'ñ</i>
they	<i>L!</i>	them	<i>L!</i>
they (indef.)	<i>ga</i>	them (indef.)	<i>ga</i>

Another indefinite *L* might be added to these.

In the Masset dialect *dāñ* is used both for the subjective and objective forms of the second person singular, while *dā* serves as an emphatic form.

The subjective series is used as subject of the transitive verb and of active verbs, even when there is no object expressed. Objective pronouns are used to express the subject of verbs expressing states and qualities. Following is a short list of neutral verbs.

k!ōt!a to die
geal, gīl to become
stāl to want
lgoa to fear
u'nsat to know
gao to be absent, gone

gao to lie (plural)
q!ai'xa to be far away
i'dji to be
gaga (?) to be tired
gata (?) to fall into
gut to think

When pronominal subject and object accompany the verb, they are placed preceding the whole stem-complex, the object being placed before the subject. Only the third person plural *L!* always stands immediately before the stem-complex. The indirect object precedes the direct object and is characterized by connectives (see § 31).

§ 28. Possession

1. *-ga* (Masset *-a*). Possession of an object by a person other than the subject of the sentence is expressed by the objective pronoun preceding the noun, and by the suffix *-ga* (Masset *-a*). In the Masset dialect this suffix is used only rarely. We find the noun either without suffix or with the suffix *-gia*.

(a) The possessive forms of terms of relationship are formed by the objective pronoun and the suffix *-ga*, which is attached to the noun.

l' dja'ga q!ā'gada'si his wife dried it 288.12¹ (*dja* wife)
dī gō'nga dī gi gīnge'idan my father put paint on me 290.8 (*dī* my; *gōn* father of male; *dī* me; *gi* on; *gīn-* to cause [§ 14.12])
Wā'nagan gi'tga hao idjā'gan that one was the son of Wā'nagan
 B 87.17

Qā'l-qons gūdja'ñ'a l'lgas gī'd'a ina'ē'lan Qā'l-qons' daughter married l'lgas' son (Masset) 394.10 (*gūdjañ* daughter; *gīt* son; *i'na* to marry; *-ēl* to become)

(b) In terms expressing transferable possession the noun takes neither the pronominal element nor the suffix, but both are combined and precede or follow the noun. At the same time the noun takes the suffix *-i*.

	Skidegate	Masset
my	<i>nā'ga</i>	<i>dī'na</i>
thy	<i>da'ñga</i>	<i>da'ñ'a</i>
his	<i>lā'ga</i>	<i>l'ā'na</i>
our	<i>i'lāga</i>	<i>i'l!a'na</i>
your	<i>dalā'ñga</i>	
their		<i>L!ā'na</i>

¹ References in this section indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts* (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. x), except that references preceded by B indicate page and line in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths* (Bulletin 29, Bureau of American Ethnology).

- dā gua gatagā*-'i *nā'ga* *isdai'yañ*? did you eat my food? B 45.4 (*dā* thou; *gua* question; *ga*- something; *ta* to eat; *-ga*-i it)
- luā*-'i *lā'ga* *sta''gasi* his canoe was full 288.10
- ga'odjūwa*-i *lā'ga* L! *skī'da*ñasi they beat his drum B 13.16
- la'gudjē* l *dīst* *dī'na* *i'sdi* take my mat from me! (Masset) 753.29
(*lagus* mat; l imperative; *dī* me; *st*' from; *dī'na* my)
- l' kiē* 'adō *lā'ñ* L! *gudagwā'ñan* they thought about its name (Masset) 741.19 (*kiē*' name; 'adō about; *gut* mind)
- tc'idala*ñā-'i *iśin* *i'lā'ña* l' *gi'odjūwē* . . . that he also take all our arrows (Masset) 660.19 (*tc'i'dala*ñ arrow; -'ōdja all)
- lnagā*-'i *xa'da*-i *dā'ñ*a *hī'luga*ñ your town people are destroyed (Masset) 740.22 (*lān* town; *xa'da* people; *hī'lu* to destroy)
- tc'i'dala*ñā-i L! *ā'ña* 'agā l *ɣ'ga*L! *atc!*a'sañ I shall swim for their arrows (Masset) 663.3 (*tc'i'dala*ñ arrow)

In some cases the pronoun precedes the noun.

- L! *st!ā'sil* L! *ā'ña* L! *qē'ñgañan* they saw their footprints (Masset) 281.13 (*st!ā'sil* footprint)

- (c) Terms expressing parts of the body do not take the suffix *-ga*; but either take only the objective pronoun indicating the possessor and a vocalic ending, or they repeat the pronominal possessive-like terms expressing transferable possession.

- l' k!ū'da* *lā'ga* L *gaLai'yāgan* he sharpened its bill for it B 59.25
- l' L!xadjī* *lā'ga* the crown of his head B 13.4
- l' qā'djī* *q!ēitq!ā*-i *lɣidīa*-'i Lū when he cut its head off B 12.14
(*qās* head; *q!ēit*- with knife [§14.22]; -*ɣid* to begin)
- l' sL!a*-i l' *lāl* *qā'ñan* her husband saw her hands (Masset) 430.24
(*sL!a* hand; *lāl* husband; *qāñ* to see)

2. -E. A weak vocalic suffix is used with terms expressing parts of the body. Words ending in a vowel, *n*, *ñ*, *l*, do not take this suffix, while others seem to transform the surd terminal into a sonant; *s* becomes *dj* before it. The same forms are used in Masset with terms of relationship.

- (a) Words ending in vowels, *n*, *ñ*, or *l*.

- 'ō'dē *xīē*' the eagle's wing (Masset) 771.2
- i'l!adas* 'ai the chief's blood (Masset) 779.14
- l' qo'lū* his legs (Masset) 332.38
- l' sL!ik!u'n* her finger nails (Masset) 507.8
- l' tc!iñ* 'a'ada between his teeth (Masset) 331.19
- l' x'ēl* its neck part B 79.37
- l' xāñ* his face B 10.4
- tcī'na*-i *qal* the salmon skin B 13.5

dī gī'da l i'nañ marry my daughter! (Masset) 514.8

l' nān l' sudai'an said his grandmother to him (Masset) 670.4

(b) Words ending in consonants other than *n*, *ñ*, *l*.

l' k!ū'gi ya opposite its heart (Masset) 294.25

dī k!ōg' my heart (Masset) 298.24

dāñ qā'djī thy head (Masset) 301.5

l' k!ō'tā its beak (Masset) 498.4

l' k!ū'da its beak B 59.25

l' qā'djī his head 12.14

l' skū'djī its bones B 8.13

3. **-gia** means originally PROPERTY, but in Masset is now sometimes used as equivalent of *ga*.

l' 'oñ gia gī'naga-i hī'lawan his father's property was destroyed 689.18

xānsū'lōt gia Luē' sea-anemone's canoe (*xānsū'lot* sea-anemone; *lu* canoe)

dā'ñgia lnaga'i xada'i your town-people (*lnaga'i* the town; *xada'i* people)

nāñ i'lñās gia tā'wē the man's food (*nāñ i'lñās* the man; *tao* food)

Sometimes it appears instead of *dī'na*, signifying MY, MINE; as—

dala'ñ ttanogī's lū l gia'gañ na-i 'ñ isdā'lgata'wan dala'ñ wa'-luwan a after you have eaten let all go up to my house

gia'gañ na-i l tē'ā'nu yū'an la'ola make a big fire in my house

giagañ 'adō' l'ao l' 'ē'sgaga'n but they were unsuccessful with mine

4. **-gañ** or **-añ** (Masset **-añ**) expresses possession of an object by the subject of the sentence.

(a) The possessive forms of terms expressing relationship and parts of the body are formed by suffixing **-gañ** or **-añ** (Masset **-añ**) to the noun possessed.

djā'gañ gi xagwa'-i lā lguā'si he carried the halibut toward the woods to his wife 288.12 (*djā* wife; *gi* to; *xagu* halibut; *l-* with hands [§14.26])

gī'tgañ i'siñ l qīñgā'nsga I shall see my son also 291.1 (*gīt* child; *i'siñ* also; *l* I; *-sga* future)

a-u'ñ at lā kiā'nañās he asked his mother 289.9 (*as* mother; *at* with; *kiā'n* to question)

k!ō'lāñ lū lā dāñgī'stalia'-i she had it even with her knees 291.7 (*lū* even; *dāñ-* by pulling [§14.4]; *gī-* flat thing; *sta-* to move away from; *-l* up)

xāñā'ñ l liskū'nagūl clean your eyes (Masset) 649.23 (*xāñ* face, eye; *l* imperative; *L-* by touching [§ 14.26])

(b) Separable possession is expressed by the pronoun *ā'ñga* (Masset *ā'ñ^a*).

lua'-i dji'na ā'ñga la sqotskidā'ñāñ he struck the edges of his canoe with his hands 288.4

q!al dā'ñat ā'ñga la qaxuā'lañ wansū'ga he went out with his skin 289.7

'ā'nlē 'ai gī'wē ā'ñ^a l' isdai'yan he put his fish trap into the creek (Masset) 518.15 (*'ā'nlē* creek; *'ai* in; *gī'u* fish trap)

gī'wē ā'ñ^a l' qeā'ñan he looked at his fish trap (Masset) 518.20

§ 29. Plurality and Distribution

Plural Suffixes with Nouns

1. **-LAñ** is used principally with terms of relationship. It is also contained in the pronouns *t!alā'ñ* WE, *dalā'ñ* YE.

qā'galāñ uncles B 27.13 (*qā'[ga]* uncle)

nā'tgalāñ nephews B 63.24 (*nā't[ga]* nephew)

sqā'nqalāñ aunts (*sqā'n[ga]* aunt)

yā'galāñ parents B 45.31

a'ogalāñ parents B 59.1

k!wai'galāñ elder brothers B 37.10

2. **-djît** occurs with some words indicating human beings.

ī'liñā a male human being

īla'ndjīdai male human beings

xā'ldañ slave

xāldā'ndjīdai slaves

gīt a servant or low caste person

gī'djīdai low caste persons

The Distributive Suffix

3. **-xa** is used after numerals, connectives, and nouns.

stī'ñxa two apiece (*stīñ* two)

le'īlxa five apiece (*le'īl* five)

gadō'xa round about (*gadō'* around)

dji'nxa in the neighborhood of (*djin* near)

tcagā'nxa around under the ocean-water (*tcagā'n* the ocean-water)

lk!ī'nxa about in the woods (*lk!īē'n* woods)

l' st!exgia'laqan he became angry B 95.3

§ 30. Demonstrative and Interrogative Pronouns

The essential demonstrative elements are *a* and *wa*, which are often used alone; but there are also several demonstrative adverbs compounded from these, such as the following:

<i>ā'djɣua</i> over here (near by)	<i>wā'na ñ</i> farther off!
<i>wā'djɣua</i> over there (at some distance)	<i>ā'nis</i> this region, etc.
<i>ā'gusa</i> here	<i>wā'nis</i> that region
<i>wā'gusa</i> there	<i>ā'lguì</i> this way
<i>ā'si, aldji', alsì'</i> this thing	<i>wa'guì</i> that way
	<i>ā'lgan</i> right here.

Interrogative pronouns are all built upon three stems by means of suffixes. These stems are *gi* or *gis* WHERE? *gūs* WHAT? and *gasì'ñ* WHY? or HOW IS IT? and the two former may be related to the connectives *gi* and *gū* (§ 31). WHO? appears to be formed by adding the connectives *sta* and *hao* to *gi*, making *gi'stō* (literally FROM WHERE ARE YOU?).

Other variant interrogative pronouns are built upon the stems in a similar manner: *gi'sqēt*, *gisì'stahao*, *gi'lgan*, WHERE; *gū'su*, *gū'sgiao*, WHAT?; *gasì'ñō*, *gasì'ñhao*, *gasì'nL'ao*, WHY OR HOW? *Gūs* is often duplicated into *gū'gus*. The *s* which occurs throughout most of these forms very much suggests the interrogative particle (*sa*) in Tlingit, and is one of the features which suggest community of origin for the two languages. These interrogatives and the indefinite pronouns are also used in place of our relatives; the indefinite *z* in conjunction with *gu* (*Lgu*) being frequently so employed.

Modifying Stems (§§ 31-33)

As already stated, this group of stems includes post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections. They may be most conveniently classed as—

- (1) Connectives
- (2) Adverbs
- (3) Interjections and expletives

§ 31. Connectives

These are a series of words used to bind together the various parts of a sentence and also to connect sentences, and they thus perform the functions of our prepositions and conjunctions. It is evident, from the manner in which they are employed, that they depend very closely upon the verb, and in some cases they are quite essential

portions of it. The following is a fairly complete list of the connectives:

at or *al* with, of
a'thao for that reason
atgu lū' as soon as
atxa'nhao as soon as
ā'xana near
a'la because, for
alū therefore
aldjī'alū therefore
uiēd now
uiē'dhao now
u'ngu on top of
u'ngut on top of (motion thither)
ī'naat at the same time as
ī'sgiēn and (connects nouns)
ya straight opposite
hao that (very general meaning)
ha'ohao for that reason
djī'ngi alongside
djī'gigui behind
da to (Masset dialect)
dagu'lū alongside of
da'nat with (close company)
dī'tgi back toward the woods
t!a'gi opposite
t!a'ga on account of
t!ā'lga while
t!ē'sta towing or dragging
sa above, up
sū'uga among
sī'agei above
sīla'iga after
sta from, after
sk'ia'xan although
gā'wan without
gai the or that
ga'ista after that, from that place
gañā'ñ like
gañā'xan as soon as
gi (Masset *ga*) to or for
gia'ogi at the end or edge of
giēn and (usually WHEN)
gu at, there
gua toward

gui toward (with motion)
gut with, together with
gutsta apart, from each other
gu'tgi together
gu'tga together
gwa'di seeking
ku'ngasta ahead of
kwa'gi above
k'ia'oga for
k'ial every time
ga in or to
gā'atga between
gā'atgei between (with motion)
gadō' around
gan for (purpose)
ga'nsta to
gaga'n on account of
go'da behind
gō'tgadō around behind
gō'łaga after (compare *łga* and
go'da)
gei into
ge'ista out of
qa'odi after a while
qa'sdihao after that
qā'li inside of
qāligu't upon the inside of
qali'gei into the inside of
q!ō'łga near by
q!ō'łgasta' from near
q!eū'gi in front of
q!eū'xa around in front of
xē'daxua below (toward below)
xē'tgu down
xē'tgi down
xē'li in the mouth of
lū when
łga after
lā'gu on the shore opposite
lā'guda as soon as
lā'xa near
lgi'xan as soon as
łgēt against

A large number of these, it will be seen, are compounded from the simpler connectives, for example:

<i>a'thao</i> (<i>at</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>sīla'iga'</i> (<i>sīla'i</i> the place + <i>ga</i>)
<i>atguḷū'</i> (<i>at</i> + <i>gu</i> + <i>ḷu</i>)	<i>ga'istā</i> (<i>gai</i> + <i>stā</i>)
<i>atxa'nhao</i> (<i>at</i> + the adverb <i>xan</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>gañā'xan</i> (<i>gañā'ñ</i> + <i>xan</i>)
<i>ā'la</i> (<i>āl</i> + <i>a</i> in place of a verb or clause)	<i>gu'tstā</i> (<i>gut</i> + <i>stā</i>)
<i>ālū'</i> (<i>āl</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>gu'tgi</i> (<i>gut</i> + <i>gi</i>)
<i>āldji'ālū</i> (<i>āldji'</i> this + <i>āl</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>gu'tga</i> (<i>gut</i> + <i>ga</i>)
<i>uīē'dhao</i> (<i>uīēd</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>qō'tgadō</i> (<i>qo'da</i> + <i>gadō'</i>)
<i>ha'ohao</i> (<i>hao</i> + <i>hao</i>)	<i>ge'istā</i> (<i>gei</i> + <i>stā</i>)
<i>dī'tgi</i> (<i>dī'da</i> + <i>gi</i>)	<i>qa'odihao</i> (<i>qa'odi</i> + <i>hao</i>)
<i>sī'agei</i> (<i>sa</i> + <i>gei</i>)	<i>qāligu't</i> (<i>qā'ti</i> + <i>gut</i>)
	<i>qālige'i</i> (<i>qā'ti</i> + <i>gei</i>)
	<i>q!ōlga'stā</i> (<i>q!ō'lga</i> + <i>stā</i>)

Still other connectives are evidently compound, although one of the elements may be rarely or not at all used alone. Thus:

ā'xana perhaps contains the demonstrative *a* and the adverb *xan*
u'ngu is evidently compounded of a connective *un*, not used independently, and *gu*

u'ngut is compounded of *un* and *gut*

īnaat contains *at*

ī'sgiēn contains *giēn*

dji'ngi contains *gi*

dji'gigui contains *gui* and probably *gi*

dagū'lū contains *lū*

ā'ñat contains *at*

t!a'gi contains *gi* and probably a non-independent connective *t!a*

t!a'ga contains *ga* and *t!a*

t!ā'lga contains *ga*

t!ē'stā contains *stā*

sū'uga contains *ga*

sk!iā'xan contains *xan*

gia'ogi contains *gi*

ku'ngastā contains *stā* and probably *ga* and *kun* POINT

kwa'gi contains *gi*

k'tia'oga contains *ga*

qā'atga contains *ga*

qā'atgei contains *gei*

ga'nstā contains *gan* and *stā*

q!ō'lga contains *ga*

q!eū'gi contains *gi*

q!eū'xa contains the distributive suffix *xa*

xē'daxua, *xē'tgu*, and *xē'tgi* contain *gua*, *gu*, and *gi*, respectively, with a connective *xēt*

Lā'gu contains *gu* and a connective *Lā*
Lā'guda contains *Lā* and *gut*
Lā'xa contains *Lā* and *xa*
Lgī'xan contains *xan* and perhaps *Lā* and *gi*

Still another non-independent connective seems to be used with the reflexive suffix in *q!ē'nañ* FOR THEMSELVES. *Gā'wan* in the above list is simply the past tense of the verb *gao* TO BE WANTING, and *go'da* is the word for BUTTOCKS. *Gua* and *gui* are probably compounded of *ga* and *gei* or *gi* respectively, with *gu*; and *gut* is perhaps from *gu* and *at*, or else the suffix indicating motion (see below). *Qā'li* INSIDES, and *xē'li* IN THE MOUTH OF, are also used as nouns, meaning the insides of a man or animal, or a sound (body of water), and the inside of the mouth, respectively. *Gañā'ñ* is perhaps simply the continuative verbal suffix duplicated.

Leaving out these affixes, therefore, along with a few others which occur rarely, it seems as if the following list represented the stems of the original connectives:

<i>at</i> or <i>al</i>	<i>sū</i>	<i>gan</i>
<i>uiēd</i>	<i>sta</i>	<i>gei</i>
<i>un</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>qa'odi</i>
<i>ya</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>q!ōl</i>
<i>hao</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>q!eu</i>
<i>djîn</i> or <i>dji</i>	<i>giên</i>	<i>xēt</i>
<i>da</i>	<i>gia</i>	<i>ɬu</i>
<i>dīt</i>	<i>k!ia</i>	<i>ɬga</i>
<i>t!a</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>Lā</i>
<i>t!āl</i>	<i>gāat</i>	<i>ɬgēt</i>
<i>sa</i>	<i>gadō'</i>	

-t is suffixed to connectives to indicate motion of an object in the situation specified by the connective.

sī'gēt la xī'tlgaldas he flew about above (*sīge* above; *-it* in that place; *xīt* to fly; *ɬgal* moving about; *-da* to cause)
gam l' nā'dalañ da isī'n l! dō'ēAñgañan l' k!otā'lan sīle't A after he died, they did not call his nephews (Masset) (*gam* not; *nāda* nephew; *-lañ* plural; *da* [?]; *isī'n* also; *dō* to go and get; *-ēAñ* negation; *-gañ* continuative; *-an* past inexperienced; *k!otāl* stem TO DIE; *-an* past inexperienced; *sīle* after; *A* stands for *dō'ēAñgañan*)

L! xetī't L! i'steidanî they put these before them (*xet* before; *iste* stem [?]; *-id* inchoative [?]; *-an* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect)
ē'A'nɬē djîñē't alongside of the stream (they went) (Masset) (*ēAnɬ* fresh water or stream; *ē* the; *djîñ* along by)

§ 32. *Adverbs*

The position which adverbs take in the sentence, and their use in general, connect them closely with connectives. Both are subordinated to the verb in the same way, and the only difference lies in the fact that an adverb does not refer to a substantival modifier of the verb so directly as does a connective. The fact that adverbial modifiers sometimes do refer to such a substantive (*īla'*, *sa*, etc.) shows how close the relationship is. The simpler adverbs are the following:

<i>ī'sīñ</i> (Masset <i>ī'sīn</i>) again, also	<i>dī'da</i> landward
<i>īla'</i> differently	<i>q!ā'da</i> seaward
<i>yēn</i> truly	<i>sa</i> up, above
<i>yē'nk!iēn</i> very much	<i>sī'nāñ</i> snuffling
<i>hawī'dan</i> quickly	<i>gua</i> (interrogation)
<i>hayī'ñ</i> instead	<i>gam</i> not
<i>han</i> (Masset <i>hīn</i>) like, as follows	<i>xan</i> (Masset <i>han</i>) still, yet
<i>halgunāñ</i> closer	<i>xāñgiañ</i> answering, in reply
<i>hit!āga'n</i> (Masset <i>hit!ā'n</i>) ,	<i>lan</i> complete, ended
then	<i>l!a</i> however
<i>hīñā'n</i> only	<i>la</i> (imperative adverb)
	<i>lñan</i> a little

A second set of adverbs is formed by means of *xan*, which has very much the force and function of the English adverbial ending -LY. Such are:

<i>wa'lāñxan</i> really
<i>ha'oxan</i> still
<i>de'ixan</i> carefully
<i>ku'nxan</i> still more
<i>kia'xan</i> outside
<i>lgua'nixan</i> aimlessly, traveling at random

Many ideas expressed in English by adverbs are rendered in Haida by a noun, or its equivalent, and connective:

<i>q!a'gui</i> northward or to the north
<i>djaṣui'</i> seaward, toward the mouth of the inlet
<i>qaṭgui'</i> up-inletward, or toward the head of the inlet
<i>tadžṣua'</i> toward the rear of the house
<i>lkia'gua</i> toward the door of the house
<i>sgō'lagi</i> to the right
<i>slā'angi</i> to the left or leftward

§ 33. Interjections

The following is a list of interjections, or words of interjectional nature:

a-i ah! or oh my!

āya no!

ā'digua just hear! (an angry exclamation used by old people)

aña yes!

i don't!

i (disgust) dirty! etc.

it!e'i indeed! or is that so? or why! don't you know?

wa or lengthened into *wā-ā-ā* pretty, nice!

yū'ya a feminine exclamation of terror

yūla'dal an exclamation used by the Ninstints people when they hear news, regardless of its quality

hai now!

haw'i't quick!

hā'maya horrors! (a very strong expression)

hadjadī'a alas!

ha'ku now!

hal'a' come! The Ninstints sometimes use *ḷiñ* instead of this.

hūk or lengthened into *hū'kukukuk* look out! also the cry raised when rushing on an enemy. It always indicates danger.

djā say! well!

t!aganē' lo! surprising!

ga'o ano or *gō'ano* no!

gū'gus t!aganē' wonderful! or surprising!

k!wai pray! wait! hold on!

q!a pretty or nice (a Kaigani exclamation particularly)

q!ā'la ḷdjā'xan an obsolete expression, used only by chiefs, and indicative of intense anger

ña here! say!

lan or *ha'oslan* enough! stop! (identical with the adverb *lan*)

l!na would that!

§ 34. Syntax

The verb almost always stands at the end of the sentence or clause; but where the speaker wishes to supplement some thought to what he has just said, he may do so by introducing the essential part of it, and adding *a*, which stands for the verb and modifiers just given.

wagañā'xan la ḷsda'yagan nañ djā'adas a she did it that way, the woman (did it that way) (*wagañā'xan* that way [= *wa* + *gañā'n* + *xan*]; *ḷsda* stem; *-ya* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced; *nañ* the [with -s]; *djā'da* woman; *a* for *ḷsda'yagan*)

l' qā'idagan tadā'oagai s'i'lgā a she started off, while those who were after salmon were away (she started) (*qā* to go; *-id* inchoative; *-gan* past inexperienced; *tadā'oagai* they were after salmon; *s'i'lgā* while [literally, IN THE PLACE]; *a* for *qā'idagan*)

l' qal!xa'yagan tā'nai dji'ngi a she came out of the woods, near the sea-water (she came out) (*qa* stem; *-L!xa* toward; *-ya* perfect; *-agan* past inexperienced; *tā'nai* the sea; *djin* near; *gi* at; *a* for *qal!xa'yagan*)

la gan L! ā'xanagiā'lagani la lga da'oagai a they came near her, those that came after her (came near her) (*gan* for; *ā'xana* stem TO COME NEAR; *-giāl* to come to be; *-agan* past inexperienced; *-i* perfect; *lga* after; *dao* to come to get; *gai* the or those; *a* for *ā'xanagiā'lagani*)

Occasionally *a* is omitted.

giên lā qā'itq!tā'isgītłasi sîn lgu lā'na é'sîñ and he threw it up hard into the air, the sun also (*giên* and; *qāit* hard or quickly; *q!āi-*classifier; *sgīt* stem; *-l* up; *-asi* participle; *sîn* sun; *lgu* indeed; *lā'na* that one; *é'sîñ* also)

ga'ixuhao L! laga'yañ wansū'ga qā'lai lā'alge'łsi lu at that time they went off in a crowd, at the end of ten days (literally, NIGHTS) (*ga'ixuhao* at that time; *laga* stem [?]; *-ya* perfect; *-an* continuative; *wansū'ga* quotative; *qāl* night; *ai* the; *lā'al* ten; *ge'ł* to become; *-si* participle; *lu* when)

When the subject and object of the verb are nouns, the former precedes; when they are pronouns, the order is reversed. A third pronominal object is followed by one of the connectives, and is placed before the other personal pronouns. When nouns and pronouns are both used as subjects or objects, the pronouns usually stand nearest to the verb, and exceptions to this are usually for emphasis:

lan dañ l qī'nga I cease to see thee 31.5 (*lan* to stop; *dañ* thee; *l* I; *qīñ* to see; *-ga* declarative or auxiliary [?])

la i'sîn la'ga qā'gas he, too, went to him (*i'sîn* too; *ga* to; *qā* stem TO GO; *-ga* auxiliary; *-s* participle)

dala'ñ L!a L! ta'łgi lā'gasga you, however, will be better than the others (*dala'ñ* you [pl.]; *L!a* however; *ta'łgi* more than; *lā* good; *-ga* auxiliary; *-sga* future)

I have noted above, that a connective depending upon a verb may stand at the very beginning of the sentence, the noun to which it refers being either understood or expressed in the preceding clause.

Adjectives, connectives, and possessives used like connectives, always follow the nouns to which they refer. When several adjectives

tives depend upon one noun, they are apt to occur in an order exactly the reverse of that observed in English:

gō'djai tīl̄l̄ x̄a'td̄ju the wolf, wet, small (the small wet wolf)
gī'na gō'l̄gal s̄LA'pd̄jū a thing, blue, slim (a slim blue thing)

Subordinate clauses almost always precede those on which they depend, though occasionally they may be inserted into the major clause itself:

l' lta'x̄ui x̄ū'adj̄i l' tia'gan la gan gūdā'ñagan his friends (that) a grizzly bear killed him thought about him (his friends thought a grizzly bear had killed him) (*lta'x̄ui* friends or clansmen; *x̄ū'adj̄i* grizzly bear; *tia* stem TO KILL; *-agan* past inexperienced; *gan* for [here ABOUT]; *gūdā'na* stem TO THINK; *-gan* past inexperienced)

In the Masset dialect the subordinate clause usually ends in *-s* (§ 25.7) and is followed by *giên*, *lu*, or some other connective. This is also found in the Skidegate dialect; but more often the subordinate clause ends in *gai*. Masset sentences are usually introduced by *wa'giên*; and Skidegate sentences, by *giê'nhao*, *wa'giênhao*, *lū'hao*, etc. It is often more convenient, however, to regard the sentence they introduce as a clause coordinate with that which precedes. This uncertainty always renders it difficult to divide Haida discourse into sentences.

VOCABULARY (§§ 35-39)

§ 35. General Remarks

Haida stems may be most conveniently divided into two classes—principal stems and modifying stems. The former class includes those which we should call in English, verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pronouns; the latter, post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs, and interjections.

§ 36. Verb-Stems

The greater number of these consist of one syllable, and, in many cases where more than one occur, it seems probable that they are really compound. The following list includes all of those most commonly employed, along with a few rarely found. They are arranged in the following order: (1) stems consisting of a single vowel; (2) those of a single consonant; (3) a consonant and following vowel or vowel-combination; (4) two consonants; (5) two consonants and

following vowel; (6) a consonant, vowel, and consonant; (7) two consonants, a vowel, and a consonant; (8) stems of two syllables.

1. *ũ* to remain in one place or to sit
2. *ɬ* to touch
3. *wa* to do or make
dju to be of a certain sort or kind
dao to go and get
ta to eat
tai to lie
tia to kill (one person)
su to say
gao to be absent or wanting
gia to stand
guē to come
kwa to strike
kiu to tie
k!wi to mention
ɣia to follow
ɣiao to hang up
go to lie
go(xa) to burn
qa to go (one person)
qē to give birth
q!a to sit (usually followed by auxiliary *ũ*)
q!a to sleep
q!a to laugh
q!ol to hide or secrete from the eyes
xao to fish
ɬ!ũ to sit (plural)
4. *sɬ* a stem of very general application, meaning to place in a certain direction
5. *sta* to remove from a certain place
st!ē to be sick, angry, sad
ɬɣi to swim
ɬɣu to creep
ɬ!da to kill (many people)
tta to spit
6. *nan* to grind or rub
nial or *nīl* to drink
ɣiñ to go by sea
kiän to ask
kīn to make a noise, as a bird
k!ēl to be extinguished
ɣāl to howl
ɣit to fly
ɣit to pick up
ɣāt to run, to act quickly
ɣēl to become
ɣēt to be like
ɣut to drink
xoal to steam
xon falling of a heavy object, like a tree
sīl to borrow
kīñ to start anything
lil to surround
7. *stīl* to return
skīt to move so as to result in contact
skīt to club
skīn to wake up
sqail to weep
sqol to hide
lgał and *lgūl* to move around
8. *āba* to chew up food, for a child
īdji or *īs* to be
hailu to destroy
djaɣpat to sink suddenly
daga to own
ɣīdji to seize
ɣīsu to wipe
k!ō'tal to be dead
gāxa to be weak
gołga to make
qaido to go to war
lā'nō to swear

Adjectives may always be used as verb-stems and so belong to this category. The following are the principal:

<i>āda</i> different	<i>gōt</i> last; also a noun meaning
<i>yaku</i> middle	buttocks
<i>yū'an</i> big (incorporated <i>yū</i>)	<i>goan</i> much
<i>taɬdʒū'</i> half	<i>qō'na</i> great, mighty
<i>t!ēl</i> wet	<i>lā</i> good
<i>sqēt</i> red	<i>lgaɬ</i> black
<i>nao(da)</i> many	<i>qō'lgaɬ</i> blue
<i>gā'da</i> white	

Nouns like the following may also be used as the stems of verbs:

<i>yā'nañ</i> clouds	<i>gīda</i> chief's son
<i>tc!ā'ano</i> fire or firewood	<i>tā'ña</i> sea-water
<i>na</i> house	

More often the noun is followed by an auxiliary, and these auxiliaries are used after verb-stems as well, though a few of them may occur as entirely independent stems (see § 18).

§ 37. Numerals

The numeral system has become decimal since the advent of the whites, and the word HUNDRED has replaced the original expression that covered that figure; but the old blanket-count ran as follows:

- 1 *sgoā'nsiñ*
 - 2 *stiñ*
 - 3 *lgu'nul*
 - 4 *sta'nsiñ*
 - 5 *Lē'il*
 - 6 *Lga'nul*
 - 7 *dʒiguagā'*
 - 8 *sta'nsañxa*
 - 9 *laaɬi'ñgisgoansi'ngo*
 - 10 *Lā'al*
 - 11 *Lā'al wai'gî sgoa'nsiñ*
 - 12 *Lā'al wai'gî stiñ*
 - 20 *la'guat sgoa'nsiñ*
 - 30 *la'guat sgoansi'ngo wai'gî Lā'al*
 - 40 *la'guat stiñ*
 - 50 *la'guat stiñ wai'gî Lā'al*
 - 60 *la'guat lgu'nul*
 - 100 *la'guat Lē'il*
 - 200 *la'guat Lā'al*
 - 300 *la'guat Lā'al wai'gî la'guat Lē'il*
 - 400 *la'guat Lā'alē stiñ*
 - 1000 *la'guat Lā'alē Lē'il*
 - 2000 *la'guat Lā'alē Lā'al*
- etc.

It will be seen that the term for FOUR is derived from that for TWO; the term for SIX, from the term for THREE; the term for EIGHT, from the terms for FOUR and TWO; and the term for TEN, from that for FIVE; while NINE is simply TEN minus ONE.

§ 38. Nominal Stems

Following is a list of the simpler nominal stems, arranged in the same order as the verbal stems given above. Since stems of two syllables with a weak final vowel differ but slightly from those of one syllable, I have given them before other two-syllable stems:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ao</i> mother | <i>qait</i> tree |
| 2. <i>āl</i> paddle | <i>qoñ</i> moon |
| 3. <i>tcīa</i> place | <i>q!ās</i> pitch |
| <i>tc!ū</i> cedar | <i>q!an</i> grass |
| <i>sū</i> lake | <i>q!ān</i> hemlock |
| <i>na</i> house | <i>q!al</i> clay |
| <i>gwai</i> island | <i>q!al</i> swamp |
| <i>k!iu</i> trail | <i>xāt</i> woman's father, also |
| <i>ʒai</i> sunshine | grave-post |
| <i>gai</i> blood | <i>xāñ</i> face |
| <i>qa</i> uncle | <i>xēl</i> neck |
| <i>q!a</i> harpoon | <i>xēl</i> hole |
| <i>q!a</i> north | <i>lēn</i> certain Tsimshian songs |
| <i>k!āo</i> salmon eggs | <i>hñ</i> root |
| <i>xao</i> juice | 7. <i>squot</i> armpit |
| <i>lū</i> canoe | <i>lgan</i> male cousin |
| <i>lai</i> cranberries | <i>ganl</i> fresh water |
| 5. <i>st!a</i> foot | 8. <i>tā'ña</i> sea-water |
| <i>st!ao</i> wizard | <i>sqā'na</i> supernatural being |
| <i>sku</i> back | <i>k!a'-ila</i> tray |
| <i>lga</i> land | <i>k!a'-ilda</i> star |
| <i>lga</i> rock | <i>gī'na</i> something |
| 6. <i>djat</i> woman | <i>kī'ga</i> meat, flesh |
| <i>tcīn</i> grandfather | <i>k!ū'da</i> beak |
| <i>tc!iñ</i> teeth | <i>qō'da</i> buttocks |
| <i>t!ēs</i> rock, ledge | <i>qo'da</i> box |
| <i>djil</i> bait | <i>qā'djī</i> head |
| <i>sīl</i> place | <i>qā'la</i> or <i>qāl</i> reef |
| <i>sīñ</i> day or sky | <i>qō'na</i> father-in-law and son- |
| <i>gīt</i> son | in-law |
| <i>kun</i> point | <i>xa'ida</i> human beings |
| <i>k!ial</i> leg | <i>lā'na</i> town |
| <i>gāl</i> night | <i>lxadji</i> middle of top of head |

lqea'ma kelp; also tall rough
 grass along shore
lta'nga feathers
i'naqwa one side or half
i'lgas chief
i'l!xagidas chief
i'liñ male
tc!ā'ano fire
dā'gal to-morrow
dadji'ñ hat
tā'ñal tongue
staqu'n branch-tips
gia'at blanket
gīnī't smoke-hole
gī'gao salmon-trap

gū'dāñ mind and throat
kī'lga language
k!ā'ñal color
k!iā'lu cormorant
k!ona'ñ a crazy person
gā'yao the sea
gā'yu smoke
gō'dāñ a white variety of
 rock
qā'woda bag
qē'gu water basket or bucket
q!anā's comrade (in address)
q!ā'ndal a mass of trees
 fallen in one place
lā'laga house-screens

Some of these last are undoubtedly compound. Thus *gū'dāñ*, *k!ona'ñ*, and *gō'dāñ* seem to have the continuative ending (*āñ*); *lā'na* is probably compounded from *na* HOUSE, and perhaps *la* HE or HIS; *dā'gal* probably contains *gal* NIGHT; *i'l!xagidas* is very likely from *i'lgas* and *gī'da* CHIEF'S SON (a *gī'da* being so high that he was practically certain to be a chief himself); while *kī'lga* probably has the possessive suffix. Other nouns which are certainly compound are: *sī'ñxi* evening (*sīñ* day or daylight-sky); *ku'ngida* corner (perhaps from *kun* point); *q!ā'ixida* woman's cloak; *ga'ndjilga'gi* dancing-blanket; *xā'tgi* dancing-leggings; *ga'izāt* ashes; *gagwā'ñqē* cradle; *ta'ngoan* ocean. The two last probably contain the verbal suffix *goañ* ABOUT, AROUND, and the last seems to be compounded of this and *tā'ña* SEA-WATER. The word for SALT, *tāñ q!ā'ga*, means simply DRIED SEA-WATER. The word for BEANS and PEAS is *xō'ya-lū'ga* RAVEN'S CANOE, and refers to one of Raven's adventures. RICE is called *i'nlñ-tc!iñ* ENGLISH TEETH. *Gāxa* CHILD seems to be derived from the stem of the verb meaning WEAK.

A study of animal names is usually interesting; but in Haida most of the names of land and sea animals, along with those of the most common birds and fishes, are simple, and yield nothing to investigation. Such are the following:

tcīn salmon (general term)
tc!iñ beaver
tāi silver-salmon
tan black-bear

tāL loon
t!īn robin
sī'ga snake
st!ao screech-owl

sqao grouse and big variety
 of clam
sqol porpoise
sq!ên gull
slgu land-otter
nao devil-fish
k!u clam
k!ât deer
k!âl sculpin
k!aga'n mouse
kun whale

qôt eagle
qai sea-lion
qô sea-otter
xa dog
xâ'gu halibut
xô'ya raven
xot hair-seal
lga weasel
lk!ia saw-bill
lgo heron

The word for **BEAVER** seems to be the same as that for **TEETH**, from which it may have been derived. Most of the other animal, bird, and insect names are evidently derived from descriptive terms. Such are the following:

ya'ñidjañ spider
dj!aga'ld!xuañ fly; also snipe
dji'gul-a'oga shrew (probably literally, **FERN-MOTHER**)
djid!a'n humpback-salmon
dogâ'tlxagaña chicken-hawk
tâ'iña steelhead-salmon
tâ'gun spring-salmon
taxe't small salmon found on the Queen Charlotte islands
tâ'lat trout
tâ'lat-gâ'dala swallow
tialgun swan
s!x!sl!da'lgāña small bird
statsk!u'n fish-hawk
stâq!â'dj!tga brant
skâ'g!i dog-salmon
skâxia'o swamp-robin
sqaa'm star-fish
sl!û'djagad!ñ red-headed woodpecker
k!alga!i'agañ butterfly, grasshopper
ku'ndaguañ (Masset *sl!aq!a'm*) sand-flea
k!â'ldj!da crow
qadji'ñq!alqê'kslê green-headed duck
qôtgad!ga'm!gal bat
gotgalû' sparrow
q!a'isgut butter-ball
q!ôyâ'ñ mouse
lg!tgu'n goose
lk!iê'nq!ôst!an frog (*lk!iê'n* forest; *q!ôst!a'n* crab)
tâ!lat-gâ'dala fast trout

Another set of names appears to be onomatopoeitic either in fact or in idea:

hī'xodada or *īa'xodada* grebe
wīt salmon-berry bird
mā'matc!ēgī dragon-fly
djīdja't small hawk
djīdjīgā'ga small bird
tc!a'tc!a song-sparrow
da'tc!ī wren

dī'da ñ blue-fly
swī'lawīt small bird
skā'skas small owl
gū'tgunīs (Masset *gū'tgunīst*)
 horned owl
L!ai' L!ai bluejay

I know of but two story-names of animals, *k!ū'xugīnagīs* MARTEN (instead of *k!ū'xu*) and *sqo'lgīnagīs* PORPOISE (instead of *sqol*); but it is possible that the same suffixes may have occurred after other animal-names as well. *gī'na* means SOMETHING, and *gīt* SON; but whether those are the words included in the suffix is uncertain.

Several animal-names are almost identical with those found in Tlingit:

tc!ī'tga skate
tc!īsg^u moose
tco'lgī ground-squirrel
nā'gadjē fox
nūsg wolverene
k!ū'xu marten

gōdj wolf
q!ā'xada dog-fish
q!ō'an fur-seal
xū'adjē grizzly-bear
laguā'djī sea-bird

lgo HERON, and *k!aga'n* (Keene's) MOUSE, also resemble the Tlingit terms; and the Tlingit word for RAVEN, *yēl*, is the same as that used by the Masset Haida. This similarity between the two vocabularies extends to a few words other than names of animals, of which the following are the principal:

yage't or *ya'ē't* chief's son
hīgayē'djī iron

gaodja'o drum
gu'lga abalone

Nā'gadjē FOX is also found in Tsimshian, and the following names are also from that language:

a'od^a porcupine
mat mountain-goat

skiā'msm blue-hawk
gū'tgunīs horned owl

Names of implements and various utensils are formed from verbs by means of a noun-forming suffix *o* (*u*):

squxola'o perfume (from *squx*, *skūn* to smell)
sl!anā'ñu soap (from *sl!a* hand; *nañ* to play)
nīdjā'ñu mask (from *nīdjā'ñ* to imitate)
kī'tao spear handle (from *kīt* to spear)

Of a similar character are the following, although their derivation is not clear:

daqu'nlaō matches
kĩtsgalā'ño poker
ʔalqadja'o tin pan
q!aiʔĩtagā'ño rattle

q!ā'sgudjaō lamp
lqalda'o baking-powder
l!no milk

Probably the Masset word for FOOD, *tao*, should be added to this list. The Skidegate word for FOOD is formed in a peculiar way—by prefixing the plural indefinite pronoun *ga* to the stem of the verb EAT (*ga ta* FOOD).

Proper names are often formed from nouns or descriptive terms by means of the suffix *s*, already referred to. The following are examples:

Dji'kĩndjaos a man named Devil-club (*dji'kĩndjaō* devil-club)
Gao qons the name of an inlet (*gao qon* mighty inlet)
Q!ēts name for the Kaigani country (*q!ēt* narrow strait)
Gu'lqas a man named Abalone (*gu'lqa* abalone)
NAñkĩ'lsLas the Person-who-accomplished-things-by-his-word; that is, the Creator, Raven (*nañ kĩ'lsLa* a person who accomplishes things by his word)
Qai al lā'nas a family called the people of Qai (*Qai al lā'na* a man of the town of Qai)
NAñ-sti'ns The-one-who-is-(equal-to)-two (*nañ* one person; *stiñ* two)
Na q!ā'las a family called Clay-house People (*na q!ā'la* a clayey house)
Tcān lā'nas Mud-town

This, however, is not essential to the formation of proper names, as the following examples will show:

Xō'ya qA'nŁa Raven creek
Qa'itgaogao Inlet-from-which-the-trees-have-been-swept-away (a camp between Kaisun and Tc!a'at)
Łdjiñ xa'idŁgai Far People (the Kwakiutl)
Gidā'nsta From-his-daughter (name of a chief)
Tc!ānu Ł q!ola'i Master-of-the-Fire (name of a chief)
Sgā'na yū'Λn Great Supernatural Power (name of a chief)
Qena-ga'isŁ Floating-heavily-in-his-canoe (name of a chief)

The following nouns are nothing more than verb-stems:

wā'lqal potlatch
st!ē sickness
gū'sū speech
k!ō'da dead body
ʔiāl dance
**e'da* shame (Masset)

As already noted, there are a few other stems difficult to classify as absolutely nominal or verbal; such as *na* HOUSE, *xa'ida* PERSON.

§ 39. Plural Stems

By substitution of one stem for another, plurality is sometimes indicated in the verb itself; but a close examination shows that this phenomenon is not as common as at first appears. A large number of plural stems of this kind prove to be nothing more than adjectives with the plural suffix *-dala* or *-da*, and still others really have the same stem in the singular and plural; but the Haida mind requires some additional affix in one number to satisfy its conception fully. In the other cases there seems to be an alteration in idea from the Haida point of view, such as would impel in all languages the choice of a different verb. The only verbs which show conspicuous changes in stem in the plural are the following four:

Singular	Plural	
<i>qa</i>	<i>is, dal, or isdal</i>	to go
<i>q'ao</i>	<i>L!ũ</i>	to sit
<i>ʔit</i>	<i>ña(lgʌl)</i>	to fly
<i>tia</i>	<i>L!da</i>	to kill

In the first three cases the plurality refers to the subject; in the last case, to the object.

The plural of adjectives expressing shape and size is expressed by the syllables *-dala* and *-da*. These may be plural equivalents of the stem *dju*.

t!a'qao k!A'mdala fine snow (*kA'mdju* a small or fine object)

qẽ'gu yũ'dala big buckets (*yũ'an* big)

'a ʔA'dala small children (*ʔA'tdju* small thing) (Masset)

-da is sometimes used instead of the preceding.

yua'nda big things (*yu'an* big)

dji'nda long things (*djiñ* long)

HAIDA TEXT (SKIDEGATE DIALECT)

A RAID ON THE BELLA COOLA BY THE PEOPLE OF NINSTINTS AND KAISUN

Qa'isun gu Ga'ñxēt xa'idagai¹ Lū gasta'nsñ² gu gada'ñ³
 Kaisun at Ninstints people canoes four at in company
 with themselves
 L! qa'idōxalgañ⁴ Lū'sL!xagan.⁵ Giē'nhaō⁶ Lū gasta'nsñ gu
 they to ask to go to fight came by canoe. And then canoes four at
 t!a'ogañ⁷ L! i'djñi.⁸ Ga'iluhao⁹ L! Lūda'ogañ¹⁰ sta Lālgī'mf¹¹
 together they went (lit., were). At that time they went across after Bentinck arm
 gei L! Lūisdā'ltc'fagan.¹² Giē'nhaō gā'l'xua¹³ t!a'odjigai¹⁴ Lā'xa¹⁵
 into they went in by canoe. And then during the the fort opposite
 night
 L! Lūisdā'ltc'faganī. Giē'nhaō SL'ñ¹⁶ ga ga naxandā'yagan¹⁷
 they went in by canoe. And then the inlet in some had been camping
 xa'ñgusta¹⁸ L! tcl'txī'danī.¹⁹ Gū'hao²⁰ Amaikuns k'lō'dageidan.²¹
 from in front them started to fire on. Right there Amaikuns was killed.
 Gay'ns i'sñ L! tcl'itl'dagan.²² Qōya' i'sñ L! tcl'itl'dagan.
 Floating too they wounded. Beloved too they wounded.
 La'hao²³ L! sūga sqā'djigan. Ga'igu²⁴ ga stñ L!
 He them among was a brave man. There some two they

¹ Ga'ñxēt was the name of a cape close to the southern end of the Queen Charlotte islands, though, according to Dr. C. F. Newcombe, it is not identical with the Cape St. James of the charts. The Haida on this part of the islands received their name from it. -gai is the connective.

² ga- prefix indicating shape; sta'nsñ FOUR.

³ qadō' AROUND + the possessive suffix -ñ (§ 28.4) (literally, AROUND THEMSELVES).

⁴ qadō' TO GO TO WAR; -xal the auxiliary to ASK (§ 18.7); -gañ the continuative suffix (§ 24.1).

⁵ Lū CANOE, and so MOTION BY CANOE; i's stem of verb TO BE; -L'xa MOTION TOWARD any object mentioned (§ 22.10); -gan suffix indicating past event experienced by the person speaking (§ 23.1).

⁶ giēn AND + hao.

⁷ -gañ is the suffix denoting intimate possession (§ 28.4).

⁸ Although the story-teller himself went along, he speaks of his party in the third person throughout much of the narrative. -ñ is the same suffix as -gan, spoken of above (§ 23.1). The -i is a suffix of doubtful significance, probably giving a very vague impression of the completion of an action (§ 25.6).

⁹ gai + lu + hao.

¹⁰ Lū- BY CANOE; dao stem; -gan past-temporal suffix experienced (§ 23.1); -i see note 8.

¹¹ Lālgī'mf is applied to interior Indians generally by the Bella Bella at the mouth of Bentinck arm and Dean canal.

¹² Lū- BY CANOE; i's stem; dāl SEVERAL GOING; -tc'f MOTION INTO A SHUT-IN PLACE, such as a harbor or inlet (§ 22.1); -gan temporal suffix (§ 23.1).

¹³ qadl NIGHT; xua (gua) TOWARD, without motion, and thus derivatively DURING (§ 31).

¹⁴ t!a'odjī FORT; gai THE or THAT.

¹⁵ Lā IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF or OPPOSITE something on shore; -xa distributive suffix (§ 29.3).

¹⁶ sl'ñ means anything that is WELL BACK, such as the rear row of several lines of houses, and thus it is applied to an inlet running back into the land.

¹⁷ na TO LIVE, temporarily or permanently; -zan = -gañ the continuative suffix (§ 24.1); -da auxiliary indicating cause (§ 18.2); -ya perfect time (§ 23.7); -gan past-experienced-temporal suffix (§ 23.1).

¹⁸ xañ FACE; gu AT or THERE; sta FROM (§ 31).

¹⁹ tc'ñ TO SHOOT WITH GUNS; -jid the inchoative auxiliary (§ 18.6); -an the past-experienced-temporal suffix, which drops g after d; -i as above.

²⁰ gu AT or THERE + hao.

²¹ k'lō'da DEAD BODY; -geit TO BE IN THAT CONDITION; -an temporal suffix.

xaldā'ngatdā'ganī.²³ Ga'ista²³ L! Lūi'sdaxitgoa'ganī.²⁴ Giēn L!
 enslaved. After that they started out. And them
 ku'ngasta²⁵ ga qaitlā'gañgan²⁶ ga xutguig'ngan²⁷ ga'iatsgagan.²⁸
 before those started first some coming sailing went out to.
 Djigwa'i²⁹ sq̄la'stīn³⁰ wa gu³¹ q̄lada'ogaganī.³² Sta Lua'i q'āl
 Guns two it at was the noise of. After- the ward canoe
 xutgīndā'lganī³³ giēn ga djā'ada stīn xaldā'ngadayagan.³⁴
 drifted along and some women two were enslaved.
 Giēn ga'nsta³⁵ L! Lūis!xā'ganī³⁶ giēn wa gu tagi'djigidai³⁷
 And to they came and it at persons captured
 at Lga sgu'ngi³⁸ aga'n L! xā'nalgiñgandī³⁹ xan³⁹ L! q'ō'lgā nañ
 with land close to them- they rejoiced that having while them near a
 selves
 kundjū'gan⁴⁰ gadō' ga xutgi'dji-L!xagai⁴¹ L!A gei qē'xagai⁴² Lu
 point was around some came sailing them (into) saw when
 q̄lal!t!a'lganī.⁴³ Giē'nhaio gō'lgā⁴⁴ L! daot!a'lganī.⁴⁵ Giē'nhaio
 jumped off. And then after [them] they landed. And then
 aga'n l L'gōlgagīn⁴⁶ q̄a'odīhao⁴⁶ l qat!a'lgan.⁴⁷ Giē'nhaio gā'yawai⁴⁸
 self I prepared after a while I got off. And then the sea
 LA'xa nañ lxiēndā'lsī⁴⁹ la xitxi'danī.⁵⁰ Ek!ñxet⁵¹ la l xitgi'ndal
 near one was running I started to pursue. About in the him I chased about
 woods

²³ *ic/it*-instrumental prefix meaning BY SHOOTING (§ 14.2); *L/da* stem of verb TO KILL when used with plural objects, probably used here because two are spoken of in close connection (§ 39).

²⁴ *gai* THE + *sta* FROM, both being connectives.

²⁵ *Lū*-BY CANOE; *ts* stem; *-da* contraction of *-dal* (§ 14.5); *xit* TO BEGIN TO (§ 18.6); *-goa* MOTION OUT OF DOORS (§ 22.2).

²⁶ Probably means literally FROM IN A POINT (*kun* POINT; *ga* IN; *sta* FROM).

²⁷ *ga* TO GO; *-it* (probably originally contracted from *xit*) TO START (§ 18.6); *-Lāgañ* FIRST, FIRST TIME (§ 21.3).

²⁸ *xit*-instrumental prefix meaning WITH THE WIND (§ 14.19); *-gui* stem; *-ñā* ON THE SEA (§ 19.2).

²⁹ *gai* FLOATING; *-ga* MOTION SEAWARD (§ 22.8).

³⁰ *dji'gu* + *gai*, the *g* being dropped after *u*.

³¹ *sq'a*-classifier indicating objects like sticks (§ 15.11).

³² *wa* demonstrative pronoun + *gu* AT.

³³ *ga* probably auxiliary meaning TO BE.

³⁴ *xit*-WITH THE WIND (§ 14.19); *-ñā* DRIFTING ON THE SEA; *-dal*, auxiliary indicating motion (§ 14.5).

³⁵ *xaldā'ngat* SLAVE; *-ya* perfect time (§ 23.7).

³⁶ Probably from *gan* FOR + *sta* FROM, the idea being motion FROM a certain place with a definite object in view, and thus to something else.

³⁷ *Lū*-BY CANOE; *ts* stem; *-L/za* MOTION TOWARD; *-gan* temporal suffix.

³⁸ *ta-* a noun-forming prefix; *gi'dji* stem of verb TO SEIZE.

³⁹ *gi* the connective meaning TO OR FOR.

⁴⁰ *aga'n* the reflexive pronoun; *L'* pronominal subject; *zañal* TO REJOICE; *-ñā* ON THE SEA; *-gan* - *-gañ* the continuative; *-di* suffix indicating that the action is held suspended in a certain position pending some further developments; *zan* the adverb STILL or YET.

⁴¹ *kun* POINT; *dji* sort of thing; *-gan* past-experienced-temporal suffix.

⁴² *ga* plural indefinite pronoun; *xit*-MOTION BY MEANS OF THE WIND; *gi'dji* TO SEIZE OR CARRY ALONG, SEIZED; *-L/za-* MOTION TOWARD; *gai* THE OR THOSE.

⁴³ *qē'za* TO SEE; *gai* connective turning the verb into an infinitive.

⁴⁴ *-!al* MOTION DOWNWARD; *-gan* temporal suffix.

⁴⁵ *gō* is evidently from *gō'da* or *gōt* POSTERIOR, and secondarily AFTERWARDS; *-!aga* is the same as *-!ga*.

⁴⁶ *dao* is probably the stem to GO AND GET; *-!al* MOTION DOWNWARD, out of the canoe.

⁴⁷ *aga'n* the reflexive pronoun; *l* subjective pronoun of the first person singular; *L-* to accomplish by touching with the hands; *pōlga* stem of verb meaning TO MAKE; *-ñā* UPON THE OCEAN; *q̄a'odīhao* the connective before which a verb loses its temporal suffix, and which is itself compounded of *q̄a'odi* + *hao*.

⁴⁸ *ga* singular stem meaning TO GO; *-!al* MOTION DOWNWARD.

⁴⁹ *pd'yao* SEA + (*p*) *ai* the connective.

⁵⁰ *l-* shape of a human being; *dal* auxiliary; *-st* the infinitive suffix.

⁵¹ *xit*. This stem is perhaps identical with the stem meaning TO FLY, and so indicates rapid motion; *-xit* TO BEGIN TO DO a thing; *-an* the past-experienced-temporal suffix.

⁵² *ik/tn* WOODS; *-za* distributive suffix; *-t* MOTION in that place.

qa'odihao⁵² **gā'yawai** **gei la** **gā'tgigani**.⁵³ **Giên l'** **qā'djī**⁵⁴ **da'nat**⁵⁵ **l'**
 after a while the sea into he jumped. And his hair with his
ā'xinai⁵⁶ **la' sta la** **gīlgī'lgani**.⁵⁷ **Giên** **qā'da l'** **l'tcīl!xaga'n**⁵⁸
 yellow cedar him from I took. And toward he came up
 bark blanket the sea
giên dī **xanā'ga**⁵⁹ **la** **Lqagīldā'ngan**.⁶⁰ **Giē'nhao dī** **ga la**
 and my face he held up his hands at. And then me to he
Lgīgī'lgan.⁶¹ **Dī gan l'** **ā'xanagea'lgai**⁶² **lu**⁶² **ī'sīn l'** **ga'igīlgan**⁶³
 swam shoreward. Me for he came to be near when again he dove
giên **qā'da l'** **l'djīl!xaga'n**⁶⁴ **giên la** **gī**⁶⁵ **l'tcīldjūxī'dan**.⁶⁶ **Giên l'**
 and seaward he came to the surface and him at I began to shoot. And he
Lgīgī'lgan **giên nañ stala' xa'ngī**⁶⁷ **aga'ñ la** **gidjigī'ldal'skī'dan**.⁶⁸
 swam landward and a cliff on the face himself he held tight against.
Ga'igu **ī'sīn la la** **l'tcī'gastiā'ngai**⁶⁹ **lu**⁶⁹ **lan la la** **gē'ildaganī**.⁷⁰
 There too him I shot twice when ended him I caused to become.
Giē'nhao stala' lai xa'ngī qait⁷¹ **giagā'nganī**⁷² **gut la** **qaxia'lganī**.⁷³
 And then the cliff on the face tree was standing upon he climbed up.
Giên l' **qā'djī stala'i sta** **djī'nganī**.⁷⁴ **Skliā'xan**⁷⁵ **wa'gui**⁷⁶ **la**
 And its top the cliff from was some distance. But still toward it he
t'askitgaoga'ndī⁷⁷ **qā'odī stala'i xa'ngī** **aga'ñ la** **gidjigī'ldal'gaskī'danī**.⁷⁸
 bent it after the cliff on the himself he got hold of.
 a while face
Giên gu ga xē'lganī⁷⁹ **gei la** **qā'tcīlgan**.⁸⁰ **Gam sta** **L'gut**⁸¹ **xē'tgī**⁸²
 And therein was a hole into he went in. Not from either downward

⁵² *qit* = stem above referred to (50); *qin* probably the continuative *-qan*; *-dal* the auxiliary.

⁵³ *qut* TO MOVE RAPIDLY; *gi* MOTION DOWN into the water; *-gan* temporal suffix.

⁵⁴ *qā'djī* is used both for HAIR and for HEAD.

⁵⁵ *da'nat* contains the connective *at*. It means very much the same thing as *at*, but is a stronger form.

⁵⁶ *at* is the contracted form of *gai*.

⁵⁷ *gi*-classifier indicating shape of blanket; *-gil* MOTION LANDWARD.

⁵⁸ *l*- shape of human being; *-L/xa* MOTION TOWARD.

⁵⁹ *dī* objective personal pronoun of the first person, used as the possessive; *zan* FACE; *-ga* possessive suffix.

⁶⁰ *L/-* action with HANDS; *-gil* TOWARD THE LAND; *-da* auxiliary TO CAUSE; *-an* continuative suffix.

⁶¹ *l*- shape of MAN; *gi* SWIMMING ON WATER; *-gil* MOTION LANDWARD.

⁶² *d'xana* NEAR, is also used independently as a connective; *-gal* the auxiliary meaning TO BECOME or TO COME TO BE; *gai* the infinitive-forming connective.

⁶³ *gal*- FLOATING ON the water; *-gla* MOTION DOWN INTO the water.

⁶⁴ *l*- HUMAN SHAPE; *-L/xa* MOTION TOWARD.

⁶⁵ *la* personal pronoun of the third person singular; *gi* the connective TO.

⁶⁶ *tcīl!* TO SHOOT; *-qit* TO BEGIN to do.

⁶⁷ *zan* FACE; *gi* TO OF AT.

⁶⁸ *gidjī* TO GRASP, SEIZE; *-gil* TO BECOME; *-da* the auxiliary TO CAUSE; *l*- HUMAN SHAPE; *skit* CONTACT, *-an* temporal suffix.

⁶⁹ *tcīl* = *tcīl!* TO SHOOT; *-ga* the auxiliary TO BE; *-stid'ñ* = *-stīñ* TWO; *gai* the connective.

⁷⁰ *la* objective pronoun of the third person singular; *la* subjective pronoun of the first person singular *qit* TO BECOME; *-da* TO CAUSE.

⁷¹ Also the word for SPRUCE.

⁷² *gia* TO STAND; *-qāñ* the continuative suffix.

⁷³ *ga* TO GO (one person); *-qia* QUICKLY; *-l* MOTION UPWARD.

⁷⁴ *djī'ña* also an adjective meaning a long distance, FAR.

⁷⁵ *zan* = the adverb STILL, YET.

⁷⁶ *wa* the demonstrative pronoun THAT; *gui* TOWARD (with motion).

⁷⁷ *l/ā*- shape of CURVING TREE; *skit* TO PUT; *-gan* = *-qāñ* the continuative suffix.

⁷⁸ *gi'djī* TO SEIZE; *-gil* TO BECOME; *-da* TO CAUSE; *lga*-shape assumed by a branching object, referring here, either to the top of the tree or to the shape assumed by the man as he climbs off from it.

⁷⁹ *ga* connective THERE, referring to the cliff which is understood; *ga* connective IN; *zē!* HOLE; *-gan* past-experienced-temporal suffix.

⁸⁰ *ga* TO GO (singular); *-tcīl* MOTION INSIDE of something.

⁸¹ *l* an indefinite pronoun or adverb; *gut* the connective WITH or TOGETHER.

⁸² *zē!* DOWN; *gi* TO.

at si'gi⁸³ qala'hñai⁸⁴ gaoga'ngani.⁸⁵ Ga xa'nhao⁸⁶ l' k'ötuhñ⁸⁷
 or upward (he) could go was wanting. In right he would die
 t'lala'n xuntlā'gani.⁸⁸
 we said to each other.

Giē'n hao ga'ista L! lūsdaṣi'dani. Lū'hao L! tē'a'anugadaga'n⁸⁹
 And then from that they started by canoe. When they had a fire
 place

giēn gut at L! dā'yīnṣidan.⁹⁰ Giēn ga'ista L! L!daxidai Lū'hao⁹¹
 and each other to they started to give to eat. And from that they started by when
 canoe

tla'odji-gai i'siñ L! xītgi'da'ngani.⁹² Lū'hao gu iL! gētgadagē'dani.⁹³
 the fort too they started to fight. Then there we could not get away from.

Ga'ihuhao iL! gētgadā'gēdan giēn ga'ista iL! L! gētga'l'dagan.⁹⁴
 At the time we could not get away when from that us they got back in.

Giēn nā'gai⁹⁵ u'ngu⁹⁶ nāñ L'xuqā'gōndigan,⁹⁷ la'hao L!
 And the house on top of one crept around, him they
 tēlītqat!a'lgan.⁹⁸ Giēn qā'da L! ga'ilgi'ngiñ⁹⁹ qa'odi nāñ i'hñā¹⁰⁰
 made fall by shooting. And seaward they lay after a while a man

gandjilgā'giada¹⁰¹ ḥa'nṅia-qa'ldada¹⁰² Lū dañgīdā'L!xasgagan,¹⁰³
 dancing-blanket cedar-bark rings canoe dragged down,

nāñ dja'da i'siñ l' gō'laga qā'L!xasgagan¹⁰⁴ giēn i'L! ga¹⁰⁵
 a woman also him after came and to us

qaxia'sgaganī.¹⁰⁶ Giēn Ldō'gwañ gū'ga L!a ga kī'lgūlgan.¹⁰⁷
 came out. And Ldōgwañ therein them to talked.

⁸³ si (from sa) UP; gi TO.

⁸⁴ qa TO GO (singular); -la MOTION UPWARD; -ñā potential suffix; ai the connective gai, which turns this all into an infinitive.

⁸⁵ ga TO BE WANTING; -gañ negative modal suffix after the adverb gam NOT which stands at the very beginning of the sentence.

⁸⁶ ga IN; xan the adverb meaning RIGHT THERE; hao, the connective.

⁸⁷ l' -la the personal pronoun of the third person singular, subject of the verb; k'ō'tul TO DIE; -ñā potential suffix.

⁸⁸ t'lala'n subjective personal pronoun of the first person plural; -gan the temporal suffix.

⁸⁹ tē'a'anu FIRE or FIREWOOD; -ga auxiliary TO BE; -da auxiliary TO CAUSE; -gan temporal suffix.

⁹⁰ ddi TO GIVE FOOD; -ñā the continuative suffix; -rid TO START TO GIVE.

⁹¹ L- used OF TRAVEL BY CANOE, several going together; da -dal TO GO; -rid TO START TO GO; ai the connective gai.

⁹² -ñā the continuative suffix; -gan temporal suffix.

⁹³ iL! personal pronoun of the first person plural; gētga TO BE UNABLE (perhaps compounded of gēt TO BE LIKE or in that condition + ga TO BE); -da probably the auxiliary TO CAUSE; gēd TO BE IN THAT CONDITION; -an past-inexperienced-temporal suffix.

⁹⁴ gē'tga TO BE IN SUCH AND SUCH A CONDITION; -l motion of boarding a canoe; -da the auxiliary meaning TO CAUSE.

⁹⁵ na HOUSE; gai the connective.

⁹⁶ u'ngu contains gu AT, THERE.

⁹⁷ Lxu- BY CREEPING; ga TO GO (singular); -pōñ rather aimless motion on land; -di presents the action as just taking place; -gan temporal suffix.

⁹⁸ hao is a connective placed after la for emphasis; tē't- BY SHOOTING; qa MOTION; -i'la MOTION DOWNWARD.

⁹⁹ gai FLOATING; -ñā ON THE SEA; qa'odi the connective before which temporal suffixes are dropped.

¹⁰⁰ i'hñā a MALE BEING.

¹⁰¹ gandjilgā'gi DANCING-BLANKET; -da the auxiliary meaning TO CAUSE, and here to have been put on by somebody else.

¹⁰² ḥa'nṅia the RING itself; qal ALDER; -da the auxiliary TO CAUSE, the whole evidently meaning CEDAR-BARK RING DYED WITH ALDER or upon which alder has been placed. The last -da means that it had been put upon this man by somebody else.

¹⁰³ Lū CANOE is object of following verb; dañ- to accomplish by PULLING; gi- shape of canoe; dal MOTION; -L/za MOTION TOWARD; -sga MOTION TOWARD THE SEA; -gan temporal suffix.

¹⁰⁴ ga motion of one person; -L/za MOTION TOWARD; -sga MOTION TOWARD THE SEA; -gan temporal suffix.

¹⁰⁵ iL! objective pronoun of first person plural; -ga connective TO.

¹⁰⁶ qa MOTION (singular); -sga MOTION TOWARD THE SEA.

¹⁰⁷ kīl- action with the VOICE; lguī verb-stem indicating an action lasting some time, covering considerable ground, different phases of a question, etc.

Giê'nhao ha'lgunañ¹⁰⁸ la l! gā'yîñxalgañ,¹⁰⁹ giê'nhao nañ i'ññas¹¹⁰
 And then closer her they told to come, and then the man
 L! tcl'tgā'tgisî'ngan.¹¹¹ Ldō'gwañ gī gwa'ogan¹¹² giên L!A sta¹¹³
 they wished to make him fall into the water by shooting. Ldō'gwañ to refused and them from
 qa'idanî.¹¹⁴ lū'hao sta l! gaitgwa'giagan.¹¹⁵ L!a'hao ā'nigai¹¹⁶
 started. Then from they fled in terror. They ammunition
 wa'ga hailā'waganî.¹¹⁷ Giê'nhao tlala'ñ i'sîñ sta lūisdañi'danî.
 in it was gone. And then we too from started by canoe.
 Giê'nhao Dji'dao-kun sta l! lūisdañi'dan giên gāl sta'nsîñ
 And then Dji'dao-Point from they started by canoe and nights four
 sî'gai¹¹⁸ gut l! lgaga'i¹¹⁹ lū Ga'ñxet-kun' ga l! lūisL!xagî'lgan.¹²⁰
 the ocean upon they spent when Cape St. James to they came shoreward by canoe.
 Ga'ista gāl stîñ l! lūisdala'i lū'hao Qa'isun gu l! lūisL!xagan.
 From that nights two they traveled by when Kaisun at they came by canoe.
 Hay'ñ¹²¹ djiñ¹²² hao lga dji'ña¹²³ sta l! i'djîñ.¹²⁴ Hao lan ā'sgai at
 Instead really country far from they were. Here end this of
 gīal'gala'ndagai¹²⁵ gē'da.
 the story comes to an.

[Translation]

The Ninstints people came to Kaisun in four canoes to ask the people to go to war in company with them. Then they went along in four canoes. After they had crossed (to the mainland), they entered Bentinck arm. And they went in opposite the fort during the night. Then some people who had been camping in the inlet began firing from in front. There Amai'kuns was killed. They also wounded Floating. They also wounded Beloved. He was a brave man among them. There they also enslaved two persons. After that they started out. And those who started first went out to some people who were coming along under sail. The noise of two guns was heard there. Afterwards the canoe drifted away empty, and

¹⁰⁸ The stem of this is probably *hala'*, which is also used as an interjection.¹⁰⁹ *gai* FLOATING; -ñ = -ñā ON THE SEA; -l! the auxiliary TO TELL.¹¹⁰ Compare with *nañ i'ñña* in the fourth line from the bottom on p. 280. The suffix -s makes the indefinite form definite.¹¹¹ *icñ* BY SHOOTING; *gāi* TO MOVE QUICKLY; *gi* MOTION UNDER WATER; -ññ the auxiliary TO WISH.¹¹² *gwa* verb-stem.¹¹³ *l!a* the objective personal pronoun of the third person plural; *sta* the connective FROM.¹¹⁴ *ga* TO GO (singular); -id is probably contracted from the auxiliary -ñid TO BEGIN.¹¹⁵ -ñā probably the suffix indicating motion straight through to the object; -gan temporal suffix.¹¹⁶ *gai* the connective THE.¹¹⁷ *hailaw* = *hailū* TO DESTROY; perhaps related to the name for the being that brings pestilence, *Hail'las*.¹¹⁸ *ñis* means the open expanse of sea; in taking the connective *gai* the final *s* is dropped.¹¹⁹ *gai* the connective THE.¹²⁰ *lū* BY CANOE; *is* stem; -l!za MOTION TOWARD anything; -ñli MOTION LANDWARD.¹²¹ *haji'ñ* an adverb always used when something falls out differently from what was expected. In this case the rest of the clause, which naturally belongs with it, is omitted and its sense left to the hearer.¹²² *djiñ* REALLY, ACTUALLY; is strengthened and emphasis placed upon it by the connective *hao*.¹²³ *dji'ña* FAR, an adjective depending upon the preceding noun *lga* COUNTRY.¹²⁴ -ñ the past-experienced-temporal suffix.¹²⁵ *Hao* refers to all of the story preceding, which it connects with this sentence; *lan* an adverb depending upon *gē'da*; *ā'sgai* (= *as* or *ā'djî* + *gai*) a demonstrative referring also to the preceding story; *at* connective WITH, OR, etc. *Gīal'gala'ndagai* probably has the same stem as the verb treated of under note 107; *gai* the connective.

they enslaved two women. (The others) came thither, and while they lay close to the land, rejoicing over the persons captured, some people came sailing around a point in a canoe, saw them and jumped off. Then (we) landed in pursuit of them. And after I had spent some little time preparing myself, I got off. And I started to pursue one person who was running about near the sea. After I had chased him about in the woods for a while, he jumped into the ocean. And I took his hair, along with his yellow-cedar bark blanket, away from him. And he came up out at sea and held up his hands in front of my face (in token of surrender). Then he swam shoreward toward me. When he got near me, he dove again and came to the surface out at sea, and I began to shoot at him. Then he swam landward and held himself tightly against the face of a certain cliff. After I had shot at him twice there, I stopped. Then he climbed up upon a tree standing upon the face of the cliff. And although its top was some distance from the cliff, he bent it toward it, and after a while got hold of the face of the cliff. And he went into a hole in it. He could not go from it either downward or upward. We said to one another that he would die right in it.

Then they started from that place in their canoes. Then they had a fire and began to give each other food. And after they again started off, they again began fighting with the fort. Then we got into a position from which we could not get away. Then, although we could not get away at first, they finally got us into (the canoes). And a certain person crept around on top of the house. They shot him so that he fell down. And after they had lain out to sea for some time, a man wearing a dancing-blanket and cedar-bark rings dragged down a canoe and came out to us, accompanied by a woman. And those in Ldō'gwañ's canoe talked to them. Then they told the woman to come closer, and said that they should shoot the man so that he would fall into the water. Ldō'gwañ refused and started away from them. Then they fled away in terror. Their ammunition was all gone. Then we also started off.

Then they started from Point-Dji'dao, and, after they had spent four nights upon the sea, they came to Cape St. James. After they had traveled two more nights, they came to Kaisun. Instead of accomplishing what they had hoped, they returned from a far country almost empty-handed. Here this story comes to an end.

TSIMSHIAN

BY

FRANZ BOAS

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TSIMSHIAN

By FRANZ BOAS

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

The Tsimshian (Chimmesyan) is spoken on the coast of northern British Columbia and in the region adjacent to Nass and Skeena rivers. On the islands off the coast the Tsimshian occupy the region southward as far as Milbank sound.

Three principal dialects may be distinguished: The Tsimshian proper, which is spoken on Skeena river and on the islands farther to the south; the Nisqa¹, which is spoken on Nass river, and the G'itkcan (Gyitkshan), which is spoken on the upper course of Skeena river. The first and second of these dialects form the subject of the following discussion. The description of the Tsimshian proper is set off by a vertical rule down the left-hand margin of the pages.

The Tsimshian dialect has been discussed by the writer¹ and by Count von der Schulenburg.² I have also briefly discussed the dialect of Nass river,³ and have published a collection of texts⁴ in the same dialect. References accompanying examples (like 290.2) refer to page and line in this publication; those preceded by ZE refer to a Tsimshian text with notes published by me.⁵

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Tsimshian dialects is in many respects similar to that of other languages of the North Pacific coast. It abounds particularly in *k*-sounds and *l*-sounds. The informants from

¹ Fifth Report of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (*Report of the 59th Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1889, 877-889).

² Dr. A. C. Graf von der Schulenburg, *Die Sprache der Tsimshian-Indianer* (Brunswick, 1894).

³ Tenth and Eleventh Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada (*Reports of the 65th and 66th Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1895, 583-586; 1896 586-591).

⁴ Tsimshian Texts (*Bulletin 27 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1902).

⁵ Eine Sonnensage der Tsimshian, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1908, 776-797.

whom my material in the Nass river dialect has been gathered used the hiatus frequently, without, however, giving the preceding stop enough strength to justify the introduction of a fortis. A few people from other villages, whom I heard occasionally, seemed to use greater strength of articulation; and there is little doubt that the older mode of pronunciation had a distinct series of strong stops. In the Tsimshian dialect the fortis survives clearly in the *t* and *p*; while the *ts* and *k* fortis have come to be very weak. I have also observed in this dialect a distinct fortis of the *y*, *w*, *m*, *n*, and *l*. In these sounds the increased stress of articulation brings about a tension of the vocal chords and epiglottis, the release of which gives the sound a strongly sonant character, and produces a glottal stop preceding the sound when it appears after a vowel. Thus the fortis of these continued sounds are analogous to the Kwakiutl *ʔy*, *ʔw*, *ʔm*, *ʔn*, and *ʔl*. Presumably the same sounds occur in the Nass dialect, although they escaped my attention. Differentiation between surd and sonant is difficult, particularly in the velar *k* series.

The phonetics of Tsimshian take an exceptional position among the languages of the North Pacific coast, in that the series of *l* stops are missing. Besides the sound corresponding to our *l*, we find only the *ʔ*, a voiceless continued sound produced by the escape of air from the space behind the canine teeth; the whole front part of the mouth being filled by the tip of the tongue, which is pressed against the palate. The Tsimshian dialect has a continued sonant *k* sound, which is exceedingly weak and resembles the weak medial *r*, which has almost no trill and is pronounced a little in front of the border of the hard palate. It corresponds to the sound in Tlingit which Swanton (see p. 165) writes *y*, but which I have heard among the older generation of Tlingit distinctly as the same sound as the Tsimshian sound here discussed. With the assumption that it was originally the continued sonant corresponding to *x* of other Pacific Coast languages agrees its prevalent *u* tinge. I feel, however, a weak trill in pronouncing the sound, and for this reason I have used the symbol *r* for denoting this sound. In some cases a velar trill appears, which I have written *r*.

In the Nass dialect, liquids (*m*, *n*, *l*) that occur at the ends of words are suppressed. Tongue and lips are placed in position for these sounds, but there is no emission of air, and hence no sound, unless a following word with its outgoing breath makes the terminal sound audible.

The vocalic system of Tsimshian is similar to that of other North-west Coast languages, with which it has in common the strong tendency to a weakening of vowels. The Tsimshian dialect has no clear *a*, but all its *a*'s are intermediate between *a* and *ä*. Only after *w* does this vowel assume a purer *a* tinge. A peculiarity of the language is the doubling of almost every long vowel by the addition of a parasitic vowel of the same timbre as the principal vowel, but pronounced with relaxation of all muscles.

Following is a tabular statement of the sounds observed in the Nass dialect.

The series of vowels may be rendered as follows:¹

	E						
Short	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>î</i>
Long	—	<i>ô</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ē</i>	—
With parasitic vowel	—	<i>ou</i>	<i>âô</i>	<i>āa</i>	<i>äê</i>	<i>ēē</i>	—

This series begins with the *u*-vowel with rounded lips and open posterior part of mouth-opening, and proceeds with less protrusion of lips and wider opening of the anterior portion of the mouth to *a*; then, with gradual flattening of the middle part of the mouth-opening, through *e* to *i*.

The system of consonants is contained in the following table:

	Stops			Affricatives			Continued		Nasals
	Sonant	Surd	Surd followed by hiatus	Sonant	Surd	Surd followed by hiatus	Sonant	Surd	
Labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	(<i>p'</i>)	—	—	—	—	—	<i>m</i>
Dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	(<i>t'</i>)	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>ts</i>	(<i>ts'</i>)	<i>z</i>	<i>s, (c)</i>	<i>n</i>
Anterior palatal	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	(<i>k'</i>)	—	—	—	—	<i>x</i>	—
Middle palatal	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	(<i>k'</i>)	—	—	—	—	<i>ʃ</i>	—
Velar	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>	(<i>q'</i>)	—	—	—	(<i>r</i>)	<i>x</i>	—
Lateral, voiced continued									<i>l</i>
voiceless stop (?)									<i>l</i>
Breathing									<i>h</i>
Semi-vowels									<i>y hw</i>

It is doubtful whether *c* (English *sh*) occurs as a separate sound; *s* seems rather to be pronounced with somewhat open teeth. The sounds *g* and *k* take very often a *u*-tinge. The semi-vowel *w* is almost always aspirated.

¹ Notwithstanding its defects, I have adhered for the Nass dialect to the spelling used in previous publications.

§ 3. Grouping of Sounds and Laws of Euphony

Clustering of consonants is almost unrestricted, and a number of extended consonantic clusters may occur; as, for instance, *-lɬkʷtqʷ*, *ppt*, *qʷsL*, *xɬqʷ*, and many others.

Examples are:

a'qLkʷdet they reached 111.1¹

ā'd'ik'skʷL came 35.1

xsk'āk' eagle 178.10

There are, however, a number of restrictions regulating the use of consonants before vowels. Terminal surd stops and the affricative *ts* are transformed into sonants whenever a vowel is added to the word.

g'at man

qwalkʷ dry

nɛ-bɛ'p uncle

n-ts'ɛ'ɛts grandmother

g'a'dɛm 90.6

gwa'lgwa 176.2

dɛp-bɛ'ɛbɛ my uncles 157.9

ts'ɛ'ɛdzɛ my grandmother 157.10

It seems that single surd stops do not occur in intervocalic position. A number of apparent exceptions, like *k'ōpɛ*-SMALL, were heard by me often with sonant, and contain probably in reality sonants.

There are a number of additional intervocalic changes:

Intervocalic *x* changes into *y*.

“ *ɬ* changes into *w*, *ō*.

“ *x* changes into *g*. This last change is not quite regular.

ōx' to throw

hwōlā'x' to know

hāx' to use

xɛtsū'ɬ afraid

k'sax to go out

yā'ōxkʷ to eat

ō'yin you throw 139.3

hwōlā'yɪ I know

hā'yam use of—55.3

xɛtsū'wɛ I am afraid

k'sa'wun I go out! 171.4

yā'ōq'an to feed

In a few cases *l* is assimilated by preceding *n*.

an-hwō'n instead of *an-hwō'l* 40.6, 7

§ 4. The Phonetic Systems of Nass and Tsimshian

The system of vowels of Tsimshian is nearly the same as that of the Nass dialect, except that the pure *a* and *ā* do not occur. The vowels *o* *ō*, and *e* *ɛ* appear decidedly as variants of *u* *ū* and *i* *ī* respectively, their timbre being modified by adjoining consonants.

¹ Figures refer to page and line of F. Boas, Tsimshian Texts (*Bulletin 27 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*); figures preceded by E S, to F. Boas, Tsimshian Texts, New Series (Publications of the American Ethnological Society, Vol. III, 1910).

I have been able to observe the system of consonants of Tsimshian more fully than that of the Nass dialect. It may be represented as follows:

	Stops			Affricatives			Continued		Nasals	
	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Sonant (trill?)	Surd	Sonant	Fortis
Labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	—	—	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	<i>m'</i>
Dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts'</i>	—	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n'</i>
Anterior palatal . . .	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Middle palatal . . .	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	—	—	—	<i>r</i>	—	—	—
Velar	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q'</i>	—	—	—	(<i>r</i>)	<i>x</i>	—	—
Glottal	<i>ʔ</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lateral, continued, voiced									<i>l</i>	
“ “ “ fortis									<i>l'</i>	
“ “ voiceless, posterior									<i>l̥</i>	
Breathing									<i>h</i>	
Semi-vowels									<i>y, w</i>	
“ fortis									<i>y', w'</i>	

The terminal surd is much weaker than in the Nass dialect, and I have recorded many cases in which the terminal stop is without doubt a sonant:

wālb house

g'ad people

Before *g* and *k*, terminal sonants become surds:

wi-ts!em-lā'opge great cave ES 96.30

ne-gā'itga° his hat ES 90.1

Before *t* and vowels, the sound remains a sonant:

g'a'bE . . . to draw water . . . ES 96.10

hē'oldEt . . . many . . . ES 96.14

The fact that some terminal sounds always remain surd shows that in the cases of alternation of surd and sonant the latter must be considered the stem consonant.

Some of the sounds require fuller discussion. It has been stated before that the fortis, as pronounced by the present generation, are not as strong as they used to be and as they are among more southern tribes. The *t*-series is alveolar, the tip of the tongue touching behind the teeth. The affricatives have a clear continued *s*-sound, the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth; while *s* has a decided tinge of the English *sh*. It is pronounced with tip of tongue turned back (cerebral) and touching the palate. The teeth are closed. The sound is entirely surd. The nasals *m* and *n* are

long continued and sonant, even in terminal positions; *m*! and *n*! have great tension of oral closure with accompanying tension of glottis and epiglottis. The sound *r* has been described before. It is entirely absent in the Nass dialect. Bishop Ridley, who prepared the translation of the gospel on which Count von der Schulenburg's grammar is based, has rendered this sound, which often follows a very obscure *i* or *e*, by *ū*; but I hear distinctly *r*. Thus, in place of Bishop Ridley's *nūyū* (I), I hear *n!e'ryu*; instead of *gūel*, *ge'rel*; instead of *shgū*, *sger*. In the Nass dialect, *ē* or *ī* takes the place of this sound:

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>sger</i>	<i>sg'ī</i>	to lie
<i>n!e'ren</i>	<i>nē'en</i>	thou
<i>ge'rel</i>	<i>g'ē'el</i>	to pick
<i>se'rel</i>	<i>sē'el</i>	middle
<i>k!e'rel</i>	<i>k'ē'el</i>	one
<i>ge'redax</i>	<i>k'ē'dax</i>	to ask
<i>ge'retk</i>	<i>g'etk</i>	to reach
<i>q!e'reng'axs</i>	<i>qL'ē'ng'ixs</i>	to crush with foot
<i>e'renx</i>	<i>ēnx</i>	box
<i>e'reml</i>	<i>ēml</i>	bucket
<i>e'rla</i>	<i>ēlx</i>	seal

The sound has, however, a close affinity to *u*, before which it tends to disappear.

pliä'r to tell; *pliä'u* I tell.

It is suggestive that many *u*-sounds of Tsimshian are *ī* or *ē* in Nass. This may indicate that the *u* and *r* in Tsimshian are either a later differentiation of one sound or that a loss of *r* has occurred in many forms. On the whole, the latter theory appears more plausible.

Examples of this substitution are the following:

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>dūls</i>	<i>dēls</i>	to live
<i>t!ū's</i>	<i>t!ēs</i>	to push
<i>dū'ola</i>	<i>dē'līx</i>	tongue
<i>hū's</i>	<i>wis</i>	root
<i>iū'otk</i>	<i>iē'tk^u</i>	to have around neck
<i>dū'lk</i>	<i>dēlk^u</i>	cedar-bark basket
<i>hū'tk</i>	<i>ētk^u</i>	to call
<i>tū'onti</i>	<i>līntx'</i>	angry
<i>lū'alq'at</i>	<i>lē'elq'it</i>	feast
<i>sū'ns</i>	<i>sēns</i>	blind
<i>lūt</i>	<i>lēt</i>	wedge
<i>gū'op'el</i>	<i>k'ē'lb'el</i>	two

In terminal position Tsimshian *-ɛr* corresponds to Nass *-aɣ*, and after long vowels *r* to *ɣ*.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>dɛr</i>	<i>dax</i>	to die, plural
<i>kɛr</i>	<i>kɛax</i>	to go out, plural
<i>yɛr</i>	<i>yax</i>	to hide
<i>ts!ɛr</i>	<i>ts!ax</i>	much
<i>sɛr</i>	<i>sax</i>	mouth of river
<i>lɛr</i>	<i>lax</i>	under

Examples of *r* following a long vowel are—

<i>lār</i>	<i>lāɣ</i>	trout
<i>ts!ār</i>	<i>ts!āɣ</i>	inside
<i>dzār</i>	<i>dzāɣ</i>	porpoise

Combined with change of vowels are—

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>plā'ɹ</i>	<i>plɛyō'ɣ</i>	to tell
<i>xlār</i>	<i>xluw</i>	to burst

The sound *ɣ*, the continued sonant corresponding to *g*, is heard very often in the middle and at the end of words, as *ganɣa'n* TREES; but it disappears invariably when the word is pronounced slowly, and *g* takes its place.

The sounds *x* and *ɣ* of the Nass dialect do not occur in the Tsimshian dialect.

The ending *x* of the Nass dialect is generally replaced by *i* in Tsimshian.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>wila'i</i>	<i>hwulā'x</i>	to know
<i>hoi</i>	<i>hāx</i>	to use
<i>gai</i>	<i>qā'ix</i>	wing
<i>wai</i>	<i>wāx</i>	to paddle

This change is evidently related to the substitution of *y* for *x* before vowels.

Terminal *x* of the Nass dialect tends to be displaced by a terminal *a*.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>dū'ola</i>	<i>dē'lāx</i>	tongue
<i>ɛ'rla</i>	<i>ēlx</i>	seal
<i>nā'ola</i>	<i>nālx</i>	jejeune
<i>gaina</i>	<i>qēnx</i>	trail
<i>qō'ep!a</i>	<i>qō'ep!ax</i>	light
<i>nā°</i>	<i>nax</i>	bait
<i>t!ā°</i>	<i>d'ax</i>	lake

Here belong also—

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>mē</i>	<i>māx</i>	sour
<i>bū^o</i>	<i>bōx</i>	to wait

Vocalic changes, besides those referred to before in connection with the sound *r*, occur.

In place of *au* in Tsimshian we find *ē* in Nass.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>hau</i>	<i>hē</i>	to say
<i>gīl-hau'li</i>	<i>g'īlē'li^x</i>	inland
<i>g'itxau'tk</i>	<i>g'itxē'tk</i>	some time ago
<i>t!em-ga'us</i>	<i>t!em-qē's</i>	head
<i>ma'ulkst (mālks)</i>	<i>mēlk'st</i>	crab-apple

Tsimshian *āu* is replaced in Nass by *āō*.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>yā'uzk</i>	<i>yā'ōxk^u</i>	to eat, singular
<i>yā'uk</i>	<i>yāōk^u</i>	to follow
<i>q!ā'watsx</i>	<i>q!ā'ōtsx</i>	gills

Initial *wā* of Tsimshian is sometimes replaced by *ō* in Nass.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>wāpx</i>	<i>ōpx</i>	forehead

Another very frequent change is that from *ā* following *w* to *i*.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>wālp</i>	<i>hwīlp</i>	house
<i>wāl</i>	<i>hwīl</i>	to do
<i>wātk</i>	<i>hwītk^u</i>	from
<i>ts!wā'n</i>	<i>ts!wī'n</i>	top
<i>lgwā'lksēlk</i>	<i>lgu-wī'lksiLk^u</i>	prince
<i>wās</i>	<i>(hai)wī's</i>	rain

The substitution is, however, not regular, for we find—

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>wāi</i>	<i>hwāx</i>	to paddle
<i>wān</i>	<i>hwan</i>	to sit, plural

Related to this is probably—

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>hā'yets</i>	<i>hēts</i>	to send
<i>hā'yītk^u</i>	<i>hētk^u</i>	to stand
<i>gai'na</i>	<i>qēnx</i>	trail
<i>sgā'yiks</i>	<i>sqēksk^u</i>	to wound

Tsimshian *p!* is replaced by Nass *m*.

Tsimshian	Nass	English
<i>p!a'lg'ixs</i>	<i>mā'lg'ix</i>	heavy
<i>p!as</i>	<i>mas</i>	to grow
<i>p!ē'yan</i>	<i>miyā'n</i>	smoke
<i>p!al</i>	<i>mal</i>	button
<i>gan-sp!a</i>	<i>gan-sma</i>	baton

§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The most characteristic trait of Tsimshian grammar is the use of a superabundance of particles that modify the following word. Phonetically these particles are strong enough to form a syllabic unit, and they remain always separated by a hiatus from the following word. Most of them, however, have no accent, and must therefore be designated either as proclitics or as prefixes. These appear particularly with verbal stems, but their use with nominal stems is not by any means rare. They do not undergo any modifications, except in a few cases, and for this reason a large part of the grammatical processes relate to the use of these particles. On the whole, their position in the sentence or word-complex is fairly free. Suffixes are rather few in number. They differ fundamentally from the proclitic particles in being phonetically weaker and in forming with the preceding stem a firm unit. Some pronouns which belong to the proclitic series are also phonetically weak and share with the suffixes the inclination to amalgamate with the preceding elements. Thus the proclitic pronouns sometimes become apparently suffixes of the preceding words, whatever these may be.

Incorporation of the nominal object occurs principally in terms expressing habitual activities. In these it is well developed.

The Tsimshian uses stem modifications extensively for expressing grammatical processes. Most important among these is reduplication, which is very frequent, and which follows, on the whole, fixed laws. Change of stem-vowel is not so common, and seems sometimes to have developed from reduplication. It occurs also in compound words, which form a peculiar trait of the language. Not many instances of this type of composition have been observed, but they play undoubtedly an important part in the history of the language. Many elements used in word-composition have come to be so weak in meaning that they are at present more or less formal elements. This is true particularly of suffixes, but also, to a certain extent, of prefixes, though, on the whole, they have preserved a distinct meaning.

The grammatical processes of Tsimshian have assumed a much more formal character than those of many other Indian languages. It is not possible to lay down general rules of composition or reduplication, which would cover by far the greatest part of the field of grammar.

Instead of this, we find peculiar forms that belong to certain definite stems—peculiar plurals, passives, causatives, etc., that must be treated in the form of lists of types. In this respect Tsimshian resembles the Athapaskan with its groups of verbal stems, the Salish and Takelma with their modes of reduplication, and the Iroquois with its classes of verbs. The freedom of the language lies particularly in the extended free use of proclitics.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The use of the same stems as nouns and as verbs is common in Tsimshian, although the occurrence of nominalizing and verbalizing elements shows that the distinction between the two classes is clearly felt. The proclitic particles mentioned in the last section may also be used with both verbs and nouns. While many of these particles, particularly the numerous class of local adverbs, always precede the stem from which they can not be separated, there are a considerable number of modal elements which have a greater freedom of position, and which merge into the group of independent adverbs. These elements are so numerous and diverse in meaning, that it is difficult to give a satisfactory classification. The group of local proclitics occupies a prominent place on account of its numbers and the nicety of local distinctions. It is, however, impossible to separate it strictly from the group of modal proclitics.

The use of these proclitics is so general, that the total number of common verbal stems is rather restricted.

The proclitics are used—

- (1) As local adverbial and adnominal terms;
- (2) As modal adverbial and adnominal terms;
- (3) To transform verbs into nouns;
- (4) To transform nouns into verbs.

Almost all the proclitics belonging to these groups form a syntactic unit with the following stem, so that in the sentence they can not be separated from it. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb precedes the whole complex.

Another series of proclitics differs from the last, only in that they do not form so firm a unit with the stem. The pronominal subject of the transitive verb may separate them from the following stem. To this group belong all strictly temporal particles. The transition from this class to true adverbs is quite gradual.

In the group of inseparable modal proclitics must also be classed the plural prefixes *ga-* and *l-*, which will be discussed in §§ 43-45.

The pronominal subjects of some forms of the transitive verb—and of some forms of the intransitive verb as well—are also proclitics. They consist each of a single consonant, and have the tendency to amalgamate with the preceding word.

Suffixes are few in number. They are partly modal in character, signifying ideas like passive, elimination of object of the transitive verb, causative. A second group expresses certainty and uncertainty and the source of information. By a peculiar treatment, consisting partly in the use of suffixes, the modes of the verb are differentiated. Still another group indicates presence and absence; these take the place to a great extent of demonstrative pronouns. The objective and possessive pronouns are also formed by means of suffixes. Most remarkable among the suffixes are the connectives which express the relations between adjective and noun, adverb and verb, subject and object, predicate and object, preposition and object, and conjunction and the following word. There are only a few classes of these connectives, by means of which practically all syntactic relations are expressed that are not expressed by means of particles.

Reduplication serves primarily the purpose of forming the plural. A number of particles require reduplicated forms of the following verb. Among these are the particles indicating IMITATION, GENUINE, ACTION DONE WHILE IN MOTION. The progressive is indicated by a different kind of reduplication.

Nouns are classified from two points of view, according to form, and as special human individuals and common nouns. The selection of verbal stems and of numerals accompanying the noun is determined by a classification according to form, while there is no grammatical differentiation in the noun itself. The classes of the numeral are formed partly by independent stems, but largely by suffixes or by contraction of the numeral and a classifying noun. In syntactic construction a sharp division is made between special human individuals—including personal and personal demonstrative pronouns, some terms of relationship, and proper names—and other nouns.

Plurality is ordinarily expressed both in the noun and in the verb. It would seem that the primary idea of these forms is that of distribution, but at present this idea is clearly implied in only one of the many methods of forming the plural. The multiplicity of the methods

used for forming the plural is one of the striking characteristics of the Tsimshian language.

It has been mentioned before that most forms of the transitive verb are treated differently from intransitive verbs. While the subject of these forms of the transitive verb precedes the verb, that of the intransitive verb, which is identical with the object of the transitive verb and with the possessive pronoun, follows the verb. This relation is obscured by a peculiar use of intransitive constructions that seem to have gained a wider application, and by the use of the transitive pronoun in some forms of the intransitive verb. The independent personal pronoun, both in its absolute case (subject and object) and in its oblique case, is derived from the intransitive pronoun.

All oblique syntactic relations of noun and verb are expressed by a single preposition, *a*, which also serves frequently to introduce subordinate clauses which are nominalized by means of particles.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-67)

Proclitic Particles (§§ 7-16)

§ 7. *General Remarks*

The Tsimshian language possesses a very large number of particles which qualify the verb or noun that follows them, each particle modifying the whole following complex, which consists of particles and a verbal or nominal stem. All these particles are closely connected with the following stem, which carries the accent. Nevertheless they retain their phonetic independence. When the terminal sound of the particle is a consonant, and the first sound of the following stem is a vowel, there always remains a hiatus between the two. Lack of cohesion is also shown in the formation of the plural. In a very few cases only is the stem with its particles treated as a unit. Usually the particles remain unmodified, while the stem takes its peculiar plural form, as though no particles were present. There are very few exceptions to this rule.

The freedom of use of these particles is very great, and the ideas expressed by them are quite varied. There is not even a rigid distinction between adverbial and adnominal particles, and for this reason a satisfactory grouping is very difficult. Neither is the order of the particles sufficiently definitely fixed to afford a satisfactory basis for their classification.

As will be shown later (§ 22), nouns, verbs, and adverbs may be transformed into elements analogous to the particles here discussed by the addition of the suffix *-em*. Since a number of particles have the same ending *-em* (*haldem*- no. 77; *pelem*- no. 80; *belæsem*- no. 81; *mesem*- no. 83; *nôôm*- no. 96; *tsagam*- no. 9; *ts'elem*- no. 7; *xpilyim*- no. 126; *legem*- no. 5; and the monosyllabic particles *am*- no. 136; *ham*- no. 156; *t'em*- no. 140; *t'em*- no. 13; *ts'em*- no. 152; *k'sem*- no. 146; *q'am*- no. 118; *xlem*- no. 56; *lem*- no. 134; *sem*- no. 168; *dem*- no. 170), it seems justifiable to suggest that at least some of these may either have or have had an independent existence as stems that may take pronominal endings, and that their present form is due to contractions (see § 33). At least one particle (*q'ai*- no. 122) seems to occur both with and without the connective *-em*.

The particles may be classified according to the fixity of their connection with the following stem. In a large number the connection is so firm that the pronoun can not be placed between particle and stem, so that the two form a syntactic unit. A much smaller number may be so separated. Since only the subject of the transitive verb appears in this position (see § 48), it is impossible to tell definitely in every case to which group a particle belongs. Furthermore, the particles of the second group may in some cases be joined to the verb more firmly, so that the pronominal subject precedes them, while this freedom does not exist in the former group.

The most distinct group among the particles is formed by the local adverbs. Many of these occur in pairs; as UP and DOWN, IN and OUT, etc. All of these express motion. In many cases in which we should use an adverb expressing position, the Tsimshian use adverbs expressing motion, the position being indicated as a result of motion. For instance, instead of HE STANDS NEAR BY, the Tsimshian will say HE IS PLACED TOWARD A PLACE NEAR BY. These particles are generally adverbial. This seems to be due, however, more to their significance than to a prevalent adverbial character. We find instances of their use with nouns; as,

gali-a'k's river (*gali*- up river; *ak's* water)

A second group might be distinguished, consisting of local adverbs, which, however, show a gradual transition into modal adverbs. Here belong terms like IN, ON, OVER, LENGTHWISE, ALL OVER, SIDEWAYS, etc. In composition this group precedes the first group; but no fixed

rules can be given in regard to the order in which particles of this group are arranged among themselves. The use of some of these particles with nouns is quite frequent.

The second series leads us to the extensive group of modal adverbs, many of which occur both with nouns and verbs. These gradually lead us to others, the prevailing function of which is a nominal one.

I have combined in a small group those that have a decidedly denominative character.

There is another small group that is used to transform nouns into verbs, and expresses ideas like TO MAKE, TO PARTAKE OF, TO SAY.

It will be recognized from these remarks that a classification necessarily will be quite arbitrary and can serve only the purpose of a convenient grouping.

§ 8. *Local Particles appearing in Pairs*

1. *bax-* up along the ground (Tsimshian: *bax-*).

bax-üü' to go up, singular 142.8

bax-qâ'ôd'en to finish taking up 209.2

bax-sg'ê' trail leads upward (literally, to lie up)

bax-dô'q to take up several 208.8

We find also—

bax-üü' L ak's water rises (literally, goes up)

Tsimshian:

| *bax-wa'lx* to go up hill

| *bax-gê'owa* to haul up

2. *iaga-* down along the ground (Tsimshian: *y'aga-*).

iaga-sg'ê' trail leads downward (literally, to lie downward)

iaga-iê' to go down 137.5

iaga-sa'k'sk'u to go down (plural) 29.9

Tsimshian:

| *y'aga-qâ'o* to go down to —

| *y'aga-dô'x* to take down

3. *mEn-* up through the air (Tsimshian: *man-*).

mEn-g'a'ask'u to look up 214.2

mEn-dâ'ult he went up through the air 95.4

mEn-g'ibâ'yuk to fly up 126.9

mEn-Lô'ô to go up, plural 42.8

lō-mEn-hwan to sit in something high up, plural 34.1 (*lō-* in;

hwan to sit, plural)

mEn-dô'x to be piled up; (to lie up, plural) 164.13

mEn-qâ'ôd to finish taking up 95.10

Tsimshian:

- man-iä'* to go up ZE¹ 790¹⁸⁵
di-man-hô'ksq to go up with some one
mela-man-wälxs both go up
man-l' plume (literally, upward feather)

4. *d'Ep-* down through the air (Tsimshian: *tgt-*).

- d'ep-iē'* to go down (from a tree) 9.14
d'ep-hē'tk^u to stand downward, a tree inclines downward 201.8
dē-gulik's-d'ep-ma'qs to throw one's self down also (*dē* also;
gulik's self [obj.]; *maqs* to throw)
lō-d'ep-gal to drop down inside (*lō* in; *gal* to drop) 181.13
lō-d'ep-dā'ul lōqs the sun sets

Tsimshian:

- tgi-nē'otsq* to look down
lu-tgi-lō' to stretch down in something
tgi-iä' to go straight down through the air

5. *lEqEm-, lōgōm-* into, from the top (Tsimshian: *lōgōm-*).

- lōgōm-ba'x* to go aboard (literally, to run into [canoe]) 111.11
lEqEm-qā't'en to finish (putting) into 215.12
lōgōm-ō'x to throw into from the top

Tsimshian:

- sa-lōgōm-gōs* to jump into (canoe) suddenly
lōgōm-bā'ō to run in
lōgōm-t!ā' to sit on edge of water

6. *t'uks-* out of, from top (Tsimshian: *uks-, t'uks-*).

- t'uks-lō'ō* to stretch down out of canoe 181.3
t'uks-iä'ē to go out of (here, to boil over) 132.5
t'uks-ba'x to run out of dish (over the rim)
t'uks-ō'x to throw (meat out of skin of game 150.12)

Tsimshian:

- uks-halhō'lt* they are full all the way out
uks-dō'g to take out of (bucket)
adat uks-sa'h'!a n-ts!a'ltga' then he stretched out his face

7. *ts'ElEm-* into, from the side (Tsimshian: *ts'ElEm-*).

- ts'ElEm-ba'x* to run in 204.9
ts'ElEm-hē'tk^u to rush in (literally, to place one's self into) 209.11
ts'ElEm-a'qLk^u to get into 129.12
ts'ElEm-dē-ba'x to run in with something 140.15

Tsimshian:

- ts'ElEm-wi-ha'utg* to cry into (house)
ts'ElEm-t!ā'ol to put into

¹ References preceded by ZE refer to the Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1908.

8. *k'st-* out of, from the side (Tsimshian: *k'sE-*).*k'si-qō'u* to take out 129.12*k'si-q'ōts* to cut out 121.6*k'si-hā'tk^u* to rush out (literally, to place one's self outside) 30.7

Tsimshian:

k'sE-lō'o to shove out*k'sE-hū'otk* to call out*sem-k'sE-ya'dz* to cut right out ZE 784⁷³*k'sE-gwa'ntg* to rise (sun), (literally, to touch out)9. *tsagam-* from on the water toward the shore (Tsimshian: *dzagam-*).*tsagam-ha'k's* to scold from the water toward the shore 16.4*tsagam-hō'u* to escape to the shore 51.14*tsagam-dē-g'ibā'yuk* to fly ashore with it (*dē-* with) 178.12*t lep-tsagam-q'āē'xqLt* he himself dragged it ashore (*t* he; *lep-* self [subj.]; *q'āē'xqL* to drag; *-t* it) 175.14*tsagam-g'ē'n* to give food shoreward 175.3

Tsimshian:

dzagam-dā'ul to go ashore*dzagam-lu-yīlya'ltg* to return to the shore, plural10. *uks-* from the land to a place on the water (Tsimshian: *uks-*, *t'uks*).*uks-iē'* to go out to a place on the water near the shore 150.14*uks-a'qLk^u* to reach a point out on the water 74.13*dē-uks-ba'xt* he also ran down to the beach 104.13

Sometimes this prefix is used apparently in place of *iaga-* (no. 2), signifying motion from inland down to the beach, although it seems to express properly the motion out to a point on the water.

Tsimshian:

uks-hē'otk to stand near the water*uks-ha'u* to say turned seaward*uks-da'ul* to go out to sea

In Tsimshian this prefix occurs also with nouns:

uks-a'pda-q'amē'otg one canoe after another being out seaward*wagait-uks-G'idēganē'idzet* the Tlingit way out at sea11. *qaldix-* to the woods in rear of the houses; corresponding nouns, *g'ilē'līx*; *qaq'alā'n* 65.13 (Tsimshian: *qaldik-*; corresponding noun, *g'il-hau'li*).*qaldix-iē'* to go back into the woods 8.4*qaldix-ma'qa* to put behind the houses into the woods 65.13

Tsimshian:

- | *qaldik-sgE'r* to lie aside
- | *qaldik-iā'o* to go into woods

12. **na-** out of the woods in rear of the houses to the houses; corresponding noun, *g'āu* (Tsimshian: **na-**).

na-ba'x to run out of woods 147.11

na-hē'ts to send out of woods 213.13

na-de-iā to go out of woods with something 214.8

Tsimshian:

- | *na-gōt* to run out of woods, plural
- | *na-bā'a* to run out of woods, singular

13. **t'Em-** from rear to middle of house (Tsimshian: **t'Em-**).

t'Em-iē' to go to the middle of the house 130.12

t'Em-d'ā'L to put into the middle of the house 193.14

t'Em-q'ā'qL to drag into the middle of the house 62.11

Tsimshian:

- | *t'Em-stū'o'l* to accompany to the fire
- | *t'Em-di-iā'o* to go also to the fire

14. **asē-** from the middle to the front of the house (Tsimshian: **asdi-**).

asē-ō'x to throw from the middle of the house to the door

Tsimshian:

- | *asdi-gā'o* to take back from fire

The same prefix is used in Tsimshian to express the idea of MISTAKE:

- | *asdi-ha'u* to make a mistake in speaking

Tsimshian synonyms of **t'Em-** (no. 13) and **asdi-** (no. 14) are—

15. **lagauk-** from the side of the house to the fire.

- | *lagauk-iā'o* to go to the fire
- | *lagauk-hū'otg* to call to fire

16. **ts!Ek!al-** from the fire to the side of the house.

- | *ts!Ek!al-ma'g* to put away from fire

17. **gali-** up river; corresponding noun, *magān* 117.6 (Tsimshian: **q!ala-**).

lō-gali-sg'i (trail) lies up in the river 146.10

gali-iē' to go up river 117.6

This prefix occurs with nominal significance in *gali-a'k's* river (literally, up river water).

Tsimshian:

- | *wī-q!ala-a'ks* large river
- | *lu-q!ala-yā'ok* to follow behind

18. *gʷtsi-* down river; corresponding noun, *sax* 23.6 (Tsimshian: *gʷtsi-*; corresponding noun, *ser*).
gʷtsi-baʷx to run down river 18.11
gʷtsi-aʷqlkʷ to arrive down river 23.6
kʷul-gʷtsi-lâkʷs they float about down the river 16.10

In one case it seems to mean DOWN AT THE BANK OF THE RIVER.

gʷtsi-lō-wâʷwôqʷ it was dug down in it down the river 197.8

Tsimshian:

stE-gisi-iâʷ to continue to go down river

gisi-ksiâʷn down Skeena river

19. *gʷidi-* right there, just at the right place or in the right manner (Tsimshian: *gʷidi-*).
sem-gʷidi-lō-hēʷtkʷ exactly just there in it it stood 88.8
gʷidi-qâkʷskʷt just there he was dragged 51.5
gʷidi-gōʷu to catch (literally, to take in the right manner) 147.8

Tsimshian:

gʷidi-gâʷ to catch ZE 787¹³⁷

gʷidi-wâʷl to stop

se-gʷidi-hēʷtg to stand still suddenly

gʷidi-t!âʷ to stop ZE 788¹⁵⁵

20. *ligʷi-* at some indefinite place, not in the right manner; i. e., almost (Tsimshian: *ligʷi-*).
ligʷi-kʷul-daʷ to sit about somewhere 54.10
ligʷi-tsagam-dēʷlpkʷ it was a short distance to the shore somewhere 104.8
ligʷi-metmēʷtkʷ full in some place (i. e., almost full) 159.10

This particle is often used with numerals in the sense of ABOUT:

ligʷi-txaʷlpʷ about four 14.1

It is also used as a nominal prefix:

ligʷi-lax-tsʷâʷL somewhere on the edge 104.8

ligʷi-ndaʷ somewhere 87.1

ligʷi-hwâʷl goods (i. e., being something) 164.8

Tsimshian:

ligʷi-ndEʷ somewhere ZE 782²⁰

ligʷi-gâʷ something

ligʷi-la-nîʷEdz to see bad luck coming

ligʷi-gaʷn any tree

A few others appear probably in pairs like the preceding, but only one of the pair has been recorded.

21. *spî-* out of water.

spî-iēʷ to go out of water 52.2

spî-gōʷu to take out of water

22. *wul'am-* out of water (Tsimshian: *wul'am-*).

Tsimshian:

- | |
|--|
| <i>wul'am-bax-dô'g</i> to take up from water
<i>wul'am-a'xly</i> to get ashore
<i>wul'am-iā'o</i> to go ashore |
|--|

§ 9. *Local Particles*—Continued

The following series of local particles do not appear clearly in pairs, or—according to their meaning—do not form pairs:

23. *tsaga-* across (Tsimshian: *dzaga-*).

- tsaga-xg'ī* to lay across 40.12
lep-tsaga-yô'xk'u he went across 40.13
tsaga-dē'ênth'u to lead across 79.11
tsaga-hō'ksaan to fasten across an opening 217.5
tsaga-hīs'ia'ts to chop across 201.7
gun-tsaga-iē' to order to go across 40.13

Tsimshian:

- | |
|---|
| <i>dzaga-iū'o</i> to go across
<i>dzaga-di-lū'o</i> staying also across (a name).
<i>g'ap-k!a-dzaga-alu-bā'o</i> to run really very openly across ZE 786 ¹¹¹ |
|---|

24. *qalk'si-* through a hole (Tsimshian: *qalksE-*).

- qalk'si-yô'xk'u* to go through 149.12
qalk'si-g'a'ask'u to look through 127.8
qalk'si-libā'yuk to fly through, plural 14.9
lō-qalk'si-ha'q'oa to squeeze through inside 149.15

This prefix occurs also before nouns:

- qalk'si-nō'ô* a hole through 11.9
qalk'si-sqū'ê'xk'u through the darkness

Tsimshian:

- | |
|--|
| <i>qalksE-nē'otsg</i> to look through
<i>qalksE-k!i'ots!El</i> to poke through
<i>qalksE-a'xlg</i> to get through (literally, to finish through) |
|--|

25. *g'ime-* probably far into, way in (Tsimshian: *gami-*).

- g'ime-iē* to walk to the rear of the house, through the space between people sitting on the sides 132.14, 189.13
g'ime-qa'ts to pour through a pipe, along the bottom of a canoe
g'ime-yô'xk'u to go through a pipe 183.1

Tsimshian:

- | |
|-------------------------------------|
| <i>lu-gami-t!ā'o</i> it goes way in |
|-------------------------------------|

26. *lôgôl-* under (corresponding noun, *laŋ*).

- lôgôl-dēp-d'a*, to sit under (a tree) 8.4

27. *lukL-* under (Tsimshian: *lukli-*).

lukL-g'ibā'yuk to fly under

Tsimshian:

| *lukli-da'ul* to go under

28. *lē-gan-* over. (In Tsimshian *q'an-* occurs alone, but also *l'i-q'an-*, which is more frequent. This prefix is a compound of

l'i- ON, and *q'an* OVER.)

lē-gan-ōx' to throw over

lē-gan-g'a'ask' to look over

Tsimshian:

| *l'i-q'an-bē'l* to be spread over

| *l'i-q'an-sū'* to swing over

| *sa-q'an-t!ā'* to put over

29. *lō-* in; the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts'em-* INSIDE; independent noun, *ts'āwū* (Tsimshian: *lu-*; the corresponding noun has the prefix *ts'em-* INSIDE).

lō-d'a to be in 118.10

dē-lō-d'lg'ixL qō'ot he also speaks in his mind (i. e., he thinks) 49.14

lō-d'ep-iax'ia'q to hang down inside 65.10 (*d'ep-* down [no. 4])

lō-sqa-ma'qsaan to put in sideways 150.3 (*sqa-* sideways [no. 36])

lō-wusen-mē'tk' it is full inside all along 29.10 (*wusen-* along [no. 51])

hasp'a-lō-yō'xk' to go in the same road 202.15 (*hasp'a-*, *hasba-* upside down [no. 74])

lē-lō-d'ep-yu'k to move on the surface in something downward 104.11 (*lē-* on [no. 30]; *d'ep-* down [no. 4])

This prefix occurs in a few fixed compositions:

lō-ya'ltk' to return

lō-dā'ltk' to meet

It occurs also in a few cases as a nominal prefix:

lō-ts'ā'wū inside 102.10

lō-k's-g'ēwīt in the lowest one 53.11 (*k's-* extreme [no. 143])

lō-k's-g'īēks at the extreme outside 219.1

lō-līpla'p deep inside 197.8

lō-sē'luk in the middle 184.13

Tsimshian:

| *lu-sgē'r* to lie inside ZE 782²⁷

| *lu-t!ā'* to sit in

| *sa-lu-haldem-bā'* suddenly to rise in something

| *lu-tgi-lō'* to stretch down in

| *lagax-lu-dā'* to put in on both sides (*lagax-* on both sides [no. 38])

30. **lē-** on; the corresponding noun has the prefix *lax-*; independent noun, *lax'ō'* (Tsimshian: *l'ī-*; the corresponding noun has the prefix *lax-*; independent noun, *lax'ō'*).

lē-d'a' to sit on 202.4

lē-mēn-ptā'lik^u to rise up to the top of (see no. 3)

lē-ia'q to hang on 89.10

txa-lē-bal to spread over entirely (see no. 93)

lē-sqa-sg'i to put on sideways 184.13 (see no. 36)

Tsimshian:

sa-l'ī-g'ā'ōks to drift suddenly on something (see no. 98)

l'ī-bē'ts'en to put on

sēm-l'ī-t'ālb to cover well (see no. 168)

l'ī-sē-gu'lg to make fire on something (see no. 164)

ha-l'ī-gā'ot to think (see no. 160)

31. **tgo-** around (Tsimshian: *tgu-*).

lō-tgo-ba'x to run around inside 77.11

k'wa'ts'ik's-tgo-ma'ga to turn over and over much 52.10 (see no. 176)

tgo-ya'lik^u to turn around 47.9

k'uL-lō-tgo-lāx-lē'lb'en to roll about around inside to and fro 13.14 (*k'uL-* about [no. 33¹]; *lō-* inside [no. 29]; *tgo-* around; *lāx-* to and fro [no. 38])

Tsimshian:

k'uL-tgu-nē'otsg to look around (see no. 33)

tgu-wa'n to sit around, plural

tgu-iā'ō to go around

tgu-da'p to measure around ZE 784⁸⁰

32. **k'utgo-** around; corresponding noun, *dax'* circumference.

sā-k'utgo-dā'uL to go suddenly around (the trunk of a tree) 211.9

k'utgo-iē'etk^u to go around (the house) 218.1

33. **k'uL-** about (Tsimshian: *k'ul-*).

k'uL-ba'x to run about 94.10

k'uL-lē-lō'ōtk^u he puts about on it 218.7

q'asba-k'uL-hwa'ax' he paddled about astray 17.2

k'uL-lāx-la'k' to scatter about

Tsimshian:

alu-k'ul-iā'ō to go about plainly ZE 783⁸⁰

k'ul-yu-ha'ōksq to carry bucket about (see no. 159)

k'ul-dā'msax to be downcast here and there (i. e., always)

34. **k'ūlq'al-** round on the outside.

k'ūlq'al-ma'n to rub over the outside 103.12

k'ūlqal-axts'ā'ak^u scabby all around

35. *tq'al-* against (Tsimshian: *txal-*).*tq'al-gwalk*^u to dry against (i. e., so that it can not come off) 104.2*tq'al-d'āt* to put against (i. e., on) face 195.12*tq'al-da'k'x* to tie on 68.12

This prefix is often used to express the idea of MEETING:

tq'al-hwa' to meet and find 31.6*hwagait-lō-tq'al-gō'usk*^u to reach up to inside against (i. e., meeting) (*hwagait-* up to [no. 71]; *lō-* in [no. 29])*tq'al-qā'ō* to go to meet (to go against) 158.11

Sometimes it expresses the idea of WITH:

tq'al-a'k's to drink something with water 21.9*tq'al-hu'ksaan* to place with something 36.8

In still other cases it signifies FOREVER, in so far as the object remains fastened against something:

lō-tq'al-gwā'tk^u to be lost forever in something (*lō-* in; *tq'al-* against 166.1

It also may express the idea FOR A PURPOSE:

tq'al-ā'm good for a purpose 80.14*sem-tq'al-sēp'en* to like much for a purpose 45.1*tq'al-wē'lemLk*^u female servant

Tsimshian:

sa-txal-g'ā'sg to float suddenly against (i. e., so that it reaches)*txal-hō'ltg* full all over*txal-a'xlg* to arrive at36. *sqa-* across the way (Tsimshian: *sqa-*).*sqa-d'a'* to be in the way 183.10*lō-sqa-he't'en* to place inside in the way 129.10*sqa-sg'ī* to lie across 148.11

Tsimshian:

lū-sqa-yēdz to strike in and across the face*lep-sqa-dakl* (he) himself ties across (see no. 129)*sqa-g'ī'otg* to swell lying across*sqa-bā'ō* to run across (i. e., to assist)*sqa-na'k* some time (literally, across long) ZE 791²⁰⁴*sqa-bō'* a few37. *g'ilwul-* past, beyond (Tsimshian: *g'ilwul-*).*g'ilwul-dām* to hold beyond a certain point 61.8

Tsimshian:

g'ilwul-bā'ō to run past*g'ilwul-ax'a'xlg* to get ahead*l'ī-q'an-g'ilwul-dū'lxk* not to be able to pass over (see no. 28)

38. *lāx-* to and fro, at both ends (Tsimshian: *lagax-*).

(a) to and fro:

lāx-ba'x to run to and fro

(b) at both ends, on both sides:

lāx-g'ig'a'lk^us carved at both ends*lāx-lō-lō'xk^u* to move in it on both sides 34.4*lāx-lē'lk^u* to watch both ends 136.10*lāx-aal'g'ix* to talk both ways (i. e., to interpret)*lāx-hwā'nemlk^u* seated on both sides (two wives of the same man) 194.7

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

Lāx-wāse, Wās (a monster) at each end 106.14*Lāx-māk'sk^u* white at each end (name of a man)

Tsimshian:

| *lagax-lu-dā'o* to put in on both sides| *lagax-ne-stā'o* both sides39. *sa-* off (Tsimshian: *sa-*).*sa-ōx^u* to throw off 145.2*sa-besbē's* to tear off 25.4*sa-hē'tk^u* to stand off 137.9*sa-t'ō'q* to scratch off*sa-uks-ts'ens-x'k''ā'xk^u* to escape going off, leaving out to sea
(*uks-* toward water [no. 10]; *ts'ens-* leaving [no. 104])

Tsimshian:

| *sa-gā'o* to take off| *sa-ts!ā'ot* to pull off40. *gīs-* away to another place.*gīs-d'a'* (plural *gīs-hwa'n*) to transplant (*d'a'* [plural *hwan*] to sit)*gīs-iē'* to move away to another place*gīs-hē'tk^usen!* move away to another place!41. *wud'En-* away forward (Tsimshian: *wud'En-*).*wud'En-iē'* to step forward*wud'En-k'sla'qs* to kick away

Tsimshian:

| *wud'En-gwa'o* away here along the middle42. *lūks-* along a valley (Tsimshian).| *lūks-g'ig'ā'nit* down along the river43. *wīL-* away, probably in some special direction (Tsimshian: *awul-*).*wīL-gō'* to take away

Tsimshian:

| *awul-ma'g* to put aside, to sidetrack

44. **hagun-** toward, near; corresponding noun, *awa'a* (Tsimshian: *gun-*; corresponding noun, *awa'o*).

hagun-iē' to go toward 129.14

aql-hagun-yō'xk^u unable to get near 201.6 (see no. 137)

hagun-hē'tk^u to stand near 125.4

hagun-dē'lpk^u a short distance near by 147.5

Tsimshian:

gun-iā'o to go toward

gun-qā'o to go toward something

gun-t'ā'o to sit near

45. **hēla-** near by.

hēla-d'a' to sit near by

46. **lōsa-** in front.

lōsa-iē' to walk in front of

lōsa-d'a' to sit in front of

47. **txas-** along the surface of a long thing (Tsimshian: *txas-*).

txas-iē' to walk on a long thing

txas-la'agul to wrap up a long thing

txas-ia'ts to chop along a long thing

Tsimshian:

lu-txas-sgēr to put in edgewise

sa-lu-txas-lā'ot to shove in suddenly edgewise

txas-k'ā'ol through the year ZE 792²³³

48. **hadix-** lengthwise along the middle line (Tsimshian: *hat'Ek-*).

hadix-qō'ts to cut (a salmon) lengthwise 55.3

Tsimshian:

lu-hat'Ek-lā'ot to push in endwise

49. **stEx-** lengthwise, on either side of middle line.

stEx-t'ōtsk^u one side lengthwise is black

stEx-sg'il qē'nEx lax-ts'ē'L ak's the trail lies along (the water) on the beach-side; (*sg'il* to lie; *qē'nEx* trail; *lax-* on [no. 151]; *ts'ē'L* beach; *ak's* water)

50. **haL-** along the edge, edgewise (Tsimshian: *hał-*).

(a) Along the edge:

k'uL-haL-iū' to walk about along the edge (of the water) 122.4

dēt-haL-dō'qt he held it also along the edge (of the fire) 47.8 (*dē* also [no. 167]; *t* he [subj.]; *dōq* to place; *-t* it)

Not quite clear is the following:

q'am-lō-haL-t'ux't'a'k^udet they only twisted off (their necks) inside along the edge 115.5 (*q'am-* only [no. 118]; *lō-* in [no. 29]; *-det* they)

(b) Edgewise:

hal-g'á'ól'en to put (the paddle into the water) edgewise

Tsimshian:

| *k'ul-hal-hé'tg* to stand about alongside of ZE 796³⁹⁷

| *hat-k'!a'n* to go along beach in canoe

| *hal-gwa'o* along here

51. *wusen-* along the inside (Tsimshian: *wusen-*).

wusen-hé'tk^u to rush along inside (the canoe) 57.5

lō-wusen-mé'tk^u full along inside (the canoe) 29.10

wusen-bisbē's to tear lengthwise (to split) 99.13 (or *wuden-* see no. 41)

wusen-yis'ia'ts to chop lengthwise (into wedges) 148.4

Tsimshian:

| *lax-wusen-iā'o* on the flat top of a mountain (literally, on along going)

52. *witsEn-, hūts'En-* along through the middle (Tsimshian: *wuts!En-*).

wits'En-iā' to go back through the house 125.3

hūts'En-d'āl to put from fire back to the rear of the house 207.2

Tsimshian:

| *wuts!En-iā'o* to go along through the house

53. *xlîp-* at end (Tsimshian: *xlEp-*).

xlîp-gu'x to hit at end 88.11

xlîp-t'êst'ô'tsk^u black at the ends 31.5

Tsimshian:

| *xlEp-hô'ksen* to put on at end

| *sem-xlEp-ts'uwā'n* the very end of the top

54. *xtsē-* in the middle of a long thing (Tsimshian: *xts!E-*).

xtsē-ia'ts to chop across the middle 133.9

sa-xtsē-q'ô'ts to cut quickly across the middle 100.6

Tsimshian:

| *xts!E-gai'* to bite through in the middle

55. *k^uLē-* all over (Tsimshian: *k^utt-*).

k^uLē-hasha'ts to bite all over 84.15

k^uLē-bisbē's to tear to pieces 71.6

k^uLē-ia'ts to hit all over 58.2

Tsimshian:

| *k^uti-iā'om laxha'* going across the sky ZE 783⁸⁰

| *k^uti-gaigai'* to bite all over

| *k^uti-galgô'l* split all over

56. **xLEm-** around an obstacle, making a curve around something
(Tsimshian: **xLEm-**).

xLEm *iē'* to go overland, cutting off a point

xLEm-ma'gal to put a rope over something

xLEm-hē'tsl to send around something

xLEm-da'ga to choke some one, hang some one

Here belongs also—

xLEm-galga'i's'ēt to kneel down

This prefix occurs also with nouns.

xLEm-qē'nez trail going around in a circle

Tsimshian:

xLEm-iā'o to embrace

xLEm-da'kl to tie around

57. **k'ēdō-** sideways.

k'ēdō-g'a'ask to look sideways

58. **k'āl-** aside.

q'am-k'āl-Lō'ōt she only pushes aside 191.11

k'āl-hē'tgum q'ē'semq labret standing on one side 191.13

59. **qana-** inclined against (Tsimshian)

qana-t'ā'o to sit leaning against something

qana-hē'otg to stand leaning against something

qana-ba'teg to stand leaning against something

60. **maxLE-** through a narrow channel (Tsimshian).

maxLE-bā'o to go through a channel

maxLE-ha'd'eks to swim through a channel

maxLE-g'ā'p a narrow channel

MaxLE-qā'la Metlakahtla, narrow channel of sea (compare
G'it-qā'la people of the sea)

61. **g'ik'si-** out of; undoubtedly a compound of **k'si-** out of (no. 8).
g'ik'si-hwē'tk^u to come out of 10.1

62. **lūila-** near the end; perhaps a compound of **lō-** in (no. 29), and
hēla- near (no. 45).

lū'ila-d'ē'liks cut off smooth at end (name of a dog), from
d'ē'liks smooth

lū'ila-a'lg'ēx to speak close to some one

§ 10. Modal Particles

There is no strict distinction between this group and the preceding one. Many of the particles classed here are used with equal frequency as adverbial and as adnominal elements. Thus we find *wi-*, which means at the same time GREATLY, MUCH, and LARGE; *lgo-*, which sig-

nifies both A LITTLE and SMALL. The attempt has been made to relegate all elements which may be separated from the stem by a pronoun into a group by themselves (§ 15); but since such separation occurs only in transitive verbs, and not all particles have been found with transitive verbs, it seems likely that the grouping may have to be changed when the language comes to be better known. While in some cases the composition of particles and stems is quite firm, others convey the impression of being almost independent adverbs.

63. *awus-* ready to move; not free (Tsimshian).

| *awus-t!ā'o* ready to stand up, singular

| *awus-wa'n* ready to stand up, plural

| *awus-hē'otk* ready to move

63a. *a-* easily (Tsimshian).

| *a-sonā'l* easily tired

| *a-k^uti'* easily hungry

| *a-bā'q'ask* worried (literally, easily tasted)

64. *anb'El-* in an unusual frame of mind. This prefix is not entirely free (Tsimshian: *p'El-*).

anb'El-hē' to say crying 220.5

anb'El-a'lg'ix to speak while angry, to talk behind one's back

anb'El-ia'alk^u to strike, break, in a state of anger

anb'El-qalā'q to play

Tsimshian:

| *p'El-qa-mī'olk* to play with something

65. *ank's-* opening up (Tsimshian: *aks-*).

ank's-ksla'qst to kick apart 134.3

ank's-iē' to increase

ank's-ē'emē'st paint-pot

wi-anksi-sgan large rotten (open) tree 106.12

Tsimshian:

| *sa-hagul-aks-iā'o* to open suddenly slowly (see no. 76)

| *aks-iā'og* to increase

| *aks-t!ū'os* to push open

| *se-aks-q'a'g* to open up

66. *agwi-* outside, beyond (Tsimshian: *agwi-*).

agwi-tq'al-d'a' it is outside close against it

agwi-an-dā'x the outside

agwi-mā'l boat (literally, beyond a canoe)

agwi-huxdā'ek'en great-grandchild (lit., beyond grandchild)

Tsimshian:

| *agwi-ba'teg* to stand outside

67. *alō-* (*a-* easily, *lu-* in?) plainly; alone (Tsimshian: *alu-*).

(a) Plainly, real:

alō-d'a' there was plainly 106.13

alō-bā'n run quickly! 93.4

sem-k'a-ale-ba'x to run really exceedingly quick 107.10

As a nominal prefix we find it in—

alō-g'ig'a't real persons (i. e., Indians) 170.13

Here belongs probably—

sem-alo-gōl to run quite suddenly, plural 141.8

(b) Alone; always with reduplication:

alō-hehē'tk^u to stand alone 44.15

alō-sīsgv' to lie alone

alō-d'ed'a' to sit alone

Tsimshian :

alu-k'ul-iā'o to go about plainly ZE 783⁴⁶

alu-t!ā'o to be in evidence

alu-bā'o to run really

68. *aLax-* in bad health (Tsimshian: *la-*).

alax-hag'd'ōtk^u having a crippled back

Tsimshian :

la-g'a'tk in bad health

69. *aLda-* in the dark.

alda-wā'e to paddle in the night

alda-iē' to walk in the dark

70. *i-* with reduplication; action done while in motion.

i-g'ig'ebā'yuk flying while being moved

i-aal'q'īnē I talk while moving, while at work

i-hahā'dīk's swimming while carrying

71. *hwagait-* completing a motion entirely (Tsimshian: *wagait-*).

This prefix belongs to the series *bagait-* (*lēbagait-*) (no. 82),

sagait- (no. 99), *spagait-* (no. 103), *q'amgait-* (no. 119).

hwagait-galk'si-dā'ul to pass through entirely 143.14 (see no. 24)

hwagait-sg'v' to lie way over 134.3

hwagait-ma'q to put away

This is also a nominal prefix:

hwagait-g'v'īks way off shore 146.14

hwagait-gō'st over there 134.4

Tsimshian:

sem-sa-wagait-uks-dā'ul to go right out to sea very suddenly

(see nos. 168, 98, 10)

wagait-g'ia'ks way off shore

72. *waLEN-* former.*waLEN-ga'n* an old (rotten) tree 25.4*waLEN-na'k'et* his former wife 135.14*waLEN-g'ig'a't* the people of former times 191.1*waLEN-wi-gēsḡá'ót* the same size as before 23.473. *wi-* great, greatly; singular (Tsimshian: *wi-*). This prefix is commonly used as an attribute, but also as an adverb, expressing, however, rather a quality of the subject. See also *Lgo-* no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:

wi-sE-mē'l to make burn much 89.8*wi-sa'gat* it splits much 148.8

It is also found in fixed combinations:

*wi-yē'tk** to cry 90.3*wi-am-hē't* to shout 89.12. Here it is apparently connected with the adverbial *-em* (§ 22)

(b) Adjectival:

wi-g'a't big (awkward) man 196.9*wi-liḡ'ē'ensk* great grizzly bear 118.4*Wi-xbā'la* Great West-wind (a name)

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

wi-ha'utk to cry

(b) Adjectival:

wi-gō'ep'a great light ZE 785**wi-mēdī'ek* great grizzly bear*ḡap-k!a-wi-naxnō'g* really exceedingly great supernatural being (see nos. 117, 106)*wi-sEm'āḡit* great chief73a. *wud'ax-* great, plural (Tsimshian: *wut!a-*).*wud'ax-qa-wē'n* large teeth 84.3*wud'ax-ax-ḡá'ōdēt* great fools 33.1074. *hasba-* upside down (Tsimshian: *hasba-*). This prefix is related to *ḡasba-* no. 121.*haspa-bē's* to tear out so that it is upside down 127.13*sEm-hasba-sḡ'ī'* to lay exactly face up 214.11*hasba'-sḡ'ī'* to lay upside down (a hat) 17.2

Peculiar is—

*hasba-lō-yō'xk** to go in the same trail 202.15

Tsimshian:

| *hasba-p!ē'egal* to tear out so that it is upside down

75. *hats'Eks-* terribly, causing feeling of uneasiness.

hats'eks-hwí'l to act so that people get afraid

hats'eks-a'lg'ix to talk roughly

76. *hagul-* slowly (Tsimshian: *hagul-*).

hagul-hwí'l to do slowly 54.4

hagul-gwá'ótk^u to disappear slowly

Tsimshian:

hagul-bā'ó to run slowly ZE 786¹²⁴

hagul-dzaga-iā'ó to go slowly across ZL 787¹²⁵

hagul-k^uda'xs to leave slowly

hagul-iā'óx to go slowly

77. *haldEm-* (Tsimshian: *haldEm-*) occurs only with the verbs

bax, plural *gól*, TO RUN, with the meaning TO RISE 124.9, 114.7.

In Tsimshian the same composition with *bā'ó*, plural *gól*, TO RUN,

occurs with the same meaning; but the prefix seems to be a

little freer with the meaning RISING FROM THE GROUND.

haldem-ní'ódz to look up

78. *hē-* to begin (Tsimshian: *hē-*).

hē'-yuk to begin 138.14

q'ai-hē-lē'duxdet they just began to shoot 20.4

This prefix is much more common with nouns:

hē-mēsā'x beginning of day

hē'-Luk morning

Tsimshian:

hē-se-t!ā'ot it just began to be ZE 781^o

hē-ts!i'on just to enter

hē-set!a-demt p!a'egant he began to break it down

79. *hīs-* to do apparently, to pretend to (Tsimshian: *sīs-*); always

with medial suffix (see § 17.3-5).

hīs-a'k'sk^u to pretend to drink 18.7

hīs-huwá'qs to pretend to sleep 219.10

hīs-huwí'ltk^us to pretend to do 23.1

hīs-nó'ótk^u to pretend to be dead 65.11

hīs-wiyé'tk^us to pretend to cry 217.10

hīs-Lí'ntk's to pretend to be angry

hīs-xda'k's to pretend to be hungry

Tsimshian:

sīs-k^utí'ónu I pretend to be hungry

sīs-ā'xs to laugh (literally, to play with the mouth)

sīs-yu-ha-k^uda'ks to play having (i. e., with) a bow (see nos. 159,

160)

80. **pelem-** to act as though one was performing an action (Tsimshian: **benem-**).

pelem-gō' to act as though taking 38.8

pelem-iē' to go and turn back again at once

pelem-g'a'p to act as though eating something

Tsimshian:

| *benem-xš'ōtk* to act as though vomiting

| *benem-t!ū'ōs* to act as though about to strike

81. **belxsem-** in front of body, forward; similar in meaning to *xlna-* no. 127 (Tsimshian: **xbesem-**).

t lō-belxsem-qaq'ā'q'ant he opened it in front of his body 26.14

Tsimshian:

| *xbesem-sger* to lie prone ZE 789¹⁷¹

82. **bagait-** just in the right place or manner (Tsimshian: **lebagait-**). Compare *hwagait-* (no. 71), *sagait-* (no. 99), *spagait-* (no. 103), *q'amgait-* (no. 119).

bagait-kwa'st it is cracked right in the middle

bagait-gō' to hit just in the right place

q'am-bagait-bebesba'tsk^u only to be lifted just in the right way 62.13

Like the other prefixes ending in *-gait*, this prefix is also nominal:

sem-bagait-sē'luk just right in the middle 73.4.

Tsimshian:

| *lebagait-sga-ba'tsq* to stand across just there ZE 793²⁴⁰

| *lebagait-det!ā'ō* sitting alone

| *lebagait-bā'ō* to be lost

83. **mesem-** separate.

mesem-hwa'n to sit separately

mesem-lō' to walk separately

84. **ma-** like (Tsimshian: **me-**).

ma-wa'tsx crazy (literally, like a land-otter)

ma-ō'l having epileptic fits (literally, like a bear)

Tsimshian:

| *me-wa'ts!a* crazy (literally, like a land-otter)

85. **wadi-** like (Tsimshian).

| *wadi-hats!iā'ōn* innumerable (literally, like fly-blows)

| *wadi-kse-lē'atx* like fluid slime

| *wadi-wā'lb* like a house

86. **max-** only, entirely, all.

max-hāna'q (they are) all women 184.5

max-ē'uxt a woman having only sons; (they are) all men

max-hē'x it is only fat 42.3

87. **mEL(a)-** to each, distributive (Tsimshian: **mEla-**).

mELA-gulā'nt three to each

mELi-k''ā'l one man in each (corner) 33.12

Tsimshian:

| *mEla-k!E'el* one to each

88. **mEla-** both (Tsimshian).

| *mE'la-men-wā'lx* both go up (see no. 3)

| *mEla-l!i-dā'o* to put on both (see no. 30)

| *mEla-hakhē'ldem g'at* both (villages had) many people

89. **sEN-** firmly (Tsimshian).

| *sEN-nā'o* to bait

| *sEN-dō'xs* to hold fast

| *sEN-wō'x* to admonish

90. **dEx-, dîx-** firmly; not free (Tsimshian: **dax-**).

dîx-yu'k^u to hold fast

Tsimshian:

| *dax-yā'ogwa* to hold fast

91. **dE-, dē-** with (Tsimshian: **dE-**).

dE-dā'ul to carry away (literally, to go away with)

tzaam-de-g'iba'yuk to fly ashore with something 178.12

Tsimshian:

| *dE-bā'o* to run away with

| *bar-dE-gō'it!eks* to come up with

| *t dE-ts'î'ont* he entered with it

92. **dūla-** improperly.

dūla-a'lg'îx to talk improperly, to grumble

dūla-d'ā'DEL āqt to put mouth on one side

dūla-yē'ētk^{us} to walk improperly, to wobble

wi-dūla-g'a'tk^u being a great improper man (i. e., cowardly) 195.3

93. **txa-** entirely, all (Tsimshian: **txa-**).

txa-qō'l'tsegat he carried all on his shoulder 116.4

txa-wō'ō to invite all 186.15

txa-lō-ts'd'ōt to skin inside entirely 150.10

txa-belā'da it was all abalone 45.3

This prefix is contained also in—

txanē'tk^u all

Tsimshian:

| *txa-ga'ntg* stiff (literally, woody) all over

| *txa-wā'ontg* to have teeth to the end (of life)

| *txa-yčg* all slippery

| *txa-l.'i-qai'nat* all fall on

94. *nā-* to complete an action (Tsimshian: *na-*).*nā-da'ql* to strike with a hammer so that it breaks*nā-ha'ts* to bite through 127.8*na-δ'x'* to hit so that it breaks 48.8*na-gapqā'bet* they fastened it so that it staid 178.3*nā-d'isδ'ē's* to knock with the hand 8.12

Tsimshian:

| *na-g'a'lk* to punch through95. *na-* each other, one another (Tsimshian: *na-*).*k'ax-na-a'l'a'lg'ixdet* they talked to each other for a while 19.8

(see no. 107)

na-xse'ngdet they disbelieved each other 28.2*k'uL-na-gaq'ē'det* they howled about to one another 96.4

Tsimshian:

| *lu-na-lā'ol* to put into each other96. *nō'ōm-* to desire. This may possibly be the verb *nō'ō* TO DIE.*nō'ōm-iē'* to desire to go*nō'ōm-a'k's* to desire to drink 21.8If this element is an adverbial form of *nō'ō*, it corresponds to

Tsimshian:

| *dza'gem xst'ā'ganu* I am dead asleep97. *sēl-* fellow, companion (Tsimshian: *sēl-*).*sēlhāna'q* fellow-woman 208.12*sēl-q'aima'qsit* fellow-youths 195.13

This prefix is also used with verbs:

sēl-hwa'n to sit together*sēl-qas-qā'ōt'ēn* to be of the same size 89.7

Tsimshian:

| *NE-sēl-wā'lt* his companions98. *sā-* suddenly (Tsimshian: *sa-*).*sā-hē'tk** to stand suddenly 99.14*sā-gē'sxk** to stop crying suddenly 22.5

Tsimshian:

| *sa-ha'u* to say suddenly| *sa-l'i-g'ā'ks* to float suddenly on something| *sa-lu-haldēm-bā'o* to arise suddenly on something| *sa-lu-nā'ok* to lie on something suddenly99. *sagait-* together (Tsimshian: *sagait-*) (see nos. 71, 82, 103, 119).*sagait-da'k'L* to fasten together 68.10*sagait-iē'* to go together 51.8*sagait-wē'lqat* to carry all together 70.10

Tsimshian:

sagait-wa'n to sit together ZE 786¹¹³

sagait-hə'tg to stand together

sagait-lu-am'ā'm gagā'od they were all glad (literally, good in their hearts)

sagait-wā'lxsem we walk together

100. *sag'ap-* without purpose (Tsimshian: *sag'ap-*).

k'ul-sag'ap-iē' to walk about without purpose 96.10

sag'ap-lē'mīx' to sing without purpose

Tsimshian:

k'ul-sag'ap-iā'o to go about without purpose ZE 796²⁰⁶

101. *sī-* new (Tsimshian: *su-*).

sī-na'k'st his new wife 135.15

sī-hwōl new

Tsimshian:

su-p'a's young, singular (literally, newly grown)

su-ma'xs young, plural (literally, newly standing)

su-sa'mi fresh meat

su-se-n-dzō'g to make a new village (see no. 164)

102. *sīx'-* steadily (Tsimshian: *sta-*).

sīx'-g'a'a to look steadily, to watch 156.1

sīx'-iē' to walk steadily

sīx'-wā'x' to paddle steadily

Tsimshian:

sta-iā'onu I walk steadily

sta-gisi-iā'o to go down river steadily

103. *spagait-* among (Tsimshian: *spagait-*). This prefix belongs to the series *hwagait-*, *bagait-*, *sagait-*, *q'amgait-* (nos. 71, 82, 99, 119); *-spa* seems to belong to *haspa-* INVERTED, *q'aspa-* ASTRAY, which have *spa* in common with *spagait-*.

dē-lō-spagait-hōksk^u also to be inside among 42.4

This prefix occurs also with nouns:

spagait-gaŋga'n among trees 31.14

spagait-sq'ā'erk^u in the darkness 11.9

spagait-lōga lō'leq [among] in a rotten corpse 217.9

Tsimshian:

spagait-sqē'otg in the darkness ZE 782³³

spagait-g'a't among people

spagait-gaŋga'n among trees

104. *ts'Ens-* to desert, deserted (Tsimshian: *ts'Ens-*).

ts'Ens-lu'k to desert by moving 159.15

ts'Ens-dza'k^u widow (literally, deserted by dying)

Tsimshian:

- ts'Ens-lá'yík* to desert by moving
ts'Ens-dzá'k widow (literally, deserted by dying)

105. *ts'Ent-* a short way (Tsimshian).

- ts'Ent-dzô'x* to move canoe back a short way
ts'Ent-iā'o to go a short way off

106. *k'ā-* to a higher degree, exceedingly (Tsimshian: *k!a-*).

- sem-k'ā-ale-ba'x* to run really exceedingly fast 107.10 (see nos. 168, 67)
k'a-wi-hē'ldēl ēlx there were exceedingly many seals 107.6 (see no 73; *ēlx* seal)
k'a-wi-t'ē'sL hwilpt as nē'E his house is larger than mine (literally, his house is exceedingly large to me) (see no. 73; *hwilp* house; *as* to; *nēE* me)
k'a-wi-t'ē'sL hwilp (this) house is the largest
lgō-k'ā-wi-t'ē'st he was a little larger 103.15 (see no. 135)

Tsimshian:

- g'ap-k!a-dzaga-alu-bā'o* to run really very openly across ZE 786¹²¹
g'ap-k!a-wi-naxnō'g really a greater supernatural being
k!a-na'g exceedingly long ZE 786¹²²

107. *k'ax-* for a while (Tsimshian: *k!a-*).

- k'ax-hā'ôt* it stops for a while 218.3
k'ax-hāx to use for a while 34.6
k'ax-gun-g'a'a to show for a while 26.6 (*gun-* to cause; *g'a'a* to see)
k'ax-na-a'l'lg'ix to talk to each other for a while 19.8
k'ax-sa-qē't to make a string for a while 117.6

Here belongs also—

g'ax hao'n later on

Tsimshian:

- ada' k'a-t'ā'ot* then he sat for a while

108. *g'in-* seems to occur only in *g'in-hē'tk^u* TO RISE 151.14.

Tsimshian:

- g'ina-hē'tg* to rise

109. *g'ina-* (left) behind (Tsimshian *g'ina-*).

- g'ina-hē'tk^u* to stand behind 141.2
g'ina-g'ā'ô to be there, being left behind 67.2
g'ina-d'ā' to remain, being left behind 194.13
k'uL-g'ina-dô'x to be (plural) about being left behind 70.8 (see no. 33)
lgō-q'am-g'ina-d'ā' only a little one was left 95.14

Tsimshian:

- g'ina-t!ā°* to stay behind
g'ina-iā° to go slower than (literally, to leave going)
g'ina-ts'ī°k left dry

110. *k'ina-* to go to do something; the action to be done is expressed by a noun (Tsimshian).¹

- k'ina-xsa'n* to go to gamble
k'ina-dā°sta to go across (to see)
k'ina-su-p!a's to go after a young girl

111. *g'ildEp-* underneath (?), upside down (?)

- g'ildEp-da'lbik'sk°* to cling to the under side (of the canoe) 57.6
k'uL-g'ildEp-qaxā'ik° to drift about capsized, upside down 24.3
g'ildEp-qabu'ks I turn dishes over upside down

112. *k'sax-* only, just (Tsimshian: *k'sa-*, often with *q'am-* or *am-ONLY*).

- k'sax-d'ō'q* just to take (i. e., without implements for taking) 41.7
k'sax-k'uL-daxdō'x they just lay about 162.5
k'sax-g'inā'mL tsō'ōsk·L hē'x· he only gave a little fat 163.6
(tsō'ōsk· little; *hē'x·* fat)

This may really belong to the particles given in § 15.

k'sax- is often used with nouns:

- k'sax-ts'ē'p* only bones 214.12
k'sax-Lgo-nts'ē'ēts only the little grandmother 152.10

Tsimshian:

- q'am-ksa-txālp°* only four
q'am-ksa-k!E'rel only one
am-ksa hanā'nga only the women
ksa-hē'ōtget he just stood still

113. *k'ōpE-* little, plural; a little (Tsimshian: *k!abE-*). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix for the plural only. The idea of A LITTLE, SLIGHTLY, is generally expressed by this prefix; while *Lgo-*, which is the singular of the attributive prefix, seems to imply that a small one performs the action expressed in the verb. See no. 135.

(a) Adverbial:

- k'ōpE-aba'g'ask°* to be troubled a little 74.15
k'ōpE-ama-g'a'adEsem, look out a little well for her 192.1
k'ōpE-lō-qabu'x to splash in something a little

(b) Adjectival:

- k'ōpE-huū'lp* little houses 185.8
k'ōpE-tk'ē'lk° children 102.1

¹ This particle is classed more properly with those given in § 13.

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

k!abɛ-s̄'ɛpɛnu I poor one am sick

(b) Adjectival:

k!abɛ-ga-gō'k little baskets

114. *gun-* to order, to cause (Tsimshian: *gun-*).

gun-ba'l to cause to spread out 130.11

gun-gō'u to cause to hit 53.8

gun-sɛ-mē'l to order to make burn 91.14

gun-qē'lqan to order to poke 91.6

Tsimshian:

gun-mō'qan to ask to be taken aboard

gun-nī'ōdz to show (literally, to cause to see)

115. *gulik-s-* backward; also reflexive object (Tsimshian: *g'ileks-*).

gulik's-hē'tk^u to rush back 210.4

gulik's-a'qLk^u to reach (arrive) coming back 76.10

gulik's-g'a'ask^u to look back

dē-gulik's-d'ɛp-ma'qs to throw one's self also down (*dē* also;

d'ɛp down) 42.13

gulik's-dza'k^us to kill one's self

sɛm-gulik's-ē'tk^us to repent (literally, to name one's self much) 52.3

gulik's-ā'ōtk^u pocket-knife (literally, covering itself)

anik's-lō-lā'galik^u looking-glass (contracted from *an-gulik's-lō-*

lā'galik^u what one's self in beholds)

Tsimshian:

g'ileks-bā'ō to run back ZE 788^{uo}

g'ileks-gā'ō to take back

g'ileks-nī'ōdz to look back

lep-g'ileks-ō'iget he threw himself down

116. *gulx-* continued motion (Tsimshian: *gugulx-* for all times).

gulx-t'ēs to push along

gulx-ba'x to jump along

Tsimshian:

gugulx-hē'ōtg to stand for all times

117. *q'ap-* really, certainly, must, strongly (Tsimshian: *q'ap-*).

q'ap-lqu'ksaan to be really unable (to carry) 167.13

q'ap-dē-dzā'pt really on his part he made 170.5

q'ap-hā'q'al to urge really 43.13

q'ap-wī-t'ēt it is really large 13.13

q'ap-gō'dē I have taken it entirely

q'ap-yō'xgun you must eat

q'ap-ō'lq'ē certainly, it is a bear

Tsimshian:

q'ap-xš-ts!a'ps really to be called a tribe ZE 783⁴¹

q'ap-k!a-wi-naxnō'g really a greater supernatural being (see nos. 106, 73)

q'ap-wul'am-bā'o'sg really to blow ashore (see no. 22)

q'ap-bē'tsg really to stand

118. *q'am-* only, i. e., without result, to no purpose; compare *k'sar-* (no. 112) ONLY, i. e., without doing anything else (Tsimshian: *q'am-*, *am-*).

(a) Adverbial:

q'am-and'q to agree without caring 18.13

q'am-tsagam-sīdā'ext he only fastened it ashore (without taking it up to the house to eat it) 178.3

q'am-līlā'ēxk't he only finished eating (but did not go) 107.10

q'am-lō-g'ā'el only to lie down (without doing anything) 59.7.

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:

q'am-k'ā'l only one 100.13

q'am-gulā'n only three 113.1

q'am-alebō' only few 178.10

(c) Adnominal; refuse, useless:

q'am-ia'ts chips

q'am-hwī'lp a miserable house

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

am-man-wā'lrs he just went up (see no. 3)

(b) Adnominal, with numerals:

q'am-kša-txālp only four

q'am-k!ā'l only one

(c) Adnominal; useless:

lgū-q'am-k!wa's an old little broken one

q'am-wā'lē old house

q'am-t!ō'ots charcoal

119. *q'amqait-* already, just then (Tsimshian: *amqait-*). This prefix, which is related to the series in *-qait-* (nos. 71, 82, 99, 103), appears also independently.

k'ēt q'amqait-g'a's Txä'msem T. had already seen it 17.12

t q'amqait-hwīlā'x'l sem'd'g'it the chief knew it already 220.1
(*hwīlā'x'* to know; *sem'd'g'it* chief)

q'amqait nīg'i wō'qt just then he did not sleep 37.1

q'amqait q'a'mts'ēn dā'gōl . . . mēg'd'qst already he had secretly taken salmon berries 49.15 (*q'a'mts'ēn* secretly; *dā'g* to take; *mēg'd'qst* salmon berry)

Tsimshian:

| *ada amgait-tā'ot* then he was just there ZE 782^a

120. *ganē-* always, permanently, without stopping. This prefix occurs commonly with *hwoł* and adverbial ending *-a* in the sense of ALWAYS 121.4, 15. Other compounds are—

ganē-mē'l it burns so that the fire can not be put out again

ganē-d'a' to sit down for good

ganē-ts'ē'n to have entered to stay

ganē-a'lg'ix to talk without stopping

ganē-qabē'yit there are just as many

121. *q'asba-* anywhere, astray. This prefix is related to *hasba-* UP-SIDE DOWN (no. 74); see also no. 103.

q'asba-k'uL-hwā'ax' to paddle about astray 17.2 (*k'uL-* about [no. 33])

q'asba-sa-k'uL-iš' he went about away astray 38.14 (*sa-* off [no. 39]; *k'uL-* about [no. 33])

122. *q'ai-* still, just, near; also used as an independent adverb.

(a) Adverbial:

q'ai-huwō'qt he was still asleep 127.5

q'ai-hwagait-tsagam-yu'kdet they moved still far away toward the shore (*hwagait-* [no. 71]; *tsagam-* toward shore [no. 9])

q'ai-lig'i-qē'sxk^at just any time he stopped 91.5 (*lig'i-* any place or time [no. 20]; *qē'sxk^a* to stop speaking)

(b) Adnominal:

q'ai-q'ā'lēL lōqs just six months 29.5

lgo-q'ai-ts'ō'sg'im wi-ē'ēs just a little large 153.5 (*lgo-* small [no. 135]; *ts'ō'sk* small; *-m* adjectival connective; *wi-* great [no. 73]; *ē'ēs* large)

123. *gal-* too.

gal-ālā'n too slow

gal-d'ē'elt too fast

gal-lā'ltk^a too late

124. *gal-* without people, empty (Tsimshian: *gal-*).

gal-hwō'lp house without people in it

gal-bē'is space 81.6

gal-ts'a'p town, tribe

This particle is also used with verbs:

gal-d'a' to stay away from a town

gal-dzō'q to camp away from a town

Tsimshian:

| *gal-ē'rēnə* empty box

| *gal-ts'a'p* town

125. *xpī-* partly.*xpī-ma'k'sk^u* partly white*xpī-ts'emē'lix* partly beaver (name of a monster supposed to resemble a seal with beaver-tail)*xpī-nā'ts* partly coward (name of a man)126. *xpīlyim-* forward (in time and space).*xpīlyim-g'a'a* to look forward127. *xlina-* bending forward (Tsimshian: *xlna-*).*xlna-sg'itk^u* to fall down forward*xlna-dā'k* to kneel down

Tsimshian:

xlna-ma'xsg to dive, plural (literally, to stand head foremost)*xlna-de-dā'ul* to go down headlong with128. *l-* is a particle used to express the plural of certain words, and will be found discussed in § 45.129. *lep-* self, as subject (see *gulik's-* self as object [no. 115]).

(a) Adverbial:

lep-g'in-hē'tk^{ut} he himself arose 156.11*t lep-tsagam-q'ä'êxqlt* he himself dragged it ashore 175.13*lep-gulik's-halā'eltk^{ut}* it itself acted by itself 61.3*lep-gulik's-hanwulā'k^us nā'ê*, I myself destroyed my own 220.5
(*nā'ê* I)

(b) Adnominal:

lep-nebē'pt his own uncle

Tsimshian:

(a) Adverbial:

lep-ē'itg he himself takes a name*lep-lgusge'ret* he himself is happy*dī t-lep-dō'get* he himself, on his part, took*ām-di-lep-nexnō'xsedet* that they themselves, on their part, are supernatural*lep-g'ileks-ō'iget* he himself threw himself down

(b) Adnominal:

lep-qarsā' (their) own canoes130. *lebelt-* against (Tsimshian: *lebelt-*).*dē-lebelt-hwilenestā'* you also do against (some one) 65.14*lebelt-hē'tk^u* to incite against*lebelt-a'lg'ix* to talk with some one

Tsimshian:

lebelt-da'l to fight against*lebelt-wā'l* enemy

131. *lEq'ul-* for good (Tsimshian: *lEk'ul-* for good; see *ganā-* always, permanently [no. 120]).

lEq'ul-s'i'ns to be entirely blind

lEq'ul-dā'ul to leave for good

lEq'ul-ts'ē'n to have entered to stay

Tsimshian:

| *lEk'ul-k^uda'xs* to leave for good

132. *līg'ēx-* partly, half.

līg'ēx-mā'gal to put away half

līg'ēx-g'a't nobility (literally, halfway [chief] people)

133. *lEks-* strange, different, by itself (Tsimshian: *lEks-*).

lEks-g'a't a strange person

sa-tra-lEks-g'a't to make quite different

lEks-d'a' island (literally, sitting by itself)

Tsimshian:

| *lEks-t!ā'o* island

| *lEks-g'ig'a'd* kinds ZE 791¹⁰⁵

134. *LEm-* stopping a motion (Tsimshian: *lEm-*).

LEm-ba'x to stop by running

LEm-g'ō'c to offend

LEm-ē'tk^uc to interfere (literally, to stop by calling)

In Tsimshian this prefix does not seem to be free.

| *lEm-g'ipā'ig* to fly against the wind

| *lEm-bā'asg* head-wind

135. *Lgō-* little (Tsimshian: *lgu-*). This is commonly used as an attributive prefix, but for the singular only. The adverbial idea is expressed by *k'ōpē-* (Tsimshian: *k!abē-* [no. 113]), which, in an attributive sense, is used only for the plural.

Lgō-a'lq'ixt he said with a low voice (perhaps better, the little one said) 54.12

The use of *Lgō-* as attributive is very common:

k'sax-Lgō-ts'ēpts'a'p only the little wren 126.5 (see no. 112)

Lgo-ts'ewi'ng'it the little youngest one 185.14

Still more frequent is its use with adjectives:

Lgo-gwā'em Lgo-th'ē'lk^u the little poor little boy 139.7

Lgo-q'ai-ts'ō'sg'im wi-t'ē's only a little large (*q'ai-* just; *ts'ōsk-* small; *wi-* great; *t'ēs* large)

Lgo-dax-g'a't a little strong

Tsimshian:

| *lgu-xā'o* little slave ZE 789¹⁷⁷

| *lgu-q'am-k!wa's* a bad little broken one

§ 11. Nominal Particles

A number of particles, according to their meaning, can occur only in a nominal sense, modifying nouns and adjectives. A few of these might as well have been classed with the preceding group.

136. *am-* serving for (Tsimshian: *am-*). This prefix is not free.

am-lō'x alder-tree (serving for [the dyeing of] head rings of cedar-bark)

am-māl cottonwood (serving for canoes)

am-halai't head-dress (serving for shaman's dance)

am-sg'in'st pine-tree (serving for pitch)

am-yu'kt used in potlatch 194.1

Tsimshian

| *am-mē'olk* mask (serving for dance)

| *am-ga'n* cedar (serving for wood)

This prefix is also used in some connections where the explanation here given does not seem satisfactory:

am-ga'n a kind of salmon-trap

am-xlā'l willow (*xlāl* fruit of willow)

am-hā'ts' stump 55.5

In other cases it appears as a verbal prefix, the meaning of which is not known:

am-qā'ōd to remember 209.13

am-sg'i to lie (on the beach?) 172.11

am'ā'lēq to destroy in anger

137. *ax-* without (Tsimshian: *wa-*). This prefix is nominal, and serves as negation in subordinate clauses, which in Tsimshian are transformed into nominal form. Examples are here given of nominal forms and of subordinate clauses:

(a) Nouns:

ax'-a'k's without water

ax-wunā'x without food

ax-qagā'd foolish (literally, without minds) 123.10

ax-gā'dem g'a't foolish person

an-ax-kō'ē carelessness

ax-mō'k^u unripe 50.5

ax-gam-da'xk^u disgraceful

ax-dē-si-halai't never giving a dance (an opprobrious epithet)

ax-na-mu'x without ear-ornaments (an opprobrious epithet)

ax-q'ē'ts without labret (a little girl)

ax-tqal-g'a'tk^u virgin (not against a man)

(b) Subordinate clauses:

k'et g'a'al wunü'x *La ax-g'ē'betg'ē* then he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.3,4 (*k'ē* then; *-t* he; *g'a'a* to see; *-L* connective [§ 23]; *wunü'x* food; *La* past, nominal form; *ax-* not; *g'ē'p* to eat something; *-t* his; *-g'ē* absent [§ 20])

nā t'an ax-hwīlā'gīn? who does not know thee (*nā* who; *t'an* he who; *ax-* not; *hwīlā'x* to know; *-n* thee)

nīg'in dēm dē gō'ut hwīl ax-k'ta'yē I, on my part, shall not take it, not being hungry (*nīg'i* not; *-n* I; *dēm* future; *dē* on the other hand, on (my) part; *gō'u* to take; *-t* it; *hwīl* being; *ax-* not; *k'ta'i* hungry; *-ē* I)

There is a second form, *aqL*, the relation of which to *ax* is difficult to understand. Apparently this form is *aq* with connective *-L* (see § 23). It does not occur in subordinate clauses, and may perhaps be considered as a verb meaning IT IS NOTHING.

nLk'ē aqL hwīlt then he did nothing 68.6 (then nothing was his doing)

nLk'ē aqL g'ē'bēn then nothing is your food 157.11

nLk'ē aqL-yō'xk's Ts'ak then Ts'ak was without (place to) go 126.7

nLk'ē aqL-hwīlt then he was without doing anything 68.6

It is doubtful, however, whether this explanation is really satisfactory. Difficulties are presented particularly by forms like—

aq dep-hwīlā'gut what can we do? 103.7 (*dep* we)

aq n hwīla dzā'bet I do not know how to make it

Only a few Tsimshian forms may be given here:

wa-dī-lgu-xā'a on their part without even a little foam

(*dī* on their part; *lgu-* little; *xā'a* foam)

wa-dzaga-lā'a p'el without twinkling across

138. *hwīn-* innermost part (Tsimshian: *wun-*).

hwīn-gē's brain

hwīn-hawul point of arrow

hwīn-ts!ä'wul heart of tree 148.8

Tsimshian:

| *wun-ga'us* brain

139. *dE-* extreme, plural; see *k's-* singular (no. 143) (Tsimshian: *ta-*)

dE-lax'ō't the highest ones

dE-lā'wit the lowest ones

dE-galgalā'nt the last ones

Tsimshian:

| *man-ta-gā'ga* the first ones to come up (see no. 3)

| *ta-si'olg'it* the eldest ones

140. *t!Em-* a nominal prefix of very indefinite significance (Tsimshian: *t!Em-*). In several cases this is clearly a weakened form of the attributive form *t!ām* SITTING, and probably this is the meaning of this particle everywhere. (See § 33.)

t!Em-ba'x hip

t!Em-qē's head (*qēs* hair) 46.6

t!Em-lā'm leg below knee

t!Em-lā'ni'x neck

t!Em-gā'x fathom, shoulder; and some other terms for parts of the body

t!Em-lā'n steersman

t!Em-tsä'iq man in bow of canoe

Tsimshian:

| *lax-t!Em-ga'us* crown of head

| *t!Em-lā'n* steersman (*g'ilā'n* stern) (See § 33)

141. *spe-* place where something belongs, where one lives (Tsimshian: *spe-*).

spe-a'p wasp-nest

spe-a'xt den of porcupine

spe-tk'ō'lgan ant-hill

Spe-nexnō'q place of supernatural beings 32.11

Spā-wa'lā' place of taboos 32.12

spe-sō'ntk place where one lives in summer

spe-ksō'nt place where one lives in autumn

Tsimshian

| *spe-sa'mi* bear's den

142. *sgan-* tree, stick; evidently from *gan* tree (Tsimshian: *sgan-*).

sgan-mē'lik'st crabapple-tree 17.11

sgan-qala'mst rose-bush

sgan-lā'ts elderberry-bush

sgan-dā'pæL harpoon-shaft

sgan-halō' mast

Tsimshian:

| *sgan-k'v'nt* wooden quiver

| *sgan-t'ū'otsg* spear-shaft

143. *ks-* extreme, singular; see *dE-*, plural (no. 139) (Tsimshian: *ks-*).

k's-qalā'n the last 140.8

d'Ep-k's-qâq down first 81.4

lō-k's-g'v'êkst in extreme outer side 219.1

Tsimshian:

| *ks-qâ'ga* first ZE 791¹⁴

144. *ksE-* fluid (Tsimshian: *ksE-*). This is evidently an abbreviated form of *aks* WATER. (See § 33.)

ksE-t'ō'tsk^u black fluid

ksE-mā'dzīk's milk (literally, breast fluid)

Tsimshian:

| *wādī-ksE-lē'atx* fluid-like slime (see no. 85)

| *ksE-ā'nks* clear water

| *ksE-gwā'nuks* spring

| *ksE-sganē'ōst* water of mountain

145. *k'cE-* fresh (Tsimshian: *ksE-*).

k'cE-cā'k fresh olachen

k'cE-sma'x fresh meat

Tsimshian:

| *ksE-meg'ā'ōxs* fresh berries

146. *k'sEm-* woman (Tsimshian: *ksEm-*).

k'sEm-nīsqā'a a Nass woman

k'sEm-qā'k'L mouse woman 136.4

k'sEm-sawā't Tongass woman

k'sEm-alō-g'ig'a't Indian woman 207.12

Tsimshian:

| *ksEm-wutsī'on* mouse woman

| *ksEm-q'asqā'ōs* crane woman

147. *g'it-* people, person (Tsimshian: *g'it-*). (See also § 33.)

G'it-wīk'ē'na Awī'k'lēnôx^u, Rivers Inlet tribe

G'it-qā'ns Tongass

g'it-wī'ltk^u warriors 113.13

G'it-lax-dā'mek's people of lake

148. *gwīs-* blanket, garment (Tsimshian: *gus-*).

gwīs-hala'i't dancing blanket 71.5

gwīs-qā'aqt raven blanket 39.8

wī-gwīs-qana'ō large frog blanket 168.3

gwīs-ma'k'sk^u white blanket

Tsimshian:

| *gus-ya'ni* mink blanket

| *gus-bēlhā'tk* button blanket

| *gus-sgā'n* mat coat (rain coat)

149. *qa-* seems to indicate location (Tsimshian: *g'i-*).

qa-sā'x place in front 61.4

qa-qalā'n place behind the houses 138.6

qa-g'ā'u place in front of house 138.13

qa-dā' the other side 211.10

The same prefix appears in certain plurals. These will be discussed in § 43.

Tsimshian:

- | *g'i-ts!á'ég* bow of canoe
- | *g'i-lā'n* stern of canoe
- | *g'i-g'ā'ni* up river
- | *g'ilhau'li* in the woods (with euphonic *l* [?])

150. *qaldEm-* receptacle (Tsimshian: *qaldEm-*).

qaldEm-halda' u-g'ít box of a sorcerer 217.3

Tsimshian:

- | *qaldEm-a'ksk* bucket (literally, drinking-receptacle)

151. *lax-* surface of, top; corresponding to the adverbial prefix *lē-* (Tsimshian: *lax-*).

lax-ló'óp surface of stone 109.4

lax-a'us surface of sand 122.4

lax'ó' top 55.4

lax-ha' sky (literally, upper side of air)

The names of some clans contain this element.

lax-skū'yék eagle clan (literally, on the eagle) 108.3

laL-k'ebō' wolf clan (literally, on the wolf) 108.2

Names of islands and of the ocean are compounded with this prefix:

Lax-waql Dundas island

laL-sē'lda ocean 104.7

Tsimshian:

- | *lax-t!Em-ga'us* crown of head
- | *lax-la'mgEm lepló'ob* top of hot stones
- | *lax-ha'* sky ZE 782²⁶

152. *ts'Em-* inside; corresponding to the verbal prefixes *lō-*, *ts'elEm-*, *legEm-* (Tsimshian: *ts'Em-*).

ts'Em-hwí'lp inside of house 134.2

ts'Em-dz'á'dz'ík's inside of ground 201.9

ts'Em-ló'óp inside of stone 20.2

A considerable number of words require this prefix:

ts'Em-ā'q inside of mouth 118.15

ts'Em-qalā's stomach 118.11

ts'Em-an'ó'n palm (literally, inside) of hand 110.10

ts'Em-t'ē'n valley 77.3

Tsimshian:

- | *ts!Em-lax-ha'* in the sky ZE 782²⁶
- | *ts!Em-xšá'o* inside of canoe
- | *ts!Em-a'ks* inside of water
- | *ts!Em-wā'lb* inside of house
- | *ts!Em-ts!ā'ns* armpit
- | *ts!Em-nE-ū'o* oven

153. *ts'a-* inside. I found this prefix, which is evidently related to the last, only in *ts'a-hwól'p* (Nass) and *ts'a-wālb* (Tsimshian) THE INSIDE OF THE HOUSE, so designated in contrast to the outside; while *ts'em-hwól'p* (*ts'Em-wālb*) appears in conjunction with the locative adverbial prefixes *lu-*, *ts'ElEm-*, etc.

154. *anō-* direction toward (Tsimshian: *nak-* or *na-*).

anō-g'í'Elka south

anō-gal-ts'a'p direction of the town

anō-t'Em-gě's head end

anō-lax-mō'ōn direction of (on the) sea

Tsimshian:

nak-semiā'wunt or *na-semiā'wunt* left hand

nak-stō'o one side

nak-txa-g'isi-hi-wā'a's east (literally, direction along down river at the same time rain) ZE 785^{oo}

155. *ts'ík's-* surrounding (Tsimshian: *t/Eks-*).

ts'ík's-naa'qs bracelet (literally, surrounding jade)

ts'ík's-daō' finger-ring

Tsimshian:

| *t/Eks-nā'xs* bracelet

156. *ham-* nearness.

ham-ts'ēwō'n place near the top, 80.12

§ 12. Particles Transforming Verbs into Nouns

157. *an-*. This prefix is very difficult to translate. It is used to transform verbs into nouns, and expresses abstract terms, local terms, and even instruments. (Tsimshian: *n-*, *nE-*).

(a) Abstract nouns:

an-xpedzā'x fear^{*} *an-xpE + dēak skw*

an-lēbā'lq hatred

an-sē'ibenska love

an-lā'msk honor

(b) Local terms:

an-lā'ka fireplace

an-sg'imLka womb (literally, lying-in place)

an-tg'ō-lē'lbik'ska whirlpool (what around drifts) 104.12

an-sā'lep hole for steaming 55.4

an-lō'uLka nest (literally, place of young ones)

an-sg'ī't grave (literally, where he lies) 218.5

an-qalā'q play-ground

an-dā' other side

Tsimshian:

n-lak fireplace

ts'EM-nE-ū^o oven (literally, in-baking-place)

n-g'íl-hau'li a place in the woods

(c) Result of an act, instrument, etc.

an-hē't what he said 118.1

an-lē'pēlsk^u thread (for sewing)

an-dōy'ín garden

158. *anda-* receptacle, perhaps from *an-* no. 157 (Tsimshian: *nta-*).

anda-ha-sū'xs "rattle-box" 124.12

ande-la'ix box of crabapples 192.4

anda-haw'íl quiver (literally, arrow receptacle) 19.5

ande-t'ē'l^x box of grease 192.3

Here belongs—

anda-xsa'n gambling-sticks 28.11

Tsimshian:

nta-ha-wulā'owad work-box

nta-hawā'l quiver

159. *yu—k^u* one who has (Tsimshian: *yu—g*).

yu-hw'íl'p^u one who has a house

yu-negwō'ôtk^u one who has a father

Tsimshian:

k'ul-yu-ha-a'ksg carrying a bucket about

yu-sa'mig having meat

yuhg'a'tg having manhood ZE 783⁵²

160. *ha-* instrument (Tsimshian: *ha-*).

ha-xda'h^u bow (literally, shooting-instrument) 19.6

ha-a'k's cup (literally, drinking-instrument)

ha-q'ô'l knife for splitting 96.12

ha-la'h^u powder (literally, fire-instrument)

ha-sū'x rattle 213.9

Tsimshian:

ha-g'ē'tg harpoon (literally, harpooning-instrument)

ha-na'kst marriage present (literally, means of marrying)

The compound prefix *ha-lē-* is particularly frequent:

ha-lē-d'a' chair (literally, instrument to sit on)

ha-lē-dā'lep pile of wood to roast on 131.12

ha-lē-dzō'qsē world (literally, means of camping on) 14.10

Tsimshian:

ha-l'ī-dzō'g world (literally, means of camping on) ZE 782⁵⁰

ha-l'ī-gā'od to think (literally, means of minding on)

The days of the week are nowadays designated by the same prefixes:

ha-lē-qanō'ōtk^u day of dressing up (Sunday)

ha-lē-yē'eq day of paying out (Saturday)

161. **gan-** means of, cause of (Tsimshian: **gan-**).

gan-mā'tk^u means of saving

gan-dēdē'ls cause of life

gan-Lē'ntx cause of anger

gan-lō-gō'ibax window (literally, cause of light inside)

gan-hwā'līx carrying-strap, (literally, means of carrying)

Tsimshian:

gan-hā'axg difficulty

gan-p!a'lg'ixsg ballast (literally, means of being heavy)

This prefix is identical with the particle *gan* THEREFORE.

162. **gwīx-** nomen actoris (Tsimshian: **huk-**).

gwīx'-ā'd fisherman

wī-gwīx'-su-g'a't great murderer 23.5

gwīx'-wō'ō hunter 108.4

gwīx'-iā'mq'ask^u cheater 52.12

Tsimshian:

huk-ga'ts!E one who pours out, an auctioneer

huk-yē'lsk one who drills

163. **an-** the one who —; preceding transitive verb (Tsimshian: **īn-**). This prefix is used very frequently in phrases corresponding to our relative clauses. It is always preceded by the subjective pronoun of the third person.

nē'EN t'an-dēdō'ql lāx you are the one who caught the trout 157.4

k'ē k'saxL Lgo-g'ī'mx'dit, demt an-ts'elēm-wō'ōl nak'st then his little sister went out, she who was to call in his wife 204.6 (*k'sax* to go out; *g'ī'mx'de* sister; *ts'elēm-* into; *wō'ō* to invite; *nak's* wife)

nLk'ē dā'uLL k'āLL g'at t'an-gō'uL Lgo-tk'ē'Lk^u then one man left, who took the child 205.6 (*dā'uL* to leave; *k'āL* one person; *g'at* person; *gōu* to take; *Lgo-tk'ē'Lk^u* child)

k'ē hwōl sagait-hā'p'aal t'an-k^uLē-hēsyā'tst then they rushed together who beat him all over 62.12 (*sagait-* together; *hā'p'a* to rush; *k^uLē-* all over; *yats* to strike)

Tsimshian:

nā'ōl demt īn-na'ksGA lgū'ōlges Gauō' who is it who will marry the daughter of Gauō?

t n!E'ryu demt īn-na'ksGA lgū'ōlgent it is I who will marry your daughter

n!īnī's dep gwai t'īn-se-t!ā'ōsga these are the ones who began
ada n!īnī t'īn-lebā'ōlsetga^e he was the one who paid it back

§ 13. *Particles Transforming Nouns into Verbs*

164. *se-* to make something (Tsimshian: *se-*).

se-hara' to call (literally, to make name) 97.13

se-lē't to make wedges 148.4

se-hā'n to catch salmon

se-lē'mx' to make a song 77.9

lep-se-nexnō'x to make one's self supernatural 152.6

se-bela' to make abalone shell 45.14

Tsimshian:

l!i-se-gu'lg to make fire on

su-se-n-dzōg to make a new village

se-ma'xs to cause to grow ZE 791³⁰⁹

165. *x-* to eat, consume (Tsimshian: *x-*).

x-hā'n to eat salmon 205.1

x-ama'lgwax eating scabs 41.14

ha-x-sma'x' fork (literally, meat-eating instrument)

ha-x-miyā'n pipe (literally, smoke-eating instrument)

Tsimshian:

x-sts!ā'la to eat beaver

x-gwa'tksenu I feel cold (literally, I consume cold)

lu-x-dzi'usg until morning (literally, in consume morning)

x-sganē'is to kill mountain goats (literally, to eat mountain)

x-gō'ep!akem we enjoy the light ZE 786¹²⁷

166. *xs-* to say, to appear like (Tsimshian: *xs-*).

xs-negud'lk to say FATHER

xs-mē'mexk to say HM

xs-iā'nsks it sounds like leaves

xs-ma'k'sk^w white (literally, it appears like snow)

xs-gusgud'ōsk^{us} light blue (literally, it appears like a bluejay)

Tsimshian:

wi-xs-nā'ōl it sounds loud like a drum

wi-xs-suwa'nsq it sounds loud like curing disease

g'ap-xs-ts!a'ps to be called a tribe ZE 783⁴¹

§ 14. *Transitive Pronominal Subject*

The transitive subjective pronouns are in both dialects:

<i>n</i> I	<i>m sem</i> ye
<i>dep</i> we	<i>t</i> | he,
<i>m</i> thou	| they

These are placed before the verb and the particles treated in §§ 8-13. They will be discussed more fully in § 52.

§ 15. Particles that may Precede the Transitive Subject

The particles enumerated in the present section differ from all those previously treated, in that their connection with the verb is not so close. In certain cases of the third person, to be discussed later, they precede the transitive pronominal subject. Since many of these particles have not been found with transitive verbs of this kind, it remains doubtful whether they are simply adverbial particles placed before the verb, or whether the first and second persons of the transitive verb, when used as subject, precede them. The particles enumerated under nos. 167-174 are more clearly connected with the verb than the later ones.

167. *dē-* with, also, on (his) part (Tsimshian: *dē-*).

- dē-t-gun-g'ē'ipt* on her part, she ordered (her) to eat it 155.11
dē-uks-ba'xt he, on his part, ran out to the sea 104.13
dē-gulīk's-d'ep-ma'qst he also threw himself down 42.13
dē-t-gōut he, on his part, took it 14.8
nīg'ī-n dēm dē-g'ipt not I shall, on my part, eat it
dē nīg'ī di-dēlk^{ut} she, on her part, had no bag 206.9, 10 (*dē-dī*
 on her part; *nīg'ī* not; *dēlk^u* bag)
nīg'ī-n dē-g'a'at I have not seen him

Tsimshian:

- t'em-dī-yā'a* he went to the fire, on his part
dūt-lep-dō'get he, on his part, took it himself
ada g'ik dūt q'am-gā'otge hanā'ox and also he, on his part,
 blessed (*q'am-gā'ot*) the woman ZE 797

168. *sEm-* very, exceedingly (Tsimshian: *sEm-*). This particle is very free in its position. It is often used in nominal compounds in the sense of GENUINE.

- sEm-āba'g'ask^{ut}* he was much troubled 80.1
sEm-hasba-sg'ē' to lay really upside down 214.11
sEm-hō'm a'lg'ixnē I speak the truth
yagai-sEm-k'ā-wi-hē'lt, however, exceedingly very many 158.11
sEm-t-lō-qā'ōdent she emptied it inside entirely 208.7
sEm-ama sg'ē'det they laid it down well 214.10 (*am* good; *sg'ē* to lay)
sEm-hux-dē-Lgo-wō'lk'sīlk^u also, on his part, a very prince (*hux*
 also; *dē* on his part; *Lgo-* little)
wī-sEm-gā'n the great very tree (i. e., cedar) 147.9
sEm-ts'ē'wīn the very top 80.4
sEm-q'ai-tsēsō'osk just very small 171.8
sEm-q'am-k'ā'l really only one 145.13

Tsimshian:

sem-lu-dza'ga gâ'ot very downcast (literally, very dead in heart)
sem-lu-xā'xst to weep bitterly
ada semt tgu-da'pt then he measured exactly around it ZE 784²⁸
ne-sem-se'relg exactly the middle

169. *huḥ* also, again (Tsimshian: *gik*).

huḥ ā'd'ik-sk^uL yu'ksa evening came again 142.8 (*ā'd'ik-sk^u* to come; *yu'ksa* evening)
huḥ dē-t'em-iā't he also, on his part, went down to the middle of the house 142.14
huḥ dēt gu'nat he also, on his part, demanded it 143.1
k'ēt huḥ g'inā'mt then he gave it again 139.6
huḥ k'ā'LL g'at another man 108.1

Tsimshian:

lat g'ik t!a'le ne-mes-a'use lemkdī'odet a ts!a'ltga^o when his sister again put on her paint on her face ZE 795³⁰ (*mes-a'us* ochre; *lemkdī'od* sister; *ts!al* face)
adat g'ik wulā'ide g'a'd then the people knew it again ZE 795³⁰
ada g'ikt wulā'i dem hat!a'age then they knew again that it would be bad ZE 796³⁰

The following four particles serve to express future, present, past, and continuation. Their syntactic use will be discussed in § 59. Here I give only a few examples illustrating their use with the verb.

170. *dEm* future (Tsimshian: *dEm*).

dEm iā'nēE al awa'an I go to thy proximity 196.12
dEm g'a'an you will see 80.2
n dEm swant I shall cure her 123.7
demt mu'kdēL txox they were going to catch halibut 43.6

In the following examples *dEm* is nominal:

nīg'idi ā'd'ik-sk^uL dEm mesā'x not had come the future daylight 11.10
dEm lep-hwa'yēmL dEm nā'em we ourselves will find our future bait 56.6 (*lep*- self; *hwa* to find; *nax* bait)

Tsimshian:

demt dzā'be txan!v gâ^o he was about to make everything
n dEm k!a'txal-wā'n I shall overtake you soon
ada demt se-ma'xse gâ'ot then it will make things grow

171. *hwil* present (Tsimshian: *wul*).

txan'ētk^uL hwil sesō'sL k!ōpe-ts'ō'ōts all the small birds 124.11
naxna's Ts'ak hwil dāl hana'q Ts'ak heard (about) a woman being there 126.2 (*naxna'x* to hear; *d'a* to sit; *hana'q* woman)
-t hwil lō-ba'qt at his touching into it 203.6

Tsimshian:

at gâ'o wul ksE-gwa'ntge g'a'mget he went to where out comes (touches) the sun

lat nî'estge ts!a'bdE wul k'!A-sA-gidi-t!â'o g'a'mgem dzî'ust when the people saw the sun standing still suddenly for a while ZE 788.13 (*nî* to see; *ts!ab* people; *k'!A-* for a while; *sA-* suddenly; *t!â'o* to sit; *g'amg* heat, heavenly body; *dzî'ust* daylight)

-a wul wa-dî-aya'o wult on account of his being without cleverness ZE 789.14 (*wa-* without; *dî* on his part; *aya'o wul* clever)

172. *La* past (Tsimshian: *la*).

nlk'!ê la huẏ hê' luk it had been morning again 204.2 (*huẏ* again; *hê' luk* morning)

la dē'lpk^{AL} dem mēsā'x it was shortly going to be daylight 143.7 (*dē'lpk^{AL}* short; *mēsā'x* daylight)

la huẏ hwî'lt he had done this also 145.4

k'!ê lat hwîlā'x L hwîl nō'ôt he had known that he was dead 57.7 (*hwîlā'x* to know; *nō'ô* dead)

Tsimshian:

n!î'nî' lat nî'estge ts!a'b that was when the people saw
ada la al dî ts!î'nsge wak't but then his brother had gone in (*al* but; *dî* on his part; *ts!î'n* to enter; *wak'* brother)

nî wā'ldE la ha'udet it happened, what he had said

173. *Lā* while (Tsimshian: *lā*).

lā wî-t'ê'sL Lgo-tk'ê' Lk^g'ê al lō-d'ā't al ts'em-xpē'ist while the child was large, it was in the box 9.9 (*wî-t'ê's* large; *Lgo-tk'ê' Lk^g* child; *lō-* in; *d'ā* to sit; *ts'em-* inside; *xpē'is* box)

Tsimshian:

lā n!î'nî' nE-sEla-wā'ldet while that one did it with them

lā q!a'ldEk-iā'otgao while he was walking about in the woods

174. *iagai-* already, however, rather (Tsimshian: *y!agai-*).

iagai-g'în-hē'tk^t however, he stood behind 141.1

iagai-nē't however, it was so 26.7, 157.9

iagai-sem-k'!a-wi-hē'lt however, exceedingly many 158.11

k'ê't iagai-lē-ia'qt then, however, it hung on it 46.1

k'!ê iagait-g'ê'elt then, he had picked it up already 26.3

iagait-lō-dā'yit he had put it on already 50.4

Tsimshian:

y!agai lā-wula tgi-nî'ōtget however, he looked always down

adat y!agai-dzaga-gâ'ōdet then, however, he went across it

n dem y!agai-na'ksen I shall marry thee

y!agai-sem-bā's very much afraid, however

175. *mā'dzE-* almost.

mā'dzE-sg'it he almost lay 62.8

q'am-mā'dzE-nō'ōēE I am only almost dead 76.13

mā'dzet-ōx't he almost hit it 140.7

176. *kwa'ts'ik's-* close by.

kwa'ts'ik's-tq'al-sg'in you lie close against 75.12

177. *sEm-g'it* strongly (derived from *sEm-* MUCH [no. 168], and *g'at* person) (Tsimshian: *sEm-g'it*).

dEm sEm-g'it dax-yu'kden you will hold fast strongly

sEm-g'it dē-yō'gul t'Em-lā'nēist hold on to my neck! 80.10

Tsimshian:

ada sEm-g'it hē'tge hana'gat then the woman stood fast

178. *sEm-gal* very, much (from *sEm-*) (Tsimshian: *sEm-gal*).

sEm-gal aba'g'ash^{ut} he was much troubled 36.4, 40.4

sEm-gal gwā'et he was very poor 38.4

Tsimshian:

sEm-gal xā°! arch-slave! ZE 790¹⁷

t sEm-gal lebā'lexst they hate them much ZE 793²³

179. *q'amts'En* secretly.

q'amts'En hē't he said secretly 40.5

q'amts'En ts'ē'nt he entered secretly 25.6

180. *nîg'i* not; used in indicative sentences (Tsimshian: *a'tgE*).

k'ē nîg'i daa'qik^{udet} then they did not succeed 123.6

nîg'i baxl ak's the water did not run 18.3

nîg'it hu^x dzak^{ut} she did not kill him also 203.7

nîg'idî hwāx's Lōgōbolā' Lōgōbolā' did not paddle 17.3

nîg'in dē g'a'at I have not seen it

The syllable *dî*, *dē*, which is very often added to the negative, probably signifies ON HIS PART, and is the particle no. 167.

Tsimshian:

a'tgE āml dEmt wulā'idel g'at it is not good that the people know it (*ām* good; *wulā'i* to know; *g'at* people)

ada a'tgE ts'a'k'asga la'hga° then the fire was not out

a'tgE ndEm k'!inā'mt at hanā'o^x I will not give it to the woman

§ 16. Alphabetical List of Particles

As a matter of convenience, I give here an alphabetical list of particles, the letters being arranged in the order vowels, semi-vowels, labials, dentals, palatals, laterals. In each series the order of sounds is sonant, surd stop; sonant, surd affricative. Each particle is given its

number in the preceding lists. It will be remembered that there are slight differences in the rendering of the Nass (N) and Tsimshian (T) sounds, which are due to imperfections in the recording of the former dialect.

- a* T 63a
awus T 68
awul T (*wiL* N) 43
am N T 136
am, *q'am* T (*q'am* N) 118
amgait T (*q'amgait* N) 119
an N (*in* T) 163
an N (*n*, *ne* T) 157
anō N (*na*, *nak* T) 154
andu N (*nta* T) 158
anb'el N (*p'el* T) 64
ank's N (*aks* T) 65
asē N (*asdi* T) 14
asdi T (*asē* N) 14
agwi N T 66
aks T (*ank's* N) 65
ax N (*wa* T) 137
alō N (*alu* T) 67
alax N (*la* T) 68
alda N 69
alge T (*niq'i* N) 180
i N 70
iaga N T 2
iagai N (*y!agai* T) 174
*yu-k** N (*yu-g* T) 159
in T (*an* N) 163
uks N T 6, 10
wa T (*ax* N) 137
wadi T 85
hwagait N (*wagait* T) 71
walen N 72
wi N T 73
wud'ax N (*wut'a* T) 73a
wud'en N T 41
hwin N (*wun* T) 138
wun T (*hwin* N) 138
wusen N T 51
wuts'en T (*wits'en*, *huts'en* N)
 52
hwil N (*wul* T) 171
wiL N (*awul* T) 43
wul T (*hwil* N) 171
wul'am N T 22
ha N T 160
ham N 156
hadix' N (*hat'ek* T) 48
hasba N T 74
hats'eks N 75
hagun N (*gun* T) 44
hagul N T 76
haldem N T 77
hal N (*hal* T) 50
hi N T 78
his N (*sīs* T) 79
hēla N 45
hūts'en, *wits'en* N (*wuts'en*
 T) 52
huk T (*gwix'* N) 162
hux N (*gik* T) 169
benem T (*pelem* N) 80
p'el T (*anb'el* N) 64
pelem N (*benem* T) 80
belxsem N (*wesem* T) 81
bagait N (*lebagait* T) 82
bax N T 1
me T (*ma* N) 84
men N (*man* T) 3
mesem N 83
mēla T 88
mēl N (*mēla* T) 87
ma N (*mē* T) 84
man T (*mēn* N) 3
max N 86
maxle T 60
mādzē N 175
dē, *dē* N (*dē* T) 91
dē N (*ta* T) 139
dē N (*dē* T) 167
d'ep N (*tgi* T) 4
dēm N T 170

t'Em N T 13
t'Em N T 140
ta T (*dE* N) 139
dEx, *dix* N (*dax* T) 90
t'eks T (*ts'ik's* N) 155
t'uks N T 6, 10
dūla N 92
tq'al N (*txal* T) 35
tgi T (*dEp* N) 4
tgo N (*tgu* T) 31
txa N T 93
txas N T 47
n T (*an* N) 157
na N T 12
na, *nak* T (*anō* N) 154
nā N T 94
na N T 95
nak, *na* T (*anō* N) 154
nīg'i N (*algE* T) 180
nō'ōm N 96
nta T (*anda* N) 158
sE N T 164
sā N (*sa* T) 98
sa N T 39
sEm N T 168
sEm-g'it N T 177
sEm-gal N T 178
sEn T 89
sagait N T 99
sag'ap N T 100
sīs T (*hīs* N) 79
sīx N (*sta* T) 102
sEl N T 97
sī N (*su* T) 101
su T (*sī* N) 101
sPE N T 141
spagait N T 103
spī N 21
stEx N 49
sta T (*sīc* N) 102
sgan N T 142
sqa N (*sqa* T) 36
ts!Em N T 152
ts!Ens N T 104
ts!Enl T 105

ts!Ek'!al T 16
ts!a N T 153
tsaga N (*dzaga* T) 23
tsagam N (*dzagam* T) 9
ts!ik's N (*t!eks* T) 155
ts!ELEM N T 7
k'ā N (*k'a* T) 106
k'ax N (*k'a* T) 107
k'al N 58
g'i T (*ga* in part, N) 149
g'ime N (*gami* T) 25
g'it N T 147
g'idi N T 19
k'!ēdo N 57
g'in N (*g'ina* T) 108
g'ina N T 109
k'!ina T 110
g'is N 40
g'isi N (*gisi* T) 18
gik T (*huʔ* N) 169
gik'si N 61
g'ilEks T (*gulik's* N) 115
g'ilwul N T 87
g'ildEp N 111
k'!lq'al N 34
k's N (*ks* T) 143
ksE T (*k'si* N) 8
ksE N T 144
k'CE N (*ksE* T) 145
k'sEm N (*ksEm* T) 146
ksa T (*k'sax* N) 112
k'si N (*ksE* T) 8
ga N in part (*g'i* T) 149
q'ai N 122
q'ap N T 117
q'am N (*q'am*, *am* T) 118
gami T (*g'ime* N) 25
q'amt'sEn N 179
q'amgait N (*amgait* T) 119
gan N T 161
q'an T 28
qana T 59
ganē N 120
q'asba N 121
gal N 123

qal N T 124
q'ala T (*qali* N) 17
gali N (*q'ala* T) 17
qaldem N (*qaldem* T) 150
qaldix N (*qaldik* T) 11
qalk'si N (*qalksE* T) 24
kwa'ts'ik's N 176
gwis N (*gus* T) 148
gwix N (*huk* T) 162
k'abE T (*k'ope* N) 113
kutgo N 32
gun T (*hagun* N) 44
gun N T 114
gus T (*gwis* N) 148
gugulx T (*gulx* N) 116
gulik's N (*g'ileks* T) 115
gulx N (*gugulx* T) 116
k'uL N (*k'ul* T) 33
ksE T (*k'si* N) 8
k^ulE N (*k^uli* T) 55
x N T 165
xbesem T (*belxsem* N) 81
xpi N 125
xpi'lyim N 126
xs N T 166
xtsE N (*xts!E* T) 54
xlep T (*xliP* N) 53
xLEM N (*xlem* T) 56
xlna N (*xlna* T) 127

l N T 128
lep N T 129
lebeli N T 130
lebagait T (*bagait* N) 82
legem N (*logom* T) 5
lig'i N T 20
lig'êx N 132
leg'ul N (*lek'ul* T) 131
leks N T 133
lagauk T 15
lagax T (*lax* N) 38
lax N T 151
lax N (*lagax* T) 38
lê N (*li* T) 30
lê-gan N (*l'ê-q'an* T) 28
logom T (*legem* N) 5
lô N (*lu* T) 29
lûila N 62
lôsa N 46
lûks T 42
lukL N (*lukli* T) 27
logol N 26
LEM N (*lem* T) 134
la T (*alax* N) 68
la N (*la* T) 172
lâ N (*lâ* T) 173
lukli T (*lukL* N) 27
lgo N (*lgu* T) 135

Suffixes (§§ 17-32)

§ 17. Suffixes following the Stem

There are quite a number of suffixes in the Tsimshian dialects, almost all of which are firmly united with the stem. The significance of most of these is much more ill-defined than that of the prefixes, but those that immediately follow the stem appear to be primarily modal elements. Some of them indicate the passive, causative, elimination of the object, etc. Their use shows great irregularities. These suffixes are followed by pronominal suffixes, while demonstrative elements and the interrogative element are always found in terminal position.

1. **-En** causative (Tsimshian: **-En**). In both dialects this suffix generally modifies the terminal consonant of the stem.

hētk^u to stand, singular

mētk^u full

yā'ōxk^u to eat, singular

txā'ōxk^u to eat, plural

bā'sīx to divide, v. n.

hē-lā'q it breaks

bax to run

maqsk^u to stand, plural

qolk'sk^u covered

lō-lā'qsk^{ut} she washes in 197.10

hōksk^u to be with 91.8

guksk^u to awake 121.9

lē'wīk'sk^u whirlpool 104.12

Tsimshian:

sa'īpk hard

mālk to be uneasy

mōxk to be aboard, singular

hā°xk annoyed

lāk bent

bā° to run

gaksk to wake up, singular

lī'daksk to wake up, plural

hōksk to be with

lō-tq'al-hē't'En to place a thing upright against something and inside of something 131.3

mē't'En to fill

yā'ōg'an to feed one person

txā'ōg'an to feed several persons

bā'sīg'an to separate (v. a.)

hē-lā'gan to break (v. a.)

ba'an to cause to run

ma'qsaan to place several things upright 8.1

qō'lk'saan to cover (v. a.)

lā'qsaan to wash (v. a.) 198.8

hu'ksaan to place with 36.8

gu'ksaan to awaken 121.8

lē'w'En to roll

sa'īp'En to harden

mā'lk'En to force

mō'g'an to put aboard one object

hā'g'an to annoy

lā'k'!in to bend (v. a.)

bā'han to cause to run

ga'ksen to awaken one person

lī'deksen to awaken several

hō'ksen to place with

2. **-sk^u** expresses primarily the elimination of the object of the transitive verb (Tsimshian **-sk**).

t'a'a to clap (v. a.) 34.10

suwa'n to blow (v. a.) 123.1

maL to tell (v. a.)

g'a'a to see (v. a.)

dā'mgan to pull (v. a.)

gō to take (v. a.)

t'a'ask^u to clap (no object) 203.3

suwa'ansk^u to blow (no object) 124.8

ma'Laask^u to tell news 161.15

g'a'ask^u to look 137.6

dā'mgansk^u to be in the act of pulling 51.8

gōsk^u to extend 126.7

Verbs with this ending often form verbal nouns:

d'ā'pxan to nail

sī'ēp'En to love

ayō'q to command

lē'w'En to roll

d'ā'pxansk nail

sī'ēp'Ensk love

ayō'g'ask commander

lē'wīk'sk^u whirlpool 104.12

Tsimshian:

<i>lu-t!ū'oyu xbi'os</i> I sweep out a box	<i>t!ū'sk</i> to sweep
<i>se-y'ŋ'igu wa'i</i> I polish a paddle	<i>se-yi'ŋ'lask</i> to polish
<i>si'ol</i> to spin something	<i>si'lsk</i> to spin
<i>hō'ksen</i> to place with something	<i>gan-hō'ksen sk</i> fastening-implement

Undoubtedly related to the preceding are the following two:

3. *-k*^u used commonly after terminal *p, t, s, ts, q, x, L*, and sometimes after *l* (Tsimshian: *-k*); and
4. *-tk*^u used after vowels, *l, m*, and *n* (Tsimshian: *-tk*).

Both of these have the same meaning, and seem to be primarily medial or semi-reflexive, while in other cases no clear reason for their use can be given. These endings are found regularly in the possessive form of names of animals. (See § 55.)

Examples of *-k* are:

<i>hēt</i> - upright	<i>hētk^u</i> to stand
<i>gōks</i> - to awake	<i>gōksk^u</i> to wake up
<i>Lēs</i> - finished	<i>Lēsk^u</i> to be finished
<i>bats</i> - to lift	<i>batsk^u</i> to be lifted

Tsimshian:

<i>ha'its</i> to send	<i>ha'itsk</i> sent
<i>sa'ip</i> - hard	<i>sa'ipk</i> to be hard

Examples of *-tk*^u are:

<i>d'a</i> to sit	<i>d'atk^u</i> to be placed 215.1, 131.1
<i>se-hwa'</i> to name	<i>se-hwa'tk^u</i> named
<i>wō'ō</i> to invite	<i>wō'ōtk^u</i> to be invited 128.5
<i>halda'u</i> to bewitch	<i>halda'uyitk^u</i> bewitched
<i>d'ā'pzan</i> nail	<i>d'ā'pzan tk^u</i> nailed
<i>bēlā'n</i> belt	<i>bēlā'ntk^u</i> belted

Tsimshian :

<i>si'op!en</i> to love	<i>si'op!entk</i> loved
<i>k!inā'm</i> to give	<i>km!inā'tk</i> given
<i>se-wā°</i> to name	<i>sewā°tk</i> named
<i>plān</i> sea-otter	<i>ne-plā' ntgu</i> my sea-otter

These endings occur in many intransitive verbs, and in nouns:

<i>dēlpk^u</i> short	<i>metk^u</i> full
<i>ts'ipk^u</i> strong	<i>o'lik'sk^u</i> to drift
<i>ayawā'tk^u</i> to cry	<i>bēsk^u</i> to expect
<i>mātk^u</i> to scatter	<i>dā'lbik'sk^u</i> to bend

<i>ba'ask^u</i> wind	<i>aqlk^u</i> to attain
<i>a'd'ik'sk^u</i> to come	<i>ia'lk^u</i> slimy
<i>ä'ëmsk^u</i> to blame	<i>älk^u</i> fuel
<i>lisl'ë'sk^u</i> to hang	<i>walk^u</i> taboo
<i>mô'ôsk^u</i> gray	<i>dāmqlk^u</i> friend
<i>ts'elā'sk^u</i> canyon	<i>tk''ēlk^u</i> child
<i>q'ātsk^u</i> to be tired	<i>melk^u</i> to shine
<i>yôxk^u</i> to follow	<i>dēlk^u</i> bag
<i>dē'lemexk^u</i> to answer	<i>mao'lk^u</i> rope
<i>maxk^u</i> to go aboard a canoe	<i>malk^u</i> to put into fire
<i>t'ēlxk^u</i> to shout	<i>ama'lk^u</i> scab
<i>ā'dziak^u</i> enough	

It is uncertain in many of the endings in *-sk^u* whether they are derived from stems ending in *-s*, or whether they belong to the suffix *-sk^u*. The same is true of forms in *-tk^u*, which may be derived from stems ending in *-t* or represent the suffix *-tk^u*. The following have probably the suffix *-tk^u*:

<i>yaltk^u</i> to return	<i>laltk^u</i> slow
<i>daltk^u</i> to meet	<i>ptaltk^u</i> to climb
<i>dē'ēntk^u</i> to guide	

The same conditions are found in Tsimshian, but it does not seem necessary to give additional examples.

5. -*A* In the Tsimshian dialect, words ending in *p*, *t*, *s*, *ts*, *q*, *x*, *l*, and sometimes in *l* (i. e., those corresponding to the group with the suffix *-k* [no. 3, p. 345]) have, instead of *-sk* (no. 2, p. 344), -*A*. The terminal consonant is here modified, as before the suffix *-en* (no. 1, p. 344).

<i>dab</i> to measure something	<i>da'p!A</i> to measure
<i>t!ä°p</i> to drive piles	<i>t!ä°p!A</i> to be engaged in pile-driving
<i>g°ab</i> to dig	<i>gan-g°a'p!A</i> a spade
<i>se-wulg°a'd</i> to dye something	<i>huk-se-wulg°a'd!A</i> a dyer
<i>gats</i> to pour out	<i>huk-ga'ts!A</i> one who pours out
<i>būs</i> to split	<i>huk-bū'sA</i> one who splits

6. -*s* is used in Nisqa^t and in Tsimshian in place of *-k* and *-tk* (nos. 3 and 4, p. 345) after *k*, *x*, *k^u*, *q*, and *x*.

<i>ôx°</i> to throw	<i>ôk's</i> to fall (literally, to be thrown)
<i>bēk^u</i> to lie	<i>sa-bē'k's</i> to make lies
<i>hwîlā'x°</i> to know	<i>se-hwîlā'x's</i> to teach (literally, to make known)
<i>mag</i> to put	<i>ma'gas</i> to be put 11.14
<i>wôq</i> to dig	<i>wôqs</i> to be buried

Tsimshian:

<i>dzak</i> to kill	<i>dzaks</i> killed
<i>mēdī'ek</i> grizzly bear	<i>nE-mēdī'oksu</i> my grizzly bear

Here the *-s* suffix is also used after *p*, although not regularly:

<i>wālb</i> house	<i>nE wā'lp<u>s</u></i> my house
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7. **-Es** appears in Tsimshian a few times after terminal *p* in place of *-sk*.

<i>lalb</i> to plane down something	<i>la'lp!<u>Es</u></i> to plane
<i>lū'ob</i> to sew something	<i>lū'op!<u>Es</u></i> to sew

8. **-x** seems to mean IN BEHALF OF.

<i>qē'ent</i> to chew	<i>qē'end<u>Ex</u></i> to chew for 36.5
<i>hāp</i> cover 8.15	<i>lē-hā'ba<u>x</u></i> it is on as a cover for it 67.7
<i>lē'lg'it</i> a feast	<i>lē'lg'it<u>x</u></i> a feast for somebody 83.1

9. **-n**. This suffix designates the indicative, and appears only preceding the suffixes of the first person singular and plural, and the second person plural of the intransitive verb and the same objects of the transitive verb.

<i>āt</i> gill-net	<i>ā'tnē<u>E</u></i> I fish
<i>ā'lg'al</i> to examine 138.8	<i>ā'lg'alnē<u>E</u></i> I look at something
<i>āēsk*</i> to call	<i>āēsk*nē<u>E</u></i> I call
<i>wītk*</i> to come from	<i>wī'tk*nē<u>E</u></i> I come from
<i>dā'uL</i> to leave	<i>dēm dā'uLnē<u>E</u></i> <i>Lē's<u>Em</u>s</i> I shall leave for Nass river
<i>iē'E</i> to go	<i>iē'enē<u>E</u></i> I go

Tsimshian:

<i>t!ū'sg</i> to sweep	<i>t!ū'sgenu</i> I sweep
<i>bā°</i> to run	<i>bā°nu</i> I run
<i>tī°mi</i> to sing	<i>tī°minu</i> I sing
<i>wā°</i> to find	<i>t wā'yinu</i> he finds me
	<i>t wā'yin<u>Em</u></i> he finds us

10. **-d**. The corresponding suffix *-d* appears in the indicative of many transitive verbs, both in Nass and in Tsimshian.

<i>id'ē<u>E</u></i> what I roast 121.9	<i>id'd<u>Et</u></i> he roasts it 121.7, 154.3
<i>habā'l</i> to take care of 143.1	<i>bā'eldē<u>E</u></i> I take care of it
<i>hats</i> to bite 65.9, 127.8	<i>ha'tsdē<u>E</u></i> I bite
<i>līgi agō'L dēm hē'nīst</i> what-ever you say 59.3	<i>dēp hē'id<u>En</u>ōm</i> we say 42.11
<i>qāq</i> to open	<i>qā'qdē<u>E</u></i> I open something
<i>sax</i> to shake something	<i>sā'x<u>d</u>ē<u>E</u></i> I shake it
<i>anā'el</i> to allow 122.1	<i>anā'eldē<u>E</u></i> I lend

Tsimshian:

<i>dzak</i> dead	<i>dza'kdu</i> I kill
<i>bū</i> to wait	<i>bū'odut</i> I wait for him
<i>gā°</i> to take	<i>gā'odu</i> I take

11. **-ma** may be, perhaps (Tsimshian: **-ma**).

lig'î-gula'eldema *lôqs* may be three months 170.13

nô'ot-mæ maybe he is dead 182.8

sî'egumanēē maybe I am sick.

Tsimshian:

| *n'inî' gwai k'unō'omatga°* this is what they may ask

§ 18. Pronominal Suffixes

The group of suffixes treated in the preceding section are followed by the pronominal suffixes, which will be described fully in §§ 50-51, and § 53. For the sake of completeness I give here a list of the suffixes pronouns:

	Nass.	Tsimshian.
First person singular	-ēē	-ū, -ī
First person plural	-m	-m
Second person singular	-n	-n
Second person plural	-sem	-sem
Third person	-t	} -t
Third person plural	-det	

§ 19. Modal Suffixes following the Pronominal Suffixes

12. **-g'ê** might (Tsimshian: **-g'î°n**, **-gun**). The position of this suffix seems to vary.

nexna'yitg'ê they might hear it 91.10

sî'êph^ug'inēē I might be sick

gwa'tstg'ê it might be dung 207.7

Tsimshian:

| *naha'ung'î°n* maybe it is true

| *naha'unguna n!axno'yu* it may be that it is true what I have heard

| *n t!ū'useng'î°n* (take care!) I might hit you!

13. **-se°n** evidently (Tsimshian).

| *n'inî'et-se°n* evidently it is he

| *ne te gwa'lgesē°n* evidently there has been a fire

14. **-sen** indeed! (Tsimshian).

| *n'inî'et-sen* indeed! it is he

| *naha'unse* indeed! it is true

15. **-gat** it is said (Tsimshian: **-gat**).

sg'i'-gal ama xpē'is there was a good box, it is said 19.4 (*sg'i* to lie; *ām* good; *-a* connective; *xpē'is* box)

k'ax-ā'm-gal t'em-qē'st his head was good before, it is said 32.8 (*k'ax-* before; *ām* good; *t'em-qē's* head)

tgōn-gal dēm hwī'lem dēm alā'tk^u-gat nōm this, we are told, we shall do, we are told we shall swim in a shoal 70.6 (*tgōn* this; *dēm* future; *hwī'l* to do; *-em* we; *alā'tk^u* to swim in a shoal; *nōm* we)

dēm swa'nt-gal lgō'ul^uk^ut he says he will cure his child 123.10 (*swa'n* to cure; *lgō'ul^uk^u* child)

nē-gat-g'i di gwīx'-g'ēipt he says he does not like to eat it 40.6 (*nē-g'i* not; *di* on his part; *gwīx'-* expert; *g'ēip* to eat something)

Tsimshian:

| *sī'epge-gat* I hear he is sick

§ 20. *Demonstrative Suffixes*

There are two suffixes which are generally attached to the last word of a clause, and which indicate distance and presence in space and time. They are quite distinct from the demonstrative pronouns, and determine the demonstrative character of the whole sentence. These elements are much simpler in the Nass dialect than in Tsimshian, and their general discussion in the latter dialect will be given in §§ 24-31. In Nass we find:

-g'ē absence and distance:

nlk'ē a'lg'ixtg'ē then he said 53.1 (referring to one who is absent and to an event of the past)

nlk'ē lō-ya'ltk^uL g'a'tg'ē then the man returned 113.3

yu'kdēL ga'ng'ē la dza'pdet they took the sticks they had made 114.7 (*yuk* to take; *gan* stick; *dza* to make)

haō'ng'ē nak^ut da yu'ksa before long it was evening 152.14 (*haō'n* it is soon; *nak^u* long; *yu'ksa* evening)

-st presence and nearness:

dēm q'aiyā'm o'k'sdē hawī'leist my arrow will drop near by 19.15 (*dēm* future; *q'ai* near; *-em* connective [see § 22]; *ōk's* to drop; *hawī'l* arrow)

tgōnL gōuist this I guess 28.2

sēm-hō'daast it is true 29.13

tæ'ldesemest ye will burn 215.10

ndālda dēm ā'd'ik'sdest when will he come?

In some cases a terminal *-t* is found which indicates presence and nearness and corresponds to the analogous form in Tsimshian.

na-gan-hwólā'gut therefore I did so 113.6

This element is, however, quite rare in our texts.

Connectives (§§ 21-31)

§ 21. GENERAL REMARKS

The connective suffixes form a class by themselves. They are always terminal in the word and connect two words that are syntactically related. Therefore they never stand at the end of a clause. We must distinguish between attributive and adverbial connectives, and predicative and possessive connectives.

§ 22. ATTRIBUTIVE AND ADVERBIAL CONNECTIVES

-Em. The connective *-em* is used to express attributive and adverbial relations. Thus it occurs as—

- (1) Connective between adjective and noun.
- (2) Connective between two nouns, one of which has the function of an attribute.
- (3) Connective between an adverb or adverbial phrase and a verb.

The following examples illustrate the use of *-em*:

1. Between adjective and noun. In this case the adjective always precedes the noun, and the connective is firmly attached to it. The analogy with the second group suggests that the adjective expresses the class of things referred to, while the following noun qualifies the particular kind; as *qē'sgum gan*, A SMALL TREE (namely, a slender thing which is a tree, or which belongs to the class "tree").

sīsō'sem gan little sticks 27.15

wī-hē'lēm g'at many people 28.12

Lgo-guā'em Lgo-tk'ē' Lk'u little poor little boy 155.15

mā'k'sgum lō'ōp white stone 139.8

wō'ōm wan the invited deer 83.3

Tsimshian:

sī'lg'idem lgū'ōlg the eldest child ZE 783⁴⁶

lgū'ōlgem hanā'x little woman ZE 797.32

gwa'deksem yē'on cool fog ZE 797³¹⁵

lū'nksem sēipg dry bone

Numerals do not take this connective, but take *-L* instead (see § 23) (Tsimshian, -*L* pp. 351, 353).

2. Between nouns. The first noun takes the ending *-em*, and designates the kind of thing referred to, while the second noun specifies the class.

g'a'dem gan a wooden man 89.12 (a man belonging to the class "wood")

daw'i'sem lō'ōp a stone ax 147.14 (an ax belonging to the class "stone")

huxdā'g'intgum q'auq'ā'ō crow-grandchildren 19.15 (grandchildren of the class "crow")

a'lg'igam Ts'emsan Tsimshian language 20.9 (speech of the class "Tsimshian")

amg'ā'g'im Lē'sems sawbill ducks of Nass river 114.5 (sawbill ducks of the kind [belonging to] Nass river)

hwa'm had'a'xk bad names 41.12 (names of the kind "bad")

Tsimshian:

gō'ip!em ts'al light-face

g'a'mgem dzī'us day-sun ZE 781³

ts!a'bem yē'ts!esg the animal tribe 783⁴⁰

mā'sem an'ō'n thumb of hand 792²⁷

yē'ts!esgem gilhau'li the animals of the woods

3. Adverbial.

hadā'gam a'lg'ixs Txā'msem Txā'msen spoke badly 38.11

sem-hō'm nō'ōt he was truly dead 9.6

wī-t'ē'sem yō'ōxk^ut he ate much 36.10 (*yō'ōxk^u* is an intransitive verb)

ts'ō'sg'im mast he grew a little 175.8

k'ul-wī-yē'tgum xda^xt he was hungry (going) about 39.9

Tsimshian:

dza'gem xst'ōx to be dead asleep

ks-qā'gōm a'lg'ix to speak first

ks-qā'gōm mān-a'alg he reaches up first

- a. The connective *-a* is used in a number of cases in place of *-em*. It would seem that its use is determined largely by the particular qualifying term. Some of these seem to take *-a* regularly in place of *-em*. In Tsimshian this connective is *-a*; it appears regularly after numerals.

ama hwīlp a good house 48.3

wī-ama g'at very good man 203.7

ama a'lg'ixt he spoke well 45.6

wī-ama hwa'ndēt they sat down very well 83.4

gwa'lgwa txō'x dry halibut 161.10

hē'ya ēlx fat of seal 161.12

t'ē'la ēlx oil of seal 47.2

Tsimshian:

leksg'ig'a'de biā'lstet various stars
ama y!ū'ot a good man
wī-lē'okse lu-am'ā'm ga-gā'odemt we are exceedingly glad
k!ē'relde g'a'mget one moon
k!ā'lde g'ad one person
hē'lde ts!ap many people

§ 23. PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES

The development of these connectives is quite different in Nass and in Tsimshian, and the two dialects must be treated quite independently. In the present section I give the Nass forms. In all cases where the connection between words is not attributive or adverbial, *-L* or *-s* are used as connectives, *-s* being applied in all cases where the following noun is a proper name designating a person, a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun designating a person, or a term of relationship. In all other cases *-L* is used. With terms of relationship *-s* is not always used, but *-L* may be substituted.

The particular cases in which *-L* and *-s* are used are the following:

1. In sentences with intransitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

(a) *-L*.

lē-ia'qL oq a copper hung on it 138.3
g'ō'ōL māl there lay a canoe 138.13
hwīL ts'emē'liā the beaver did so 81.4
ts'ēnL ts'emē'liā the beaver entered 77.4
a'lg'īxL wī-g'a't the great man said 195.15

(b) *-s*.

gali-ia's Ts'ak Ts'ak went up the river 117.6
hwīls dep-bē'ebē my uncles did so 157.9
ṡdax's Txā'msem Txā'msem was hungry 21.2

2. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal subject.

(a) *-L*.

nLk'ēt lēLk'L guslī'skūt then watched his nephews 9.5
wō'ōL ts'emē'liā aṡt the beaver invited the porcupine 73.2
lō-d'ep-Lō'ōDEL sīg'idemna'q an'ō'nt inside down put the chief-tainness her hand 183.8

(b) *-s*.

k'ul-yu'kdets Ts'ak lō'ōp Ts'ak carried a stone about 118.9
nLk'ēt ōx's Ts'ak Lgo-qa'mt Ts'ak struck a little fire 118.12
t hwas Txā'msem hwīlp Txā'msem found a house 43.3

3. In sentences with transitive verb, connecting predicate and nominal object.

(a) -L.

dem lō-ma'qāēEL ts'ē'sgun I shall put thy louse in 43.10
nlk'ēt g'a'al t'ē'sem g'at then he saw a large man 95.10
ā'mlē wō'ōL na'k'sin (good you) invite your wife! 205.10

(b) -s.

nlk'ēt sa-gō'udets Ts'ak' they took Ts'ak' off 120.15

4. In sentences with transitive verb, the object may sometimes precede the verb, and is then connected with the predicate by -L or -s.

*txanē'tk*L qal-ts'ip-ts'a'pL g'ē'daxdēt* they asked all the towns 87.3
naxL g'a'at he saw bait 50.15

5. To express the possessive relation between nouns.

(a) -L.

qa-qalā'nL hwōlpL sem'ā'g'it the rear of the house of the chief 137.8
anē'sL gan the branch of a tree 137.9
magā'nL K'san the mouth of Skeena river 15.3
qa-wē'nL k'ēbō' the teeth of the wolves 84.4
q'āēldā'lL Lg'īL hana'qg'ē six were the children of the woman 97.8

(b) -s.

qal-ts'a'ps dep nequā'ōt the town of their fathers 107.13
ndzē'ets Ts'ak' the grandmother of Ts'ak' 119.8
xpē'ists Lōgōbolā' the box of Lōgōbolā' 19.4

6. Between definite and indefinite numerals and nouns, the connective is -L.

k'ālL sem'ā'g'it one chief 137.1
k'ēlL sa one day 137.2
k'ā'gul hān one salmon 169.8
q'ai-t'ēpā'L qāq even two ravens 155.4
baqadē'lL Lg'it two children 159.5
baqadē'lL nak'st two wives 194.6
wi-hē'lL lāx many trout 157.6
*txanē'tk*L q'aima'qsit* many youths 141.10
g'ul-ganē'L ha-xdak'se'mest all your arrows 144.10

A few indefinite numerals may also take the attributive connective -EM.

wi-hē'ldem q'aima'qsit many youths 144.3

7. Connecting the preposition *a* (see § 67) with the following noun.(a) -*L*.*k'atsk'ut aL qal-ts'a'p* they landed at the town 107.13*l̄-hw'lt aL lax-lô'ôp* it is on the stone 109.4*a'lg'ixL qal-ts'a'p aL dem sem'a'g'it* the people said he should be chief 163.10 (*a'lg'ix* to say; *dem* future; *sem'a'g'it* chief)*māl̄t aL nak'st* he told his wife 165.11(b) -*s*.*a'lg'ixt as n̄'g'ê* he said to him 157.1*a'lg'ixt as Ts'ak* he said to Ts'ak 120.6*k'et sg'it as Txä'msem* he laid it before Txä'msem 48.108. Connecting the conjunction *qan* with the following noun.(a) -*L*.*h̄'ya el̄x qanL h̄'ya dz̄x̄* fat of seal and fat of porpoise 161.12*l̄āx qanL sesô'sem h̄an* trout and little salmon 157.4(c) -*s*.*n̄'En qans n̄'E qans ts'ē'edzē* you and I and my grandmother 157.10**PREDICATIVE AND POSSESSIVE CONNECTIVES OF THE TSMISHIAN DIALECT (§§ 24-31)****§ 24. General Characteristics of the Connectives**

While the connectives *-s* and *-t* seem to be regularly used in the Nass dialect, they are absent in Tsimshian in many cases, and a much more complicated series takes their place. We have to distinguish between the connectives in indicative and subjunctive sentences; those belonging to the subject of the intransitive and object of the transitive verb; and those belonging to the subject of the transitive verb. Furthermore, those belonging to common nouns must be distinguished from those belonging to proper nouns; and in each form, indefinite location, presence, and absence, are treated differently. Some of these endings are very rare; others, the existence of which may be expected by analogy, have so far not been found. The series of forms in which a proper name appears as subject of the transitive verb is, for instance, hardly found at all, because sentences of this form are almost invariably rendered by a periphrastic form: "It was (John) who" . . . It will be noticed in the following discussion that the prepositional and possessive forms agree with the predicative forms. The peculiar agreement of the indicative connectives of the subject of the tran-

§ 24

sitive verb and of the subjunctive connectives of the subject of the intransitive verb corresponds to a similar phenomenon that may be observed in the pronominal forms. These will be discussed in §§ 49-50. The series of connectives may be represented as follows:

	A. Indicative.			B. Subjunctive.			
	(a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.	(a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.	
1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb	- <i>ŋ</i>	- <i>dŋ</i>	- <i>gŋ</i>	- <i>ŋ</i>	- <i>edŋ</i>	- <i>gŋ</i>	I. Common nouns
2. Subject of transitive verb	- <i>ŋ</i>	- <i>edŋ</i> (?)	- <i>gŋ</i>	-(<i>ŋ</i>)	- <i>dŋ</i>	- <i>gŋ</i>	
1. Subject of intransitive verb, and object of transitive verb	- <i>ŋt</i>	- <i>dŋt</i>	- <i>gŋt</i>	- <i>ŋ</i>	- <i>dŋ</i>	- <i>gŋ</i>	II. Proper names.
2. Subject of transitive verb	?	?	- <i>ŋ</i>	- <i>dŋt</i>	- <i>dŋt</i>	- <i>gŋt</i>	

§ 25. Predicative Connectives

In the present section I shall give examples of these various classes of connectives, such as occur between verbs and nouns.

A I 1. Intransitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -*ŋ* *da uks-hē'otge a'uta a ne-gōdza a'kret* then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (*da* then;

uks- toward water; *hē'otg* to stand; *a'ut* porcupine; *a at*; *ne-* possessive; *dzōg* edge; *aks* water)

hō'ltge ba'ntgega a'ksga° his belly was full of water (*hō'ltg* full; *ban* belly; *gega* development of preposition *a* [see § 28]; *aks* water)

sem-bā'ose sts!ā'lgā° the beaver was much afraid (*sem-* very; *bā°* afraid; *sts!āl* beaver)

(b) Present connective -*dē*

na-stū'olde lgū'olgem y!ū'otga° the boy went along (*na-* past; *stū'ol* to go in company; *lgū'olg* child; *-em* attributive connective [§ 22]; *y!ū'ot* man)

da al ts!ēlem-ha'pde n!ā'ō'let but then the killer-whales rushed in (*da* then; *al* but; *ts!ēlem-* into from the side; *hap* to rush [plural]; *n!ā'ō'let* killer-whales)

(c) Absent connective -*ge*

da na-bā'oge ō'lgā° then the white bear ran out of the woods (*na-* out of woods; *bā°* to run; *ōl* bear)

da gik kse-nā'olgega sts!ā'lgā° then the beaver breathed again (*gik* again; *kse-* out; *nā'olg* breath; *sts!āl* beaver)

A I 1. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns. It is difficult to find the connectives of transitive verbs before the object, because the order of words in the sentence requires ordinarily that the subject shall follow the predicate. The cases here given, except the first one, contain the pronominal subject of the third person.

(a) Indefinite connective -E

k'wa'tge ne-ha-xba'ga lqū'lgut my child has lost his knife (*k'watg* to lose; *ne-* possessive; *ha-xba'g* knife; *lqū'lg* child; -u my)

wā'idē hā'oset he has found the dog

dēm dza'kdeda hā'os he will kill the dog

(b) Present connective -de

ne la ma'ldede wula dza'bedes Gunarnēsemg'a'd he had told what did Gunaxnēsemg'ad (*la* past; *ma'* to tell; *wul* verbal noun; *dza'* to do)

(c) Absent connective -ge

wā'itge hā'osga° he has found the dog

dēm dza'kdetga hā'osga° he will kill the dog

A I 2. Transitive verbs, indicative, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -E

wa'i hana'xge ha'osge the woman found the dog

agwi-ba'tsge ne-qā'du my lance stands outside ES 94.20

(c) Absent connective -sge

gū'isge huksul'ensgetge ō'lga° the hunter hit the bear (*gū* to hit; *huksul'ensg* hunter; *ōl* bear)

dēm dza'kdesga g'ibā'uga hā'osga° the wolf will kill the dog (*dzak* to kill; -d- [see § 17.10]; *g'iba'u* wolf; *hā'os* dog)

da dī-l'ī-wa'isge wī-mes-ō'lga qal-ts!a'pga° the great bear found the town (*dī* on his part; *l'ī-* on; *wa* to arrive, to find; *wī-* great; *mes-* white; *ōl* bear; *qal-* empty; *ts!ap* tribe)

A II 1. Intransitive verb, indicative, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -et

ama wā'lt Tom Tom is rich

da hā'ut Sadzapanī'l then Sadzapanī'l said

dū'olget Asdi-wālt Asdi-wā'l can not move ES 90.15

(b) Present connective -det

l'ī-q'an-dā'uldet Astiwā'lga° Astiwā'l has gone across (*l'ī-* on; *q'an-* over; *dā'ul* to leave)

(c) Absent connective -get

bā'oget Dzō'nga° John is running

A II 2. Transitive verb, indicative, proper names:**(c) Absent connective -s**

da nī'edzes Astiwā'l wul hō'ltgE . . . then Astiwā'l
saw that it was full (*nī* to see; *hōltg* full)

B I 1. Intransitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:**(a) Indefinite connective -E**

adat nī' wul gatgō'it!eksA t!Epxadū'olda y!ū'ota then
they saw two men coming (*ada* then; *t-* he [subj.];
gō'it!eks [plural *gatgō'it!eks*] to come; *t!Epxadū'ol*
two persons; *y!ū'ot* man)
a wul husā'ga sts!āl because the beaver desired (*husā'g*
to desire; *sts!āl* beaver)

(b) Present connective sE

dze ha'usde sem'ā'g'it a k!ā'i if the chief says to me
(*dze* conditional; *ha'u* to say; *sem'ā'g'it* chief; *a* to;
k!ā'i me)
asī dā'ulsde t'in-gā'osdA na'ksen he who took your
wife has just left (*asī* just; *dā'ul* to leave; *t* he; *in-*
who; *gā'* to take; *naks* wife; *-En* thy)

(c) Absent connective -sge

ada wul t'al-īā'osge bā'osgega° then his fear increased
(*t'al-īā'°* to increase; *bā'osg* fear)
wul lu-la'psge a'ksga° where the water is deep (*lu-* in;
lap deep; *aks* water)
n!inī'gan ha'usge sts!ā'lgao therefore the beaver said
(*n!inī'* it is that; *gan* reason)

B I 1. Transitive verbs, subjunctive, common nouns:**(a) Indefinite connective -E**

ada n dem sa-l!ī-t!ū'osA nE-galdem-a'ksgu I shall sud-
denly push over on it my bucket (*n* I; *dem* future
sa- suddenly; *l!ī-* on; *t!ū'os* to push; *nE-* possessive;
galdem- receptacle; *aks* water; *-u* my)
adat lu-xba-q!asgō'dze nE-ga-ts!elts!a'lsge hā'oxga°
then he cut (in) across the faces of the geese (*t* he;
lu- in; *xba-* across; *gōdz*, with plu. obj. *q!as'gōdz*
to cut; *nE-* possessive; *ga-* plural; *ts!al*, distribu-
tive plural *ts!elts!a'l* face; *hā'ox* goose)

(b) Present connective -sde

. . . *t'in gā'osde na'ksen* he who took thy wife

(c) Absent connective -sge

adat ge'redesge hanā'oxga° then he asked the woman
(*t* he; *ge'redeg* to ask; *hanā'og* woman)
dat wul sū'osge māā'wulkgao then he shook the rope
(*sū* to shake; *māā'wulk* rope)

B I 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, common nouns:

(a) Indefinite connective -*E*

adat ts'elem-kš-gá'ge xē'oget first foam came in (*t* it, subj.; *ts'elem-* into, from the side; *kš-* extreme; *gáq* first; *xē'og* foam)

(b) Present connective -*dE*

adat g'ap-yā'okede txan.'i' ga-wula-dza'bēt then all the hunters really pursued it (*g'ap-* really; *yā'ok* to pursue; *txan.'i'* all; *ga-* plural; *wula-dza'b* hunter)

(c) Absent connective -*tgE*

ada wult kšE-hashē'otstge sem'á'g'itge hanā'naxtga°
then the chief sent out the women (*kšE-* out; *hēts* plural obj.; *hashē'ts* to send; *sem'-á'g'it* chief; *hanā'g* [plural *hanā'nag*] woman)

adat nē'odzetga sts.'á'lge nē'otga° then the beaver saw him (*nē'odz* to see; *sts.'ál* beaver; *n.'i'ot* he)

B II 1. Intransitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(a) Indefinite connective -*s*

la dem bā's Dzōn John was running

ada wul s'i'epges Tōm Tom was sick

(b) Present connective -*des*

wula dza'bedes Gunaxnēsemg'a'd what Gunaxnēsemg'a'd was doing

(c) Absent connective -*s*

hi-ts.'i'ens Gunaxnēsemg'a'tga° Gunaxnēsemg'a'd came in

ada wul sem-bā'os Gunaxnēsemg'a'tga° then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd ran fast

B II 2. Transitive verb, subjunctive, proper names:

(b) Present connective -*dēt*

ada wult ge'redaxdet Ksem-q'asgá'osga° then Crane-Woman asked him (*ge'redag* to ask; *ksem-* female; *q'asgá'os* crane)

adat dōxdet Gunaxnēsemg'a'tge lūdem me-si'onsga°
then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd took the copper wedge (*dōx* to take; *lūd* wedge; *-em* attributive connective; *mes'ons* copper)

(c) Absent connective -*tget*

adat ge'redaxtget neqwā'otge klge'rem y!ū'odatga°
then the father asked his sons (*ge'redag* to ask; *neqwā'ot* father; *klger* children; *-em* attributive connective; *y!ū'd* man)

ada al wult lī'otsxlet Astiwā'lga° then Astiwā'l counted it (*lī'otsx* to count)

§ 26. Connectives between Subject and Object

In sentences with transitive verb as predicate, the subject generally follows the predicate and precedes the object. The connectives between subject and object are in all sentences, and for both common nouns and proper names, -E, -dE, -gE, which generally agree with the predicate connective.

A I 2. Indicative, common nouns:

- (a) (with -E) *wa'i hana'ga hā'ost* the woman found ^{the} dog
 (c) (with -gE) *dem dza'kdesga g'ibā'uga hā'osga* the wolf will kill the dog

B I 2. Subjunctive, common nouns:

- (a) (with -E) *ada wult gā'det Gunaxnēsemg'a'de ha-kdū'otga* then Gunaxnēsemg'a'd took his knife
ada dit wagait-lu-yā'oketget Asdi-wā'lde ts!em-ga'inaga then Asdi-wā'l also followed in the path
 (di on his part; -t he; wagait entirely; lu- in; yā'ok to follow; ts!em- in; ga'ina path)
demt bax-gā'ode la'msu ma'ti my son-in-law will go after mountain-goats (see § 29)
 (a) (with -dE) *ada al sa-ni'odze ne-ts'a'bem ya'ts!esge-de wul kse-gwa'ntge wī-gō'ep!a*, but then suddenly saw the animal tribe the great light rising
 (b) (with -ga) *ada la hiā'ogut sex-dā'ode lguwā'lksetga ne-se-meg'd'xstga* then the princess began to gather her berries (hiā'ogu to begin; sex-dā' to gather, to hold fast; lguwā'lkset princess; ne- possessive; se- to make, to gather; meg'd'xst berries)

- AI, 2 (c) *da dī l'i-wā'isge wī-mes-ō'lge qal-ts!a'pga* then the great white bear, on his part, found the town (dī- on his part; l'i- on; wā to find; wī- great; mes- white; ōl bear; qal- empty; ts!ap tribe)

- (c) *da wulat y!aga-ks-dū'oltge hanā'narge su-p!a'sem y!ū'otagas* then the women accompanied the young man down (Tsimshian Texts, New Series, *Publications of the American Ethnological Society*, Vol. III, 78.29; y!aga- down; ks- extreme; dū'ol to accompany; -t he; hanā'nax, plural, women; su- newly; p!as to grow; -em adjectival connective; y!ū'ota man)

- (c) *adat wul k'!ina'mdet Asdiwā'lge gō'kge . . .* then Asdiwā'l gave the basket . . . (*Ibid.*, 98.17; k'!ina'm to give; -det connective B II 2b; gō'k basket)

So far I have not been able to find examples in which proper names appear as objects.

§ 27. Possessive Connectives

The possessive connectives differ in indicative and subjunctive sentences, and it seems that the complete series must be as follows:

	I. Common nouns.			II. Proper names.
	(a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.	
A. Indicative	- <i>ɛ</i>	- <i>dɛ</i>	- <i>gɛ</i>	}- <i>s</i>
B. Subjunctive	(- <i>ɛ</i>)	- <i>sdɛ</i>	- <i>sgɛ</i>	

I have not been able to get examples of the whole series.

A I. (a) Indefinite connective -*ɛ*

n'ɪnɪ' nɛ-wā'lbɛ sɛm'd'g'it this is the house of the chief

(b) Present connective -*dɛ*

nɛ-mɛɛɛ-l'ɪ-q'ā'lsɛxan nɛ-ga-ts!wā'ldɛ hā'oɛt the fingers of the dog were six on each (paw) (*nɛ*- past; *mɛɛɛ*- each; *l'ɪ*- on; *q'ālt* six; *-ɛxan* long; *nɛ*- possessive; *ga*- plural; *ts!wā'l* finger; *hā's* dog)

(c) Absent connective -*gɛ*

gū'ga dzō'gat gɛsgɛ qal-ts!a'pɛ nɛ-wā'lptga° who lived in the houses of the town (*gū* who; *dzōg* to camp; *gɛsgɛ* from *a* IN [see § 28]; *qal-ts!a'b* town; *wālb* house)

B I. (b) Present connective -*sdɛ*

ada nɛ wul nō nɛ-wā'lbsdɛ y!ū'ota then I saw the house of the man (*nɛ* I; *nō* to see; *wālb* house; *y!ū'ot* man)

(c) Absent connective -*sgɛ*

ada wul gwa'lsɛsgɛ nɛ-wā'lbsɛ y!ū'ota then the house of the man was burnt

B II. *nā'ol demt ɪn-na'ksɛa lgū'olɛs Gau'o?* who will marry Gauo's daughter? (*nā°* who; *dem* future; *ɪ'n-* he who; *na'ksɛg* to marry; *lgū'olɛ* child)

tra-n!i' nɛ-ligi-wā'ls nɛgwā'odɛnga° all the wealth of thy father (*tra-n!i'* all; *nɛ*- possessive; *ligi-wā'l* wealth; *nɛgwā'od* father; *-n* thy)

§ 28. Propositional Connectives

The general preposition *a*, which has been described in the Nass dialect (§ 23.7), occurs apparently alone in Tsimshian; but it seems more likely that the *a* without connective must be considered as a special form for *aɛ* (see § 29). With connectives we find both the indicative and subjunctive forms.

	I. Common nouns.			II. Proper names.		
	(a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.	(a) Indefinite.	(b) Present.	(c) Absent.
A. Indicative . . .	a	da	ga	as	des	ges
B. Subjunctive . .	a	asda	asga			

Furthermore, several of these forms occur contracted with demonstrative *d* and *g*; as—

dēda *gēga*
dēsda *gēsga*

I A. (a) Indefinite *a*

k'a-ā'm a txa-n/i' gā° it is better than all things (*k'a* exceedingly; *ām* good; *txa-n/i'* all; *gā°* something)
da uks-hē°tge a'uta a nē-dzōga-a'kset then the porcupine stood at the edge of the water (*da* then; *uks-* toward water; *hē°tg* to stand; *a'uta* porcupine; *nē-* possessive; *dzōg* edge; *aks* water)

(b) Present *da*

lep-lguŋge'reŋge sts!ā'lda lax-a'kset the beaver himself was happy in the water (*lep-* self; *lguŋge'reŋg* happy; *sts!āl* beaver; *lax-* surface; *aks* water)

(c) Absent *ga*

hōltge bā'ntgega a'ksga° his belly was full of water (*hōltg* full; *bān* belly; *-t* his; *gega* from *ga*; *aks* water)

I B. (a) Indefinite *a*

la bax-a'xget a nē-miyā'n wī-sa'mēnga° he came up to the foot of the great spruce tree (*la* past; *bax-* up; *axlg* arrive; *nē-* possessive; *miyā'n* foot of tree; *wī-* great; *sa'mēn* spruce)

(b) Present *asda*

ada al l!i-q!an-dā'ulda° a'sde nē-ts!uwā'n sganē°stga° but he has gone over the top of the mountain (*al* but; *l!i-* on; *q!an-* over; *dā'ul* to leave; *nē-* possessive; *ts!uwā'n* top; *sganē°st* mountain)

(c) Absent *asga*

ada hā'usga a'uta asga sts!ā'lga° then said the porcupine to the beaver

II. (a) Indefinite *as*

ada ha'ut na'kst as nē°ot then his wife said to him

(b) Present *des*

da-ya't Astiwā'l des neqiwā°tga° said Astiwā'l to his father

(c) Absent *ges*

da'wula ha'usga a'uta ges nī°otga° then the porcupine said to him

Examples of the forms *desda* and *gesga* are the following:

ne n kse'ranu desda da'ulda° I went out (at) some time ago
da wi-am-ha'usga a'uta gesga sts!á'lgá° then the porcupine
 shouted to the beaver

The forms in *deda* and *gega* occur in the translations of the Gospels with great frequency; but I have not been able to find any examples except the one given before under A I (c).

§ 29. Phonetic Modification of the Connectives

1. All forms in *E* described in the preceding paragraphs have no ending after the vowels *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*.

ada al sger a'uta . . . then the porcupine lay . . .
adat k'ínā'm ne-wundā'otga° then he gave him tobacco
da wul wā'l ne-lū' du because of what happened to my wedge
ada demt q!á'pegan leksā'gat then it will obstruct the door-
 way (*q!ápegan* to obstruct; *leksā'g* doorway)
stū'p!el wul t!ā° na'ksen your wife is in the rear of the
 house (*stū'op!el* rear of house; *t!ā°* to sit [singular]; *naks*
 wife; -*en* thy)
a lat nī gō'ep!at when he saw the light

2. The endings beginning with *s* lose this sound after words with terminal *s*; for instance,

ada sem-bā'osga sts!á'lgá° then the beaver was much afraid
 (*bā°s* afraid; *bā'osga* instead of *bā'os-sga*)

§ 30. Connectives of the Conjunction AND

The conjunction AND, when expressed by *dī* or *gan*, takes the connectives *s* and *l*, as in the Nass dialect—the former before proper names, some terms of relationship, and pronouns designating persons; the latter before common nouns.

n!é'ren dis n!é'riu thou and I
gwa° dis gwi° that one and this one
Dzôn dis Tôm
Dzôn gans Tôm } John and Tom

On the other hand:

gwa° dīl gwi° that thing and this thing
y!ū'ota dīl hanā'og
y!ū'ota ganl hanā'og } the man and the woman

§ 31. The Connective -I

Besides its use with the conjunctions *dī* and *gan*, the connective -*l* is used in negative, conditional, and interrogative sentences, be-

tween the intransitive verb and its subject, and between the transitive verb and its object.

awa'lgɛ dzakl wan the deer is not dead yet (*awa'lgɛ* not yet; *dzak* dead; *wan* deer)

a'lgɛ dī hē'tgɛl wālb asgɛ gwa'sgaga° there was no house there (*algɛ* not; *dī* on its part; *hētg* to stand; *wālb* house; *asgɛ* at [see § 28]; *gwa'sga* that; *-ga°* [see § 20])

a'lgɛt dza'guł wan he did not kill the deer (*dza'g* to kill)

a'lgɛ āml demt wula'idɛl g'at it is not good that the people should know it (*ām* good; *dɛm* future, nominal particle; *wulā'i* to know; *g'ad* people)

In interrogative sentences:

du nā°t dem dedū'olsɛdɛl tɔā'lpɔadɛ wul k'!ɪpk'!a'pl sa
at mɛla-k'!ɛ'ɾɛldɛl g'amk a txas-k'!ā'ɾɛt? who will live
(with) forty days each month throughout the year? (*du*
demonstrative; *nā°* who; *dɛm* future; *dedū'ols* to live;
tɔālpɔ four; *wul* being; *k'!ap* ten round ones, *k'!ɪpk'!a'p*
distributive; *sa* day; *a* at; *mɛla-* each; *k'!ɛ'ɾɛl* one round
one; *g'amk* sun, moon; *a* at; *txas-* along, throughout; *k'!ā'ɾɛl*,
year)

§ 32. Suffixes of Numerals

In the Nass river dialect, only three classes of numerals have distinctive suffixes. These are:

- āl* human beings
- k°s* canoes
- a'ōn* fathoms (derived from the stem *ōn* HAND)

In the Tsimshian dialect the corresponding suffixes occur also, and, besides, another one used to designate long objects. These are:

- āl* human beings
- sk* canoes
- ɛ'ō'n* fathoms
- sxan* long objects

The numerals will be treated more fully in § 57.

§ 33. Contraction.

The Tsimshian dialects have a marked tendency to form compound words by contraction which is apparently based partly on weakening of vowels, partly on the omission of syllables. In some cases it can be shown that omitted syllables do not belong to the stem of the word that enters into composition; while in other cases this is doubtful. Since my material in the Tsimshian dialect is better, I will give the Tsimshian examples first.

Contraction by weakening of vowels:

t!em-lā'n steersman; for *t!ā^{om}m g'i-lā'n* sitting stern (*t!ā^o* to sit; *g'i-lā'n* stern of canoe)

negutshā'os smart, frisky; for *negwā'ots hā'os* father of dog

stē^emā'n humpback salmon; for *stām hān* on one side salmon

lebe ts!ā^{og} kidney-fat; for *lā^{obe} ts!ā^{og}* fat of stone (i. e., of kidney)

lebe-ō'n biceps; for *lā^{obe} an'ō'n* arm-stone

ts!ūne l!i-hēty he stands on the end of it; for *ts!urwā'n*

Here belongs also the particle *ksē-* fluid; for *aks* water:

ksē-gwā'nuks spring of water.

Following are examples of contraction by omission of prefixes:

t!em-lā'n steersman, for *t!ā^{om}m g'i-lā'n*

t!em-ts!ā^{eg} harpooner, for *t!ā^{om}m g'i-ts!ā^{eg}* sitting bow

ne-kslunī'osk looking-glass, for *ne-g'ileks-lu-nī'osk* where backward in one looks. It seems probable that *g'il-* is a separable part of *g'ileks-*

t!em-g'ā'nī the one up river, for *t!ā^{om}m g'ig'ā'nī*, is not used, but is understood; also *t!em-hau'li* the one in the woods; for *t!ā^{om}m g'ilhau'li*.

Contraction with omission of syllables that are not known as prefixes seems to occur in—

sig'idemna'x chieftainness; for *sig'idem hanā'g* chief woman

ha-l!i-ta t!i'ōben when sea-lions lie on; for *ha-l!i-dā t!i'ōben* contains also a material change of the stem-form.

The name of the tribe itself is interpreted in a similar manner:

ts!em-siā'n, for *ts!em-ksiā'n* in the Skeena river. The latter word may possibly contain the element *ks-* fluid.

In the Nass river dialect the same kinds of contraction occur, but examples are not numerous:

anik'su-lō'galtk looking-glass; for *an-gulik's-lō-lā'galtk* where back in one examines.

sig'idemna'q chieftainness; for *sig'adem hā'naq* chief woman

sem'ā'g'īt chief, seems to contain *sem-* very; *g'at* person.

Masemts'ētsk^u (a name); for *mā'semst yō-n-ts'ē'ētsk^u* growing up having a grandmother (*mās* to grow; *-m* connective; *-st* [!]; *yō-k^u* to have; *n-ts'ē'ēts* grandmother)

Xpī'yelek (a name); for *xpī-hagulā'q* partly sea-monster.

In connection with this phenomenon may be mentioned the use of some elements as verbs and nouns in fragmentary form,—or without affixes, as particles. An instance is:

hasa'ga to desire; *saga dem yā'ogu* I desire to go.

§ 34. Incorporation

In expressions designating an habitual activity directed toward an object, the verbal stem and its object form a compound word, which is treated like a single verb, so that the object appears in an incorporated form. Examples of this form are the following:

Tsimshian:

gô'łts!exgan to be a stick-carrier (*gô'łts!eg* to carry; *gan* stick)
gô'łts!exł'ôb to be a stone-carrier (*ł'ôb* stone)
waliga'n to be a stick-carrier (*wali* to carry on back)
g'əł'ərla to be out harpooning seals (*g'əłg* to harpoon; *ərla* seal)
bū'sgan to split wood (*būs* to split)
bū'slag to split fire-wood (*lag* fire)
g'əłəb'ənu I am a box-carver (*g'əłg* to carve; *əb'ə* box)
sə-yəł-wa'yīnu I am a paddle-polisher (*sə-* to make; *yəłg* smooth; *wa'i* paddle)

Reduplication (§§ 35-38)

§ 35. General Remarks

There are two types of reduplication in Tsimshian—one in which the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, is repeated; the other in which the initial sounds, including the first vowel, are repeated. The functions of these two methods of reduplication are quite distinct. The former is generally used to form plurals, and with a number of proclitic particles that imply more or less clearly the meaning of repetition or plurality. The second forms generally a progressive form, or, perhaps better, a present participle of the verb.

§ 36. Initial Reduplication, including the First Consonant following the First Vowel

This part of the word is repeated before the stem-syllable with weakened vowel. The accent of the word is not changed, and the reduplicated syllable remains separated from the word by a hiatus. This is particularly evident in words beginning with a vowel.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ôx'</i>	<i>ïx'ô'x'</i>	to throw
<i>ām</i>	<i>em'ā'm</i>	good
<i>a'lg'ïw</i>	<i>ɛl'a'lg'ïw</i>	to speak
<i>ētk'əs</i>	<i>at'ē'tk'əs</i>	to name

This method of reduplication may be considered as duplication modified by phonetic laws. Monosyllabic words terminating with a consonantic cluster retain only the first sound of the cluster, thus avoiding a great accumulation of consonants in the middle of the word. The same causes probably affect polysyllabic words in such manner that the whole end of the word is dropped. This seems the more likely, as the repeated syllable has its vowel weakened. This process would easily reduce the terminal parts of polysyllabic words, when repeated, to consonantic clusters.

The weakened vowels have a tendency to change to *e* or *i*. The great variability of the vowels makes it difficult to establish a general rule.

(a) Monosyllabic words, beginning and terminating either with a vowel or with a single consonant:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ôx'</i>	<i>îx'ô'x'</i>	to throw
<i>ôs</i>	<i>Es'ô's</i>	dog
<i>âm</i>	<i>Em'â'm</i>	good
<i>ôl</i>	<i>a'l'ô'l</i>	hear
<i>dax'</i>	<i>dîx'da'x'</i>	hill
<i>d'ec</i>	<i>d'îcd'e'c</i>	to push
<i>lap</i>	<i>LEpLa'p</i>	deep
<i>bal</i>	<i>bELba'L</i>	to spread out
<i>hap</i>	<i>hapha'p</i>	to shut
<i>gan</i>	<i>ganga'n</i>	tree
<i>t'aq</i>	<i>{t'agt'a'q</i> <i>{(but also t'Et'a'q)</i>	<i>}lake</i>
<i>dzôq</i>	<i>dzîqdzô'q</i>	to camp
<i>t'ê</i>	<i>t'Et'ê'</i>	valley
<i>mêL</i>	<i>mîLmê'L</i>	to burn
<i>mêL</i>	<i>mîLmê'L</i>	to tell
<i>g'ic</i>	<i>g'îcg'î'c</i>	wrong
<i>lâ'ôp</i>	<i>lEplâ'ôp</i>	stone
<i>tsap</i>	<i>tSEpts'a'p</i>	to make
<i>ts'al</i>	<i>ts'îlts'a'l</i>	face
<i>ts'ê'îp</i>	<i>ts'EPts'ê'îp</i>	to tie
<i>qôs</i>	<i>qîsqo's</i>	to jump
<i>dzôq</i>	<i>dZEqdzô'q</i>	to camp
<i>n-dza'm</i>	<i>n-dZENdza'm</i>	kettle

The vowel is apparently strengthened in

<i>nô'</i>	<i>nônô'</i>	hole
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Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ôy</i>	<i>ay'ô'y</i>	to throw
<i>ām</i>	<i>am'ā'm</i>	good
<i>hā°s</i>	<i>hashā°s</i>	dog
<i>dā</i>	<i>dadā'</i>	to place
<i>dam</i>	<i>dɛmda'm</i>	to hold
<i>dal</i>	<i>dālda'l</i>	to fight
<i>dū°p</i>	<i>dɛpdū°p</i>	foot of mountain
<i>hō°n</i>	<i>hanhō°n</i>	to fill
<i>hū°</i>	<i>hebū°</i>	to wait
<i>hēl</i>	<i>būbē'l</i>	to spread
<i>k'!ak</i>	<i>k'!ikk'!a'k</i>	to choke
<i>ts'ēl</i>	<i>ts'ēlts'ē'l</i>	to slice fish
<i>mat</i>	<i>mēlma'l</i>	to tell
<i>dzā°l</i>	<i>dzelldzā°l</i>	to slide
<i>ts'ap</i>	<i>ts'ēpts'a'p</i>	tribe
<i>lā°b</i>	<i>lɛplā°b</i>	stone
<i>dā'u</i>	<i>dudā'u</i>	ice
<i>lū-sā°°x</i>	<i>lū-sɛxsā°°x</i>	red-hot
<i>q'aī</i>	<i>q'aigai'</i>	to bite

(b) Monosyllabic words beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, and terminating with a cluster of consonants, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sī'ēpk^u</i>	<i>sīpsī'ēpk^u</i>	sick
<i>ts'ēpk^u</i>	<i>ts'ēpts'ē'pk^u</i>	hard
<i>īsk^u</i>	<i>īs'ī'sk^u</i>	stench
<i>gīck^u</i>	<i>gīgī'ck^u</i>	lean
<i>qēck^u</i>	<i>qasqē'ck^u</i>	narrow
<i>dēlpk^u</i>	<i>dēldē'lpk^u</i>	short
<i>lō-dā'ltk^u</i>	<i>lō-dēldā'lpk^u</i>	to meet
<i>lantk^u</i>	<i>LENLa'ntk^u</i>	to move
<i>mītk^u</i>	<i>mītmī'tk^u</i>	full
<i>g'ītk^u</i>	<i>g'īt'g'ī'tk^u</i>	to swell
<i>g'alLk^u</i>	<i>g'īLg'a'Lk^u</i>	to pierce
<i>hanx</i>	<i>hanha'nx</i>	thin
<i>līntx</i>	<i>līnLī'ntx</i>	to be angry
<i>g'ēpkc</i>	<i>g'īpg'ē'pkc</i>	high
<i>ētqc</i>	<i>at'ē'tqc</i>	to end
<i>ētk^us</i>	<i>at'ē'tk^us</i>	to name
<i>maō'xk</i>	<i>maxmaō'xk</i>	meek
<i>lō-ya'ltk^u</i>	<i>lō-yīlyā'ltk^u</i>	to return

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sī'p̄k</i>	<i>sēpsī'p̄k</i>	sick
<i>āl̄x</i>	<i>aī'ā'lx</i>	brave
<i>wālb</i>	<i>(wālwā'lb)</i>	house
<i>hā'xk</i>	<i>haxhā'xk</i>	annoyed
<i>hōksk</i>	<i>hakhō'ksk</i>	to be with
<i>g'ī'sk</i>	<i>g'īsgi'ōsk</i>	to go past
<i>yaltk</i>	<i>yīlyā'ltk</i>	to return
<i>g'ēlks</i>	<i>g'īlg'ē'lks</i>	to feel
<i>aīdg</i>	<i>ax'aīdg</i>	to attain
<i>qā'p̄k</i>	<i>gapqā'p̄k</i>	to scratch, to rake
<i>kwa'ōtk</i>	<i>kutkwā'ōtk</i>	to disappear

(c) Polysyllabic words, beginning with a vowel or a single consonant, reduplicate the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sī'ēb'ēn</i>	<i>sīpsī'ēb'ēn</i>	to love
<i>had'a'xk^u</i>	<i>hadhad'a'xk^u</i>	bad
<i>hwā'lx</i>	<i>hwālwā'lx</i>	to know
<i>bā'sixk^u</i>	<i>bēsbbā'sixk^u</i>	to separate
<i>hwā'lx</i>	<i>hwālwā'lx</i>	to carry on back
<i>ā'd'īk'sk^u</i>	<i>ad'ā'd'īk'sk^u</i>	to come
<i>g'ī'dex</i>	<i>g'īdg'ī'dex</i>	to ask
<i>asā'x</i>	<i>as'asā'x</i>	foot
<i>dē'lx</i>	<i>dīldē'lx</i>	tongue
<i>lō'laq</i>	<i>lēllō'laq</i>	ghost
<i>(qan)mā'la</i>	<i>(qan)mēlmā'la</i>	button
<i>a'lg'īx</i>	<i>al'a'lg'īx</i>	to speak
<i>mā'lgēk'sk^u</i>	<i>mēlmā'lgēk'sk^u</i>	heavy
<i>haxda'k^u</i>	<i>hīxhaxda'k^u</i>	bow
<i>hō'mts'īx</i>	<i>hamhō'mts'īx</i>	to kiss
<i>ha'xg'at</i>	<i>haxha'xg'at</i>	sweet-smelling

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>k'!īnā'm</i>	<i>k'!īnk'!īnā'm</i>	to give
<i>lē'p'gan</i>	<i>lēplē'p'gan</i>	to shuffle about
<i>la'ok'!ultk</i>	<i>lēk'la'k'!ultk</i>	to wrap up
<i>g'a'ogēltk</i>	<i>g'īkg'a'ogēltk</i>	to roll
<i>p'!ī'ōlen</i>	<i>p'!ēlp'!ī'ōlen</i>	to nudge
<i>k'!wā'ōdas</i>	<i>k'!utk'!wā'ōdas</i>	to miss
<i>ts'!a'k'a</i>	<i>ts'!ēk'ts'!a'k'a</i>	fire is out
<i>da'k'ēn</i>	<i>dēkda'k'ēn</i>	to drown

Singular	Plural	
<i>g'ilā'ol</i>	<i>g'ilg'ilā'ol</i>	to look after
<i>da'msax</i>	<i>dzmdā'msax</i>	downcast
<i>p!a'lg'ixsk</i>	<i>p!elp!a'lg'ixsk</i>	heavy
<i>wul'i'ol</i>	<i>wulewul'i'ol</i>	to rub
<i>su-wul'i'onsk</i>	<i>su-wulwul'i'onsk</i>	hunter
<i>gō'it! Eks</i>	<i>gatgō'it! Eks</i>	to come

(d) A number of euphonic changes occur in this type of reduplication. They differ in character in the two dialects. In the Nass dialect, when the reduplicated syllable ends in *k*·, *g*·, and *k*, these are aspirated, and become *x*·; *g* and *q* are aspirated and become *x*; *y* becomes *x*·; *ts* becomes *s*; *dz* becomes *z*.

(α) *k*·, *g*·, *k* following the first vowel are changed into *x*·:

Singular	Plural	
<i>t'ak</i> ·	<i>t'ix·t'a'k</i> ·	to forget
<i>hak</i> ·s	<i>hax·ha'k</i> ·s	to abuse
<i>ōk</i> ·s	<i>ax·'ō'k</i> ·s	to drop
<i>iā'ōk</i> ·s	<i>ix·iā'ōk</i> ·s	to wash
<i>āk</i> ·s	<i>ēx·ā'k</i> ·s	broad
<i>dak</i> ·L	<i>dix·da'k</i> ·L	to tie
<i>sak</i> ·sk ^u	<i>six·sa'k</i> ·sk ^u	clean
<i>Lē-g'a't</i>	<i>Lix·Lē-g'a't</i>	weak, sickly
<i>mōk</i> ^u	<i>mix·mō'k</i> ^u	to catch fish
<i>g'uks</i>	<i>g'ix·g'u'ks</i>	fish jumps
<i>hokck</i> ^u	<i>hax·ho'ckck</i> ^u	to be with others

(β) *y* following the first vowel changes to *x*·:

Singular	Plural	
<i>hō'yix</i>	<i>hix·hō'yix</i>	like

(γ) *g* and *q* following the first vowel change to *x*·:

Singular	Plural	
<i>maqā'nsk^u</i>	<i>mīxmaqā'nsk^u</i>	explanation
<i>gā'iqck^u</i>	<i>gExqā'iqck^u</i>	to sit
<i>sō'uqsk^u</i>	<i>sExsō'uqsk^u</i>	to dive
<i>q'āqL</i>	<i>q'Exq'ā'qL</i>	to drag
<i>aqk^uL</i>	<i>ax'a'qk^uL</i>	to succeed

(δ) *ts* and *s* following the first vowel change to *s* and *z*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>yats</i>	<i>yis'ia'ts</i>	to chop
<i>q'ōts</i>	<i>q'Esq'ō'ts</i>	to chop a tree
<i>hē'its</i>	<i>hishē'its</i>	to send
<i>hē'tsumEx</i>	<i>hashē'tsumEx</i>	to command.
<i>ā'dziks</i>	<i>az'ā'dziks</i>	proud

(ε) Sometimes a *x* is introduced at the end of the reduplicated syllable:

Singular	Plural	
<i>dēdā'lēq</i>	<i>dīx'dēdā'lēq</i>	to talk to
<i>amō's</i>	<i>ax'amō's</i>	corner
<i>t'ōtsk^u</i>	<i>t'ix't'ō'tsk^u</i>	iron
<i>yīnā'tsīx</i>	<i>yīx'inā'tsīx</i>	whip
<i>an-dō'yēn</i>	<i>ax'an-dō'yēn</i>	garden
<i>an-sq'īst</i>	<i>ax'an-sq'īst</i>	grave
<i>sā'alK^u</i>	<i>sīx'sā'alK^u</i>	weak
<i>halā'alst</i>	<i>hax'ēlā'alst</i>	to work
<i>ha-LEbī'sk^u</i>	<i>hax'ē-LEbī'sk^u</i>	knife
<i>sanlai'dīk's</i>	<i>sīx'sanlai'dīk's</i>	sign
<i>ē'esk^u</i>	<i>ax'ē'esk^u</i>	debt
<i>ax-yā'ōk'sk^u</i>	<i>ax-īx-yā'ōk'sk^u</i>	to trust
<i>tq'al-hwē'lēmLk^u</i>	<i>tq'al-hwīxhwē'lēmLk^u</i>	servant

Here may also belong—

Singular	Plural	
<i>yō'LMEx</i>	<i>hīx'īō'LMEx</i>	to advise

It seems possible that these forms of reduplication should be considered as belonging to the class to be discussed in § 37.

The phonetic changes in the Tsimshian dialect do not agree with those found in the Nass dialect.

(α β γ) The aspiration of *g*, *k*, *g*, and *k* does not seem to occur; only *g* and *q* are aspirated:

Singular	Plural	
<i>dzōq</i>	<i>dzExdzō'q</i>	to camp
<i>y!aq</i>	<i>y!īxy!a'q</i>	to hang

(δ) The changes from *dz* and *ts* to *z* and *s* are also not regular:

Singular	Plural	
<i>qōdz</i>	<i>qadzqō'dz</i>	to tear
<i>hūts</i>	<i>hashē'ots</i>	to send
<i>yā'dz</i>	<i>yīsyā'dz</i>	to chop
<i>t!ūtsk</i>	<i>t!Est!ū'otsk</i>	black

(ε) In many cases a *k*, corresponding to Nass *x*, appears inserted:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sa'olk'ensk</i>	<i>sEk'sa'olk'ensk</i>	dismayed
<i>lā'ol</i>	<i>lEk'lā'ol</i>	to shove
<i>lū'ntī</i>	<i>lEk'lū'ntī</i>	angry
<i>lā'o</i>	<i>lEk'lā'o</i>	fast
<i>wāmæk</i>	<i>wukwōd'mæk</i>	to suffer
<i>nī'o</i>	<i>nEk'nī'o</i>	to see
<i>nī'ots</i>	<i>nEk'nī'ots</i>	to look

Singular	Plural	
<i>lâik</i>	<i>l'eklâ'ik</i> (better: <i>lɛ-lâ'ik</i>)	to move
<i>stû'lt</i>	<i>stekstû'olt</i>	companion
<i>gaba'xs</i>	<i>gakgaba'xs</i>	to splash
<i>yâ'ulemæ</i>	<i>yîkyâ'ulemæ</i>	to advise
<i>gał'â'd</i>	<i>gakgał'â'd</i>	to let go

(5) Some words insert a *t* after the first vowel. Since a *d* or *t* occurs in some of these cases after the first vowel of the stem, the occurrence of the *t* may sometimes be due to an irregular treatment of the reduplication:

Singular	Plural	
<i>gwa'ntk</i>	<i>gutgwa'ntk</i>	to touch
<i>ge'redax</i>	<i>getge'redax</i>	to ask
<i>wâ'o</i>	<i>wutwâ'o</i>	to find

§ 37. Initial Reduplication, including the First Vowel

(a) In most cases the stem-vowel is weakened in the reduplicated syllable:

<i>a'lg'ix</i>	to speak	<i>aa'lg'ix</i>	one who is speaking
<i>g'ibâ'yuk</i>	to fly	<i>g'ig'ibâ'yuk</i>	one who is flying
<i>xmîyâ'n</i>	I smoke	<i>igexmîyâ'ē</i>	I smoke walking
<i>ha'dîk's</i>	to swim	<i>ihahâ'dîk's</i>	swimming while carrying
<i>geba'ksk^u</i>	to splash	<i>igegeba'ksk^u</i>	splashing while being carried
<i>lɛ'p'Es</i>	to sew	<i>lɛ'p'Es</i>	one who is sewing
<i>txâxk^u</i>	to eat [plural]	<i>txâ'xk^u</i>	those eating
<i>g'ip</i>	to eat something	<i>ang'ig'i'pt</i>	one who is eating it
<i>ts'ēn</i>	to enter	<i>alō-ts'ets'ē'n</i>	one who enters publicly
<i>t'ax</i>	lake	<i>t'et'a'x</i>	lakes
<i>māl</i>	canoe	<i>m'māl</i>	canoes
<i>bax</i>	to run	<i>bbax</i>	one who runs

Here belongs also

<i>wôq</i>	to sleep	<i>huvô'q</i>	one who sleeps
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Similar forms occur in the Tsimshian dialect:

<i>a'lg'ig</i>	to speak	<i>aa'lg'ig</i>	the one who is speaking
<i>hɛ'tg</i>	to stand	<i>hahɛ'tg</i>	the one standing
<i>t'â'o</i>	to sit	<i>tet'â'o</i>	the one sitting
<i>bâ'o</i>	to run	<i>bēbâ'o</i>	the one running
<i>tî'o'deg</i>	to be silent	<i>lɛ'edeg</i>	silent
<i>sî'op</i>	bone	<i>sēsî'op</i>	bones
<i>g'ad</i>	person	<i>g'ig'a'd</i>	people

(b) In a number of cases the vowel of the reduplicated syllable is long and the accent is thrown back upon it, while the vowel of the stem is weakened:

Singular	Plural	
<i>lēqs</i>	<i>lā'lēqs</i>	to wash body
<i>wôq</i>	<i>wā'wôq</i>	to sleep
<i>sak</i>	<i>sē'isîk</i>	to haul out
<i>Lak</i>	<i>Lē'Lîk</i>	to bend
<i>t!ôq</i>	<i>t!ā't!eq</i>	to scratch

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>lâ°</i>	<i>lā'la</i>	to swim (fish)
<i>la°xt</i>	<i>lā'la°xt</i>	to hold with teeth
<i>lāk</i>	<i>lī'lîk</i>	to bend
<i>wa°q</i>	<i>wa'wuq</i>	to bury
<i>t!ôq</i>	<i>t!ô'deq</i>	to step on
<i>sE°n-wô'q</i>	<i>sE°n-wā'wôq</i>	to rebuke

(c) Words beginning in *hw* (*w* Tsimshian) have a form of reduplication which is evidently of the same origin as the forms here discussed:

Singular	Plural	
<i>hwā</i>	<i>huvwā'</i>	name
<i>hwîlp</i>	<i>huvwîlp</i>	house

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>wa</i>	<i>huvwā'°</i>	name
<i>wālb</i>	<i>huvwā'lb</i>	house
<i>wai</i>	<i>huvwā'i</i>	paddle

(d) Words beginning with a consonantic cluster reduplicate in the Nass dialect by a repetition of the first consonant; at the same time initial *x* is transformed into *q*. In Tsimshian the consonantic cluster is treated like a syllable, and is repeated with insertion of a weak vowel:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ptô</i>	<i>pptô</i>	door
<i>xLqô</i>	<i>qEXLqô'</i>	to pray
<i>xLkô'lux</i>	<i>qEXLkô'lux</i>	to scold
<i>xtsa'e</i>	<i>qEXtsa'e</i>	thick

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sqag</i>	<i>sEXsqag'</i>	to refuse
<i>txā°</i>	<i>t!axtxā'°</i>	flat

(e) A number of cases of irregular reduplication occur. Examples in the Nass dialect are—

Singular	Plural	
<i>ali'sk*</i>	<i>alli'sk*</i>	weak (a may be a prefix)
<i>ane's</i>	<i>anne's</i>	branch

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>la'g'axsk</i>	<i>laxla'g'axsk</i>	to climb
<i>hanā'g</i>	<i>hanā'nag</i>	woman (for <i>hanhā'nag?</i>)
<i>nak</i>	<i>nekno'nk</i>	long
<i>naxno'x</i>	<i>naxno'nx</i>	supernatural
<i>lu'wa'l</i>	<i>wul'wa'l</i>	drop

§ 38. Reduplication of Words containing Proclitic Particles

As a rule, compound words containing proclitic elements reduplicate the stem only.

Singular	Plural	
<i>lō-ā'm</i>	<i>lō-am'ā'm</i>	to be good inside

A few examples of compounds of the type which reduplicate the initial syllables have been given in § 36, *d*, *ε*.

§ 39. Modification of Stem Vowel

In a few cases modifications of length and accent of stem syllables occur. I am inclined to think that all of these have originated by secondary modification of reduplicated forms. The following cases have come under my observation. All of them belong to the Nass River dialect.

Singular	Plural	
<i>anā's</i>	<i>anā'εs</i>	skin
<i>g'inā'm</i>	<i>g'ē'nam</i>	to give
<i>k'iba'</i>	<i>k'iba'</i>	to wait
<i>goula'</i>	<i>guila'</i>	cloak
<i>halai't</i>	<i>hā'lait</i>	ceremonial dance
<i>hanā'q</i>	<i>hā'naq</i>	woman

Formation of Plural (§§ 40-47)

§ 40. Methods of forming the Plural

The plural is generally sharply set off from the singular, both in the noun and in the verb, and only a limited number of words have the same form in singular and plural. Including these words and those which apply different stems in singular and plural, the following methods of expressing the plural may be distinguished.

- (1) Singular and plural have the same form.
- (2) The plural is formed by reduplication.
- (3) The plural is formed by diæresis or by lengthening of vowels.
- (4) The plural is formed by the prefix *qa-*.
- (5) The plural is formed by the prefix *qa-* and the suffix *-(t)k^u*.
- (6) The plural is formed by the prefix *l-* with variable vowel.
- (7) The plural and singular are formed from the same stem, but in an irregular manner, or they are derived from different stems.

§ 41. *First Group. Singular and Plural the same*

In this group are combined the words, singular and plural of which have the same form. Here belong the names of all animals except DOG *ôs* and BEAR *ôl*, trees, and many words that can not be classified.

Parts of the body (see also § 43):

<i>qêc</i> hair	<i>nîsq</i> upper lip
<i>ôpæ</i> forehead	<i>plnâx</i> body (plural also <i>qa-plnâ'x</i>)
<i>dz'aq</i> nose	<i>mmâs</i> thumb
<i>wan</i> tooth	<i>Lâtsx</i> tail of fish
<i>iê'mq</i> beard	<i>nâiq</i> fin
<i>laqs</i> finger-nail	<i>q'âx</i> feather
<i>ban</i> belly	<i>lâ'ê</i> wing
<i>ptal</i> rib	<i>t'Em-lâ'nîx</i> neck
<i>mâ'dz'îk's</i> breast	<i>t'Em-gâ'x</i> fathom
<i>mîsæ.k'â'x</i> down of bird	

Miscellaneous:

<i>sE</i> day	<i>ât</i> net
<i>ark^u</i> night	<i>ts'ak</i> dish
<i>k'ôL</i> year	<i>wâ'ôs</i> dish
<i>lak^u</i> fire	<i>lê'p'est</i> marmot blanket
<i>ak's</i> water	<i>d'â'ist</i> bed-quilt
<i>pel'ist</i> star	<i>yâ'tsesk^u</i> animal
<i>ia'ns</i> leaf	<i>wîc</i> root
<i>dawî's</i> axe	<i>bela'</i> haliotis-shell
<i>har'îl</i> arrow	<i>mî'uks</i> sweet-smelling
<i>bela'</i> haliotis	<i>æLqaō'm</i> payment
<i>ia'k</i> to thunder	<i>Lmâ'Em</i> to help
<i>dê'lemæk^u</i> to reply	<i>hâtk^{ut}</i> to rush
<i>mê'lek^u</i> to dance	<i>g'î'dex</i> to ask
<i>lê'mîæ</i> to sing	<i>bak^u</i> to feel
<i>g'a'a</i> to see	<i>li-ya'q</i> to hang
<i>hasa'q</i> to want	<i>and'q</i> to agree

A number of stems with prefixes also retain the same form in singular and plural :

<i>gwois-ma'k'sk^u</i> white blanket	<i>hwoil-dig'a't</i> warrior
<i>gwois-halui't</i> dancing-blanket	<i>lō-sanā'lk^u</i> to be surprised
<i>lax-ama'k's</i> prairie	<i>se-anuwo'q</i> to rebuke

The same class occurs in Tsimshian. Here also all names of animals have the same forms in singular and plural except those of the dog (*hā's*) and the bear (*ōl*). Names of parts of the body appear also in the same form in singular and plural, although more often they have the prefix *qa-*.

Examples are—

<i>nē'tseks</i> fish-tail	<i>ū</i> to fish with line
<i>sa</i> day	<i>ma'k'!il</i> to drop down
<i>latsx</i> smoked split salmon-tail	<i>lehē'ul</i> to forbid
<i>mag'd'sx</i> berry	<i>p!elō'</i> to break law
<i>hasu'x</i> to desire	<i>ā'lkx</i> servant

§ 42. *Second and Third Groups. Plurals formed by Reduplication and Vowel Change*

In these groups are comprised the words the plurals of which are formed by reduplication or diæreses. By far the majority of words belong to this class.

The plurals of the second group, which are formed by reduplication, may be subdivided into the following groups:

(a) The plural is formed generally by reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first consonant following the first vowel, which method has been fully described in § 36.

(b) Only in exceptional cases is the plural formed by the reduplication of the beginning of the word, including the first vowel. The following instances of this type of reduplication used for forming the plural have been observed.

Singular	Plural	
<i>g'in</i>	<i>g'ig'i'n</i>	to give food
<i>g'ik^u</i>	<i>g'ig'i'k^u</i>	to buy
<i>ts'ak'</i>	<i>ts'ets'a'k'</i>	dish
<i>t'ax</i>	<i>t'et'u'x, t'axt'u'x</i>	lake
<i>ts'ēp</i>	<i>ts'ets'ē'p</i>	bone
<i>g'āt</i>	<i>g'ig'a't</i>	people
<i>māl</i>	<i>mimāl</i>	canoe

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sə'p</i>	<i>səsɪ'op</i>	bone
<i>lâ°</i>	<i>{ lɪlâ'° }</i> <i>{ lɛklâ'° }</i>	fast
<i>lâ°ld</i>	<i>lɛlâ'°ld</i>	to move
<i>lâ'ik</i>	<i>{ lɛld' }</i> <i>{ lɛklâ'ik }</i>	to move

A special form of this reduplication is found in words beginning with *hw*, which take *hūw* in the plural, probably originating from *hwhw* (see p. 372).

Singular	Plural	
<i>hwa</i>	<i>hūwâ'</i>	name
<i>hwɪlp</i>	<i>hūwɪ'lp</i>	house
<i>hwât</i>	<i>hūwâ't</i>	to sell
<i>hwɪl</i>	<i>hūwɪ'l</i>	to do
<i>hwô</i>	<i>hūwô'</i>	to call
<i>hwāx</i>	<i>hūwā'x</i>	to paddle

Related to this are the two plurals described in § 37 *e* (p. 373).

(c) The few cases in which the syllable reduplicated according to this method is long and has the accent, while the vowel of the stem is weakened, have been described in § 37 *b* (p. 372).

(d) In some cases the singular is formed from a certain stem by the second type of reduplication, while the plural is formed by the first type of reduplication.

Stem	Singular	Plural	
<i>dēls</i>	<i>dɛdɛ'ls</i>	<i>dɛldɛ'ls</i>	alive
<i>qēt</i>	<i>qɛqɛ'tk^u</i>	<i>qɛtqɛ'tk^u</i>	difficult

The word *mak'sk^u*, plural *u.ɛsma'k'sk^u*, WHITE, may be mentioned here, since its stem seems to be *mas*.

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>dɛdū'ols</i>	<i>dɛldū'ols</i>	alive

In Tsimshian a number of cases occur in which irregular reduplications are used, or phonetic increments of the stem.

Singular	Plural	
<i>xsɪwâxs</i>	<i>sɛxsɪwâ'xs</i>	to dive
<i>ts'â</i>	<i>ts'â'ts'!ɛxt</i>	to split
<i>q'âx</i>	<i>q'â°lx</i>	to pull
<i>txa-a'q</i>	<i>txa-â'lq</i>	place near the door
<i>lâ°</i>	<i>lâ°lɪk</i>	fish swims
<i>laq</i>	<i>lâ°lq</i>	to bite

In the third group are combined a few words the plural of which is formed by change of the vowel of the stem and by change of accent. Examples of this kind have been given in § 39.

§ 43. Fourth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix qa-

In words of this class the plural is formed by the prefix *qa-*. It includes many names of parts of the body; adjectives expressing states of the body, such as BLIND, DEAF; words of location; and a miscellaneous group of words.

(a) Parts of the body:

Singular	Plural	
t'Em-q'ēc	qa-t'Em-q'ēc	head
ts'Em-mu'x	qa-ts'Em-mu'x	ear
ts'Em-ā'q	qa-ts'Em-ā'q	mouth
t'Em-qā'x	qa-t'Em-qā'x	arm
t'Em-Lā'm	qa-t'Em-Lā'm	leg below knee
tsuwē'Ent	qa-tsuwē'Ent	fingers
an'ō'n	qa-an'ō'n	hand
plnāx	qa-plnāx and plnāx	body
q'ēLq	qa-q'ē' Lq	chest
qāt	qa-qā't	heart
tgamā'q	qa-tgamā'q	lip
q'ē'sEE	qa-q'ē'sEE	knee
Laqst	qa-Laqst and Laqst	nail, claw
smax	qa-smax	meat

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
bE ⁿ	qa-bE'n	belly
dū'la	qa-dū'la	tongue
ts!Em ts!ā'us	qa-ts!Em-ts!ā'us	armpit
qā ^o d	qa-qā ^o d	heart
an'ō'n	qa-an'ō'n	hand

(b) Adjectives expressing states of the body:

Singular	Plural	
k'ība'E	qa-k'ība'E	lame
sīns	qa-s'ī'ns	blind
ts'ūq	qa-ts'ū'q	deaf
mE-wa'tsx	qa-mE-wa'tsx	{ crazy (literally, like land-otter)
xā'ōsk ^u	qa-xā'ōsk ^u	
ax-qā'ōt	ax-qa-qā'ōt	{ foolish (literally, with- out mind)

Here may belong also:

Singular	Plural	
<i>gwä'E</i>	<i>qa-gwä'E</i>	poor
<i>huṣ-iō'nst</i>	<i>huṣ-qa-iō'nst</i>	liberal
<i>ama hwîl</i>	<i>ama qa-hwîl</i>	{ rich (literally, well-to-do)

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ama wā'l</i>	<i>ama qa-wā'l</i>	rich
<i>sagan-sā'ot</i>	<i>sagan-qa-sā'ot</i>	good luck
<i>lgusgē'r</i>	<i>qa-lgusgē'r</i>	happy

(c) Locations:

Singular	Plural	
<i>dāx'</i>	<i>qa-dā'x'</i>	outside
<i>lax'ō'</i>	<i>qa-lax'ō'</i>	top
<i>stō'ōk's</i>	<i>qa-stō'ōk's</i>	side
<i>g'ā'u</i>	<i>qa-g'ā'u</i>	beach

(d) Unclassified words:

Singular	Plural	
<i>semō'tks</i>	<i>qa-semō'tks</i>	to believe
<i>nō'd'en</i>	<i>qa-nō'd'en</i>	to adorn
<i>yîs-qu'sg'itk^{us}</i>	<i>yîs-qa-qu'sg'itk^{us}</i>	to rejoice
<i>lē'lukš</i>	<i>qa-lē'lukš</i>	to steal
<i>gwîr-sil'ēnsk^u</i>	<i>gwîr-qa-sil'ēnsk^u</i>	hunter
<i>wîs</i>	<i>qa-wî's</i> and <i>wîs</i>	root
<i>qā'it</i>	<i>qa-qā'it</i>	hat
<i>mēn</i>	<i>qa-mē'n</i>	butt of tree

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>y'ū'ō</i>	<i>qa-y'ū'ō</i>	berrying-basket
<i>gōk</i>	<i>qa-gō'k</i>	basket
<i>bū'ō</i>	<i>qa-bū'ō</i>	to scatter
<i>rsā'ō</i>	<i>qa-rsā'ō</i>	canoe
<i>lū'ōks</i>	<i>qa-lū'ōks</i>	torch
<i>xā'îk</i>	<i>qa-xā'îk</i>	to upset
<i>nū'ōl</i>	<i>qa-nū'ōl</i>	to fast
<i>kse-nū'ōlk</i>	<i>qa-kse-nū'ōlk</i>	to breathe
<i>mā'mēga</i>	<i>qa-mā'mēga</i>	to smile
<i>xstū'ō</i>	<i>qa-xstū'ō</i>	to vanquish

On the whole, this prefix conveys strongly the impression of being a distributive, not a plural; but in many cases its use seems to have become formal and fixed. It would seem that particularly terms for parts of the body that have no reduplicated plural may take the

prefix *qa-*. The distributive character appears very clearly in one case where *qa-ts'a'p* means THE ONE TOWN OF EACH ONE, while the plural would be *ts'epts'a'p*, and also in *k'ōpe-qa-teptē'tk^u* ALL SMALL PIECES (of salmon) 56.1

§ 44. Fifth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix *qa-* and the Suffix *-(t)k^u*

Plurals formed by the prefix *qa-* and the suffix *-(t)k^u* are confined to terms of relationship. The prefix is probably the same as that used in the preceding class, while the suffix seems to be related to the verbal and possessive suffix *-k^u*.

Singular	Plural	
<i>niä'</i>	<i>qa-niä' Etk^u</i>	grandfather
<i>ntsē'êts</i>	<i>qa-ntsē'êtSk^u</i>	grandmother
<i>neguä'ôt</i>	<i>qa-neguä'ôtK^u</i>	father
<i>nebē'p</i>	<i>qa-nebē'pK^u</i>	uncle
<i>wak'</i>	<i>qa-wa'k'k^u</i>	younger brother

Here belongs also—

<i>mē'en</i>	<i>qa-mē'Entk^u</i>	master
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Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>nebī'op</i>	<i>qa-nebī'opg</i>	uncle
<i>miä'n</i>	<i>qa-miä'ntg</i>	master

The following words have *qa-k^u* combined with reduplication, the reduplicated syllable being lengthened and the stem-vowel weakened:

Singular	Plural	
<i>nak's</i>	<i>qa-nē'nūk'sk^u</i>	wife
<i>nôx</i>	<i>qa-nâ'nezk^u</i>	mother

Without the prefix *qa-* are found—

Singular	Plural	
<i>wak'</i>	<i>wak'k^u</i>	younger brother
<i>g'î'mr.dē</i>	<i>g'î'mr.dētK</i>	elder brother

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>naks</i>	<i>nēnksg</i>	wife

Irregular is—

Singular	Plural	
<i>huxdā'ek'en</i>	<i>Luxdā'ek'Entk^u</i>	grandson

Undoubtedly the terminal *-tk^u*, *-k^u*, in these forms, is the same as the suffix discussed in § 17.

§ 45. Sixth Group. Plurals formed by the Prefix *l-*

Plurals formed by the prefix *l-* are pre-eminently verbal plurals, as is illustrated by the following examples taken from the Tsimshian:

Singular	Nominal Plural	Verbal Plural
<i>ak's</i> water, to drink	<i>ak'a'k's</i> waters	<i>la-a'k's</i> to drink
<i>wa'i</i> paddle, to paddle	<i>huwa'i</i> paddles	<i>lu-wa'i</i> to paddle

The vowel connected with this prefix is variable, and many irregularities are found in this class.

(a)

Singular	Plural	
<i>ak's</i>	<i>la-a'k's</i>	to drink
<i>yôxk*</i>	<i>lê-yô'xk*</i>	to follow
<i>gôksk*</i>	<i>lê-gô'ksk*</i>	to be awake
<i>d'äq</i>	<i>lê-d'ä'q</i>	to devour

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>wa'i</i>	<i>lu-wa'i</i>	to paddle
<i>ga-ba'xsk</i>	<i>ga-lê'bexsk</i>	to shake one's self
<i>yêr</i>	<i>li-yê'r</i>	to hide

(b) Reduplication or lengthening of vowel is found with *l-*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ɣdax'</i>	<i>lu-ɣdê'dîx'</i>	hungry
<i>xbets'a'x</i>	<i>la-xbê'ts'êx</i>	to be afraid

Here may be mentioned Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>k*ti°</i>	<i>lu-kti'°d</i>	hungry

(c) Initial *g*·, *k*·, and *q* drop out after *l-*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>g'âk's</i>	<i>lâk's</i>	a bird swims
<i>g'ibâ'yuk</i>	<i>libâ'yuk</i>	to fly
<i>qê'nêx</i>	<i>lê'nêx</i>	(tree) falls

Here belong also the reduplicated plurals:

Singular	Plural	
<i>g'amk's</i>	<i>lɛmla'mk's</i>	to warm one's self
<i>g'a'mg'iL</i>	<i>lɛmla'mg'iL</i>	to warm something

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>gê'renks</i>	<i>lûnks</i>	to dry (meat)
<i>gê°na</i>	<i>lê°na</i>	to fall over
<i>g'â°ks</i>	<i>lâ°ks</i>	absent
<i>g'â°ks</i>	<i>lâ°ks</i>	to float
<i>g'ig'â°ks</i>	<i>llâ°ks</i>	floating
<i>g'â°mg</i>	<i>lî°omg</i>	to wipe
<i>g'amg</i>	<i>lamks</i>	hot
<i>g'ip'a'yuk</i>	<i>lip'a'yuk</i>	to fly

(*d*) Irregular, but related to this class, are:

Singular	Plural	
<i>yaʔ</i>	<i>tɪ' lɛʔ</i>	to hide
<i>yʰaʔa'q</i>	<i>lɪs' lɪ' skʰ</i>	to hang [v. n.]
<i>ʔdakʰ</i>	<i>lɪduʔ</i>	to shoot
<i>g'in-hɛ' tkʰ</i>	<i>lɪ' nɛdɛmkʰst</i>	to arise
<i>kʰstaʔs</i>	<i>lukstɛʔdɛʔs</i>	to leave

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>gaksk</i>	<i>tɪ' daksks</i>	to wake up
<i>g'a'ksen</i>	<i>tɪ' daksɛn</i>	to awaken
<i>sɛs-ā'ʔxs</i>	<i>lɛs-ā-ʔxs</i>	to laugh
<i>ʔst! ɔʔ</i>	<i>laxst! ɔ'ega</i>	to sleep

§ 46. Seventh Group. Irregular Plurals

This last group is quite irregular. The following plurals are formed from the same or related stems, but in an irregular manner:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sɛm' d' g' ɪt</i>	<i>sɛmg' ig' a' t</i>	chief
<i>sig' idɛmna' x</i>	<i>sig' idɛmhā' nax</i>	chieftainness
<i>wuyi' tkʰ</i>	<i>siya' tkʰ</i>	to weep
<i>ayawa' tkʰ</i>	<i>alayawa' t</i>	to shout
<i>wiamhɛ'</i>	<i>wud' ax a' amhɛ'</i>	to shout
<i>lō-mā' k' sa</i>	<i>lō-lɛ' dɪk' sa</i>	to wash cloths
<i>wi-na' kʰ</i>	<i>nnɛ' nɛkʰ</i>	long
<i>wi-d' ɔ' ʔ</i>	<i>d' ɛʔd' ɔ' ʔ</i>	stout
<i>q' ai-ma' s</i>	<i>q' ai-ma' qɛɪt</i>	youth
<i>am' a-ma' s</i>	<i>am' a-ma' qɛɪt</i>	pretty

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sɛm' d' g' id</i>	<i>sɛmg' ig' a' d</i>	chief
<i>sig' idɛmna' g</i>	<i>sig' idɛmhā' nag</i>	chieftainness
<i>k' lɪnɪ' ɔtk</i>	<i>nanɪ' ɔtk</i>	to arise

Although the use of different stems for singular and plural belongs rather to the classification of nouns and verbs according to form of objects and actors, this feature is so prominent in the dialects of the Tsimshian that it deserves mention here.

Singular	Plural	
<i>g' ʰäxkʰ</i>	<i>hō' ut</i>	to escape
<i>iɛ'</i>	<i>lɔ</i>	to go
<i>id' ɔxkʰ</i>	<i>tɔɔ' ɔxkʰ</i>	to eat
<i>d' a</i>	<i>wan</i>	to sit
<i>dzakʰ</i>	<i>yɛts</i>	to kill (plural = to chop)

Singular	Plural.	
<i>hēt^k</i>	<i>mak'sk^u</i>	to stand
<i>hwīt^k</i>	<i>bak^u</i>	to come from
<i>gō</i>	<i>dōq</i>	to take
<i>sg'īt^k</i>	<i>dōxk^u</i>	to lie
<i>k'sax</i>	<i>k'si-Lō'</i>	to go out
<i>maq^t</i>	<i>hwōlqt</i>	to carry
<i>sqats'a'x</i>	<i>alīsg'ī'da</i>	ugly
<i>dā'uL</i>	<i>sak'sk^u</i>	to leave
<i>ma^k</i>	<i>txū'ldet</i>	to put into fire
<i>māxk^{ut}</i>	<i>cēntk^u</i>	to go aboard
<i>ba^x</i>	<i>gōl</i>	to run
<i>ma'gat</i>	<i>t'al</i>	to put
<i>g'ēL</i>	<i>lā'L</i>	to lie down
<i>ts'ēn</i>	<i>la'mdzīx</i>	to enter
<i>nō'ō</i>	<i>da^x</i>	to die
<i>xa'E, male slave</i>		
<i>wa't'ak^u, female</i>	<i>LLēng'īt</i>	slaves
slave		
<i>g'at</i>	<i>ē'ux^t</i>	man
<i>ts'ōsk</i>	<i>ses'ō's</i>	small
<i>Lgo-</i>	<i>k'obE-</i>	small
<i>wī-</i>	<i>wud'ax-</i>	large
<i>k's-</i>	<i>dE-</i>	extreme

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>k'ē°rk</i>	<i>hū°t</i>	to escape
<i>iā°</i>	<i>wālx^s</i>	to go
<i>gā°</i>	<i>hab</i>	to go to a place
<i>iā°rk</i>	<i>txā°rk</i>	to eat
<i>t'ā°</i>	<i>wan</i>	to sit
<i>dza^g</i>	<i>yadz</i>	to kill
<i>hēt^g, bats^g</i>	<i>mar^{sk}</i>	to stand
<i>wā°ty</i>	<i>amiā't</i>	to come from
<i>gā°</i>	<i>dōq</i>	to take
<i>hayā°ks</i>	<i>mak^{sk}</i>	to put
<i>mōrk</i>	<i>sā°ntk</i>	to go aboard
<i>mō'g'an</i>	<i>sā°n</i>	to put aboard
<i>ba°</i>	<i>g'ōl</i>	to run
<i>nā°k</i>	<i>lā°lk</i>	to lie down
<i>ts'ī°n</i>	<i>la'mdzE^x</i>	to enter
<i>dza^g</i>	<i>dE^r</i>	to die
<i>xā°</i>	<i>lū'ng'īt</i>	male slave
<i>lgū°lg</i>	<i>kl^{gE^r}</i>	child
<i>ōl</i>	<i>sa'mi</i> (i. e., meat)	bear

Singular	Plural	
<i>gā'owa</i>	<i>txā'</i>	to take canoe down to the water
<i>ha'utk</i>	<i>bāk</i>	to cry
<i>la'la'x</i>	<i>tgi-klē'l</i>	to drop down
<i>p!as</i>	<i>maxs</i>	to grow
<i>su-p!a's</i>	<i>su-ma'xs</i>	youth
<i>lgu-</i>	<i>k!ab-</i>	small
<i>wi-</i>	<i>wut!a-</i>	large
<i>ks-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	extreme

§ 47. *Plurals of Compounds*

In by far the majority of cases the plural of compounds is formed, in cases of reduplication, by leaving all prefixes unmodified, and by forming the reduplicated plural of the principal theme.

Singular	Plural	
<i>gal-ts'a'p</i>	<i>gal-ts'epts'a'p</i>	town
<i>dax-g'a't</i>	<i>dax-g'ig'a't</i>	strong
<i>an-sē'bensk^u</i>	<i>an-sepsē'bensk^u</i>	friend

Tsimshian:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sa-dzagam-lu-ya'ltg</i>	<i>sa-dzagam-lu-yilya'ltg</i>	suddenly to return across
<i>lū-ām gā'o'd</i>	<i>lū-am'ā'm gā'o'd</i>	to be of [in] good heart

There are, however, cases in which the whole word is reduplicated. Examples of these have been given in § 36, *d* (p. 370). The principal suffixes so treated are *an-* and *ha-*.

The position of the prefix *ga-* seems to depend upon the firmness of the compound. Generally it precedes the stem; as in

Singular	Plural	
<i>gwîx'-silē'ēnsk^u</i>	<i>gwîx'-ga-silē'ēnsk^u</i>	hunter (Nass dialect)

k!A-k!ul-ga-lgusge'redet they are for a while here and there happy
(Tsimshian dialect)

On the other hand, we find in the Tsimshian dialect:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ts!em-mū'</i>	<i>ga-ts!em-mū'</i>	ear

Personal Pronouns (§§ 48-54)

§ 48. *Subjective and Objective Pronouns*

The personal pronouns have two distinctive forms, which, according to their probable original significance, may be designated as transitive and intransitive, or, better, subjective and objective. The former

express, at least partly, the subject of the transitive verb; the latter, its object, and at the same time the subject of the intransitive verb. Their use is, therefore, to a certain extent analogous to that of the subjective and objective pronouns in languages like the Siouan, Iroquois, Haida, Tlingit, and others. The use of these forms in Tsimshian, however, is peculiarly irregular. The forms in the two dialects are—

	Subjective.	Objective.	
	Nass and Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.
First person singular	<i>n-</i>	<i>-ɛs</i>	<i>-ɛ, -i</i>
First person plural	<i>dsp-</i>	<i>-m, -ɔm</i>	<i>-ɛm</i>
Second person singular	<i>m-</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-n</i>
Second person plural	<i>m sɛm-</i>	<i>-sɛm</i>	<i>-sɛm</i>
Third person	<i>t-</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-t</i>

§ 49. Use of the Subjective

(a) The subjective pronouns are used most regularly in the subjunctive mood, where they appear as prefixes of the verb. It will be sufficient to demonstrate their use in one dialect only, since the rules are the same in both, and I choose the Tsimshian dialect for this purpose.

SUBJUNCTIVE

	me.	us.	thee.	you.	him, them.
I	—	—	<i>n-n</i>	<i>n-sɛm</i>	<i>n-t</i>
we	—	—	<i>dsp-n</i>	<i>dsp-sɛm</i>	<i>dsp-t</i>
thou	<i>m-u</i>	<i>m-m</i>	—	—	<i>m-t</i>
ye	<i>m sɛm-u</i>	<i>m sɛm-m</i>	—	—	<i>m sɛm-t</i>
he	<i>t-u</i>	<i>t-m</i>	<i>t-n</i>	<i>t-sɛm</i>	<i>t-t</i>

Examples:

ada wul mɛ wā'yu then you (singular) found me
a wul m sɛm wā'yu because ye (plural) found me
ada wult wā'yu hā'o sɛt then the dog found me
hā'wī'o nī, n dem k!A-txal-wā'n wait until I shall for a while
meet you (*hā'wī'o nī*, wait until; *n* I; *dem* future; *k!A-* for a
while; *txal-* against; *wā* to find; *-n* thee)
a demt ū'otu that he will bake me
ada mɛ dem sɛm wul man-sā'k'!ut then ye will pull it up (*ada*
then; *mɛ* thou; *dem* future; *sɛm* ye; *wul* being; *man-* up;
sa'k'!u to pull; *-t* it)
a wul dep dī-sɛ-wā'ot because we, on our part, give them names
(*a* at; *wul* being; *dep* we; *dī-* on our part; *sɛ-* to make; *wā'*
name; *-t* it)

dēm-t ligi-la-nī°dzetga° he would see somewhere bad luck
(dēm- future; *t-* he; *ligi-* somewhere; *la-* bad luck; *nī°dz* to see; *-t* it; *-ga°* absence [see § 20])
lat g'ik da'mkstga° when he squeezed it again (*la* when; *t* he; *g'ik* again; *damks* to squeeze; *-t* it; *-ga°* absence)

(b) In the indicative, the subjective pronouns are used when the object of the verb is a first or second person. The objective pronouns are used to express the subject of the transitive verb, in the indicative, when the object is a third person. The verb takes the suffix *-d* or *-n* described in § 17.

INDICATIVE

	me.	us.	thee.	you.
I	—	—	<i>n-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ d\text{ɛ}n \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	<i>n-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n\text{s}\text{ɛ}m \\ \text{s}\text{ɛ}m \end{smallmatrix} \right.$
we	—	—	<i>dɛp-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ d\text{ɛ}n \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	<i>dɛp-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n\text{s}\text{ɛ}m \\ \text{s}\text{ɛ}m \end{smallmatrix} \right.$
thou	<i>m-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} nu \\ du \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	<i>m-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n\text{s}\text{ɛ}m \\ d\text{ɛ}m \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	—	—
ye	<i>m sɛm-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} nu \\ du \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	<i>m sɛm-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n\text{s}\text{ɛ}m \\ d\text{ɛ}m \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	—	—
he	<i>t-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} nu \\ du \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	<i>t-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n\text{s}\text{ɛ}m \\ d\text{ɛ}m \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	<i>t-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ d\text{ɛ}n \end{smallmatrix} \right.$	<i>t-</i> $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n\text{s}\text{ɛ}m \\ \text{s}\text{ɛ}m \end{smallmatrix} \right.$

Examples:

m wā'yinu you (singular) found me
m dēm dza'kdu you will kill me (*dzak* to kill)
t wā'yinu hā°set the dog found me
n dza'kden I have killed thee
n wā°on you have found me
mɛ ay'ó'yɪnɛm you (singular) have hit us
dɛp ó'yɪn we hit thee

(c) The subjective pronouns are used with transitive and intransitive forms that take the objective pronouns for the purpose of emphasis.

or $\left. \begin{array}{l} m\text{ɛ } d\text{ɛ}m \text{ } d\text{z}\text{a}'k\text{d}\text{ɛ}nt \text{ } g\text{u}'i \\ d\text{ɛ}m \text{ } d\text{z}\text{a}'k\text{d}\text{ɛ}nt \text{ } g\text{u}'i \end{array} \right\}$ you (singular) will kill this one
or $\left. \begin{array}{l} m\text{ɛ } d\text{ɛ}m \text{ } s\text{ɛ}m \text{ } d\text{z}\text{a}'k\text{s}\text{ɛ}m\text{t } g\text{u}'i \\ d\text{ɛ}m \text{ } d\text{z}\text{a}'k\text{s}\text{ɛ}m\text{t } g\text{u}'i \end{array} \right\}$ you (plural) will kill this one
or $\left. \begin{array}{l} t \text{ } d\text{z}\text{a}'k\text{d}\text{ɛ}t\text{g}\text{ɛ } h\text{ā}'\text{o}s\text{g}\text{a}^\text{o} \\ d\text{z}\text{a}'k\text{d}\text{ɛ}t\text{g}\text{ɛ } h\text{ā}'\text{o}s\text{g}\text{a}^\text{o} \end{array} \right\}$ he has killed the dog
or $\left. \begin{array}{l} n\text{an } l\text{a } y\text{ā}'w\text{u}\text{x}\text{g}\text{ɛ}^\text{n}\text{u} \\ n\text{a } l\text{a } y\text{ā}'w\text{u}\text{x}\text{g}\text{ɛ}^\text{n}\text{u} \end{array} \right\}$ I was eating
or $\left. \begin{array}{l} n\text{am } l\text{a } y\text{ā}'w\text{u}\text{x}\text{g}\text{ɛ}n \\ n\text{a } l\text{a } y\text{ā}'w\text{u}\text{x}\text{g}\text{ɛ}n \end{array} \right\}$ you (singular) were eating

(d) The verb *da-ya* TO SAY SO takes these elements always:

da-n-ya'onu I say so
da-dep-ya'onem we say so
da-m-ya'n you (singular) say so
da-m-sem-ya'onsem ye say so
da-yat he says, they say

Adverbs like *g'ik* AGAIN are placed here following the subjective pronoun, including *m-sem*.

da-m-sem g'ik ya'onsem ye say so again

§ 50. Use of the Objective

(a) The objective is used to express the subject of the intransitive verb.

si'opgenu I am sick
dem al tgi-ks-qâ'ganu but I shall (go) down first (*dem* future;
al but; *tgi-* down; *ks-* extreme; *qâga* first)
ada dem l'i-ô'ksen then you will drop on (it) (*ada* then; *l'i-* on;
ôks to drop)
sa-ô'kst suddenly he dropped
da wul dzô'xsem when you camped (*da* at [see § 28]; *wul*
being; *dzôg* to camp)
me'la hasa'gau tell that I wish
ts!elem-ks-txalâ'nu I am the last one behind

(b) The objective is used to express the object of the transitive verb. Examples have been given in § 49, b.

(c) The objective is used in the indicative of the transitive verb when the object is a third person or a noun. When the object is a third person pronoun, the objective *-t* is added to the objective pronoun.

ô'yut I hit it
ô'yînt you (singular) hit him
ô'yînt we hit it
ne la dza'kdemt gu'i we have killed this one
dem dza'kdut I will kill him
ô'yu hâ'os I hit the dog

(d) The objective is used in a periphrastic conjugation of the transitive verb, in which the objective pronoun is repeated in the form of the independent pronoun.

nî'odzut n!e'ren I see thee (literally: I see it, thee)
dem dza'gden n!e'ryu you (singular) will kill me

- (e) The objective pronoun is used to express the possessive relation.

mīā'nu my master

ne-wā'lbēn thy house

ne-sī'op!ensget his friend

ga-gā'odem our minds

ne-wū'nsem what you have (*wān* for *wāl*, *l* assimilated by preceding *n*)

§ 51. The First Person Singular, Objective Pronoun

The first person singular of the objective form has a second form in *-ī*, which occurs also in the possessive pronoun (see § 55). It is used in all cases in which the event is conceived as unreal.

- (a) In negative sentences.

a'lge dī ha-dza'gi I do not die from it

a'lge hasa'gail dem dza'gen I do not want thee to die

- (b) In sentences expressing potentiality, but with reference to the unreality of the event.

ada a'lget nā'l dem t'in-l'ī-q'an-a'xlgī then there is no one who could get across me (*a'lge* not; *nā* who; *-l* [see § 31]; *dem* future; *-t* he [trans. subj.]; *īn-* nomen actoris (see p. 335); *l'ī-q'an-* over; *axlg* to attain)

semgal bā'osenut op dze dza'gi I am much afraid lest I may die (*semgal* much; *bā* afraid; *-n* indicative; *-u* 1; *op* lest; *dze* conditional; *dzag* to die)

me ō'yig'in you might hit me! (*m* thou; *ōy* to hit; *-i* me; *-g'in* perhaps)

ada demt hē'odzige na-xā'igesge demt gun-a'ksigiga°; wī-qō'ge dem g'a'bu, dzeda lu ts.'i'ōnī, da . . . then my master may send me, he may order me to get water; I shall take a large basket, when I come in, then . . . (*hē'odz* to send; *-ge* [see § 24]; *na-* possessive prefix [see § 55]; *xā* slave; *na-xā'ī* my master; *gesge* preposition [see § 28]; *gun-* to order, to cause; *aksg* to get water; *-ga°* absence [§ 20]; *wī-* great; *qōg* basket; *g'ab* to dip up; *dzeda* if; *ts.'i'ōn* to enter; *da* then)

- (c) In conditional clauses.

ada dze la lu-ya'ltgi then, if I return —

- (d) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form *-ī* in address.

tgū'otgi my child!

nā'ī my mother! (said by girl)

negwā'ōdī my father!

(e) The possessive suffix of the first person has the form *-ī* in subjunctive and negative sentences, in which it designates potentiality of existence.

ēā'p!Exdī a n dze ts txal-wā'sdE tgu'otgīda° I might remember when I met my child (*ēā'p!Ex* to remember; *a* at; *n* I; *dze* conditional; *ts* past; *txal-* against; *wā°* to meet; *tgu'otg* child)
a'tge dī wā'lbī I have no house (*a'tge* not; *dī* on my part; *wālb* house)

§ 52. Remarks on the Subjective Pronouns

(a) The prefixed personal pronouns *n-*, *m-*, and *t-* may be considered true pronominal forms. The first person plural *dep* is, however, by origin, a plural of much wider application. It is used frequently to express the plural of demonstrative pronouns; for instance, *dep gwā'i* THOSE. It seems, therefore, that its use as a first person plural may be secondary.

(b) The second person plural contains the objective element *-sem*, which remains separable from the transitive second person *m-*. Particularly the temporal elements *wil*, *dem*, *la* are placed between *m-* and *-sem*.

ada me dem sem wulā'i la gwā'ntgut then you will know that I have touched it (*ada* then; *me-* 2d pers. subj.; *dem* future: *-sem* 2d pers. plural; *wulā'i* to know [singular obj.]; *la* past: *gwantg* to touch; *-u* I; *-t* it)

(c) The third person is placed following the temporal particles, while all the other persons precede them, except the *-sem* of the second person plural (see under *b*).

First person singular: *n dem sū meā'ulget* I shall shake the rope (*n* I; *dem* future; *sū* to swing; *meā'ulg* rope)

First person singular: *n-dem na'ksgen* I shall marry thee

First person plural: *dep dem awul-ma'gan* we will stand by you (*dep* we; *dem* future; *awul-* by the side of; *mag* to place: *-n* thee)

Second person: *ada me dem kse-de-bā'otga°* then you will run out with her (*kse-* out; *de-* with; *bā°* to run; *-t* her; *-ga°* absence)

Third person: *ada demt q!ā'pegan leksā'gat* then he will close the doorway (*q!ā'pegan* to close, fill up; *leksā'g* doorway)

First person: *a'tge n la dī-k'!inā'm del hanā'og* I have not given it to the woman (*a'tge* not; *n* I; *la* past; *dī* on my part; *k'!inā'm* to give; *del* [see §§ 28, 31]; *hanā'og* woman)

First person: *ada ne wul nī° ne-wā'lpſge y.'ū'ota* then I saw
the house of the man (*ada* then; *ne* I; *wul* being; *nī°* to see;
ne- possessive prefix [see § 55]; *wālb* house; *-ſge* [see § 24];
y.'ū'ot man) § 27

Third person: *ada wult ō'yītga°* } and then he hit him
adat wul ō'yītga°

(d) A comparison between the use of the connectives [see § 24] and the personal pronouns shows a strict correspondence between these forms. We have seen that in the indicative, in forms with the third person object, the subjective forms are not used, but that the objective forms are used instead. This corresponds to the peculiar identity of the objective forms of the subjunctive connective (B 1, § 24) and of the indicative of the subjective connective of the transitive verb (A 2, § 24). It seems justifiable, therefore, to state that, in transitive sentences with nominal subject and object, the indicative takes the objective forms in the same way as in sentences of the same kind, in which pronominal subjects and objects only occur.

§ 53. The Personal Pronoun in the Nass Dialect

As stated before, the usage in the two dialects is very nearly the same, and a number of examples may be given here to illustrate the forms of the Nass dialect.

Use of the subjective (see § 49, a):

(a) Subjunctive forms.

ām me dem wō'ōl qal-ts'a'p good (if) you call the people 206.13
(*ām* good; *wō'ō* to call; *qal-ts'a'p* town)

la ām me na'k'sguē good (if) you marry me 158.2

ām dep d'is d'ē'sl qa-dz'a'gam good (if) we strike our noses 103.8
(*ām* good; *d'ēs* to strike; *qa-* plural; *dz'ag* nose; *-em* our)

at gwa'lk^u del for their drying them 169.7 (*a* preposition; *t-* 3^d per. subj.; *gwa'lk^u* to dry)

nīg'in hwiłā'x't I did not know it (*nīg'i* not [takes the subjunctive])

(b) I have not found any examples of indicative and emphatic forms

(c) (see § 49, b, c).

(d) The verb *dē-ya* TO SAY SO (see § 49, d) has the following forms:

nē-ya'ne I say so

dep hē'idēnōm we say so

mē-ya'an you (singular) said so 171.5

mēsēm hē'idē you say so

dē-ya he says so 65.5

Use of the objective:

Most of the objective pronouns of the Nass dialect are identical with those of Tsimshian. The only exceptions are the first person singular, which in the Nass dialect is always *-ēE*, and the third person plural, which is *-det*.

Examples of the third person plural are the following:

sem-a-barba'g'ask^udetg'ē they were much troubled 195.14

alayūwā'tdet they made noise 173.14

tqal-la'k'et al dēPL wī-sgan'ēst they reached (against at) the foot of the mountain 126.6

huṣ hē-yukt ōx'det they began to throw again 139.15

hwī'lpdet their house 102.3

The objective pronoun is used in the same way as in the Tsimshian dialect.

(a) Subject of the intransitive verb (see § 50, a).

nī'g'ide halai'dēE I am not a shaman 128.9 (*nīg'i* not; *dē* on my part; *halai't* shaman)

dēm lē'tsran you will count 129.9 (*dēm* future; *lē'ts* to count)

hagun-iē'ēt he went in the direction (toward it) 129.14

dēm dē-ba'gam we, on our part, shall try 114.16 (*bag* to try)

mēn-lō'ōnōm we go up 42.8

g'ilō dze huṣ hwī'lsēm do not do so also 98.4 (*g'ilō* do not; *d-* conditional; *huṣ* also, again; *hwīl* to do; *-sem* ye)

la sem-dex-g'ig'a'tdet they had become very strong 98.13 (*la* past; *sem* very; *dex-* strong; *g'at* person; *-det* they)

(b) Object of the transitive verb (see p. 389).

(c) Subject of transitive verb, indicative with third person object.

dēm lep-hwā'yīmL dēm nā'em we ourselves will find our bait 56.6

(d) Periphrastic conjugation.

dēm na'kskūē nē'en I shall marry thee 203.9

la līksq'a't'ēnen nēE thou hast taken notice of me 158.1

sak^usta'qsdēt nē'en qans nē'E they have deserted thee and me 157.10

dēm hwā'lēE nē'en I shall carry thee 74.1

(e) Possessive pronoun.

an-qalā'gaēE my playground 79.1

ts.'ā'bē my people 192.2

negwā'ōden thy father 133.2

lgō'ulgun thy child 205.5

nak'st his wife 133.1

la dēm g'ē'ibēm what was to have been our food 122.9

qa-ts'em-ā'qsem your mouths 84.10

qa-ts'em-a'qdet their mouths 84.13

§ 54. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun, which in its subjective form has also predicative character, is formed from the following stems:

Nass dialect: Subjective *nē-*; objective *lā-*.

Tsimshian dialect: Subjective *n!er-*; objective *k!ā-*.

	Nass dialect.	Tsimshian dialect.		Nass dialect.	Tsimshian dialect.
. . .	<i>nē</i>	<i>n!eriu</i>	me . .	<i>lā</i>	<i>a k!ā'i</i>
we . .	<i>nōem</i>	<i>n!er'em</i>	us . .	<i>lā'em</i>	<i>a k!ām</i>
thou . .	<i>n'en</i>	<i>n!er'en</i>	thee . .	<i>lā'en</i>	<i>a k!wān</i>
ye . .	<i>n'esem</i>	<i>n!er'esem</i>	you . .	<i>lā'sem</i>	<i>a k!wāsem</i>
he . .	<i>net</i>		him . .	<i>lā'ot</i>	<i>a n!ot</i>
they . .	<i>n'det</i> <i>dep nē'det</i>	<i>n!ot</i>	them . .	<i>lā'odet</i>	

Examples:

nē'ē t'an mukt I am the one who caught it 44.8

nē'en t'an dēdō'qt thou art the one who took it 157.4

n!k'!ē lep-nē'l xā'eg'ē then he himself the slave 40.8

k!āx-nē'sem only ye 83.6

*txanē'tk*_L dem hwōls negwō'ōden lā'ōē* all that thy father will do to me 133.2 (*txanē'tk** all; *dem* future; *hwōl* to do; *-s* connective; *negwō'ot* father; *-n* thy)

dem d'ep-k's-qāq nē'st lān I shall (go) down first to you 81.4 (*dem* future; *d'ep-* down; *k's-* extreme; *qāq* first; *nē* I; *-st* emphatic [see § 20]; *lāen* to thee)

*lō-mē'otk*_L g'at lā'ōt* inside it was full of people in it 120.3 (*lō-* in; *mētk** full; *-L* connective; *g'at* people)

gōp dē-lā'sem go ahead, to you also! 83.10

dem nā'kskuē nēen I shall marry thee 203.9

In place of the oblique form, the subjective with the preposition *as* (containing the connective *-s* [see § 23.7]) is also found, particularly for the third person.

hwōl hwō'ls dep-bē'ebē as nē'en qans nē'ē thus did my uncles to thee and to me 157.9 (*hwōl* being; *hwōl* to do; *-s* connective; *dep* plural [see § 52, a]; *bēep* uncle; *-ē* my; *qan* and; *-s* connective)
a'lg'ixt . . . as nē'tg'ē she spoke to him 157.1

Tsimshian:

n!eriu demt in-nā'ksga lgū'olgent I am the one who will marry thy child (*dem* future; *t-* he; *in-* nomen actoris; *nā'ksg* to marry; *lgū'ol* child; *-en* thy)

n!erent in-ō'yit thou art the one who hit him

y!agai-nĩ'odeSEN g'ap-k!a-wĩ-naxnō'gan da k!ā'i however, he (i. e., you) indeed, you are really more greatly supernatural than I (*y!agai*-however; *nĩ'd* he [here with the meaning YOU]; *-sen* indeed; *g'ap*-really; *k!a*-exceedingly, more; *wĩ*-greatly; *naxnō'g* supernatural; *-n* thou; *da* preposition [see § 28]; *k!ā'i* me)

līg-i-gā'o dem k!unā'yīn da k!ā'i, dem k!īnā'mu du k!wAN whatever you will ask of me, (that) I shall give you (*līg-i*-any [see § 8, no. 20]; *gā'o* something; *dem* future; *k!unō'* to request; *-n* thou; *da* preposition; *k!īnā'm* to give; *-u* I)

dā-ya'get negwā'ot ges nĩ'ot thus said his father to him

§ 55. Possession

In the Tsimshian dialect three forms of possession may be distinguished, while the Nass dialect has only two. In the former dialect, separable possession is always introduced by the prefix *na-*, which is absent in the Nass dialect. Both dialects distinguish possession of inanimate and of animate objects.

1. Nass dialect:

(a) All possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the suffix expressing the possessive pronoun (see § 53, *e*), or, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the addition of the connective (see § 23).

hwō'lbēE my house *hawō'ls Lōgōbola'* the arrow of Lōgōbola' 20.3
a'k'sēE my water 18.7 *ts'elē'mL mā'lg'ē* food of the canoe 107.6

(b) All possession of animate objects is expressed by the same suffixes, but the noun is given the passive suffixes *-k*, *-tk*, *-s* (discussed in § 17). Exceptions to this rule are terms of relationship in the singular, which take simply the possessive suffixes, like nouns expressing inanimate objects. The occurrence of the endings *-k* and *-tk* in the plurals of terms of relationship (see § 44) may be due to the treatment of these like other nouns designating animate objects.

g'ibō'tk^{ut} his wolf (*g'ibō'* wolf; *-tk* passive suffix; *-t* his)
huxdā'g'īntk^{ut} his grandchildren 19.10

2. Tsimshian dialect:

(a) All inseparable possession, including nouns designating parts of the body, locations referring to self, and terms of relationship, are expressed by possessive suffixes, and, when the possessive is expressed by a noun, by the connectives (see § 27).

(α) Inseparable possession relating to parts of the body:

bAN belly

bA'nu my belly

ts!a'g nose

ts!a'gen thy nose

(β) Inseparable possession relating to space relations:

<i>awā'o</i> proximity	<i>awā'ot</i> near him (his proximity)
<i>laɣ'δ'</i> the place over	<i>laɣ'δ'yu</i> the place over me
<i>ɬalā'n</i> the place behind	<i>ɬalā'nt</i> the place behind him

(γ) Inseparable possession, expressing terms of relationship, in singular:

<i>negirā'od</i> father	<i>negwā'odu</i> my father
<i>ɬemkdī'</i> sister	<i>ɬemkdī'yu</i> my sister

To this group belong also—

<i>miā'n</i> master	<i>miā'nu</i> my master
<i>nesī'op.Eng</i> friend	<i>nesī'op.Engen</i> thy friend

(b) Separable possession of inanimate objects is expressed by the prefix *ne-* and the possessive suffix (viz., the connective suffix).

<i>wālb</i> house	<i>ne-wā'lbū</i> my house
<i>lā'ob</i> stone	<i>ne-lā'obū</i> my stone

(c) Separable possession of animate objects is expressed by the prefix *ne-*, the passive suffix, and the possessive (viz., connective) suffix.

<i>E'rla</i> seal	<i>ne-E'rlagu</i> my seal
<i>hā'os</i> dog	<i>ne-hā'osgu</i> my dog
<i>ōl</i> bear	<i>ne-ō'ltqu</i> my bear
<i>hān</i> salmon	<i>ne-hā'ntgen</i> thy salmon
<i>ske</i> herring	<i>ne-ske'tgu</i> my herring
<i>ap</i> bee	<i>ne-a'psu</i> my bee
<i>melī'ok</i> steelhead salmon	<i>ne-melī'oksu</i> my steelhead salmon
<i>ts.'ap</i> tribe	<i>n-ts.'a'psu</i> people of my vil- lage (but <i>n-ts.'a'bu</i> my vil- lage)
<i>wālb</i> house	<i>ne-wā'lp'su</i> people of my house (but <i>ne-wā'lbū</i> my house)

§ 56. Demonstrative Pronouns

I have not succeeded in analyzing satisfactorily the forms of the demonstrative pronoun. It has been stated before (§ 20) that presence and absence are expressed by the suffixes *-st* (*-t*) and *-g'ê* (Tsimshian *-t* and *-ga*). Besides these, we find independent demonstrative pronouns and peculiar demonstrative suffixes. In the Nass dialect there are two independent demonstratives: *gōn* THIS, *gōs* THAT.

gōn:

lep-nē'E qane-hwīla gōn I am always doing this myself 52.3 (*lep*-self; *nēE* I; *qane-hwīla* always)

nLk'ē tyōnL sa-gā'ōtk'ut then she resolved this 7.5

ge-g'īpg'a'psL hīrīl dāxdō'at gōn high piles these 42.10

tyōnL hēt: this he said 99.12

gōs:

sem-līk's-g'a'dem qa-gā't dep gō'stg'ē very different were the minds of those 114.12 (*sem*-very; *līk's*-separate; *-g'at* person; *-em* attributive connective; *qa*-plural; *gāt* mind; *dep*-plural [§ 52, a])

sem-gō'usk'UL qē'ner as gō'stg'ē really he reached a trail there 126.7 (*sem*-very; *guḡ* to hit; *-sk'u* intransitive [17. 2]; *qē'ner* trail)

mēnL ts'ENLī'k' gō'stg'ē that was the master of the squirrels 212.5 (*mēn* master; *-L* possessive connective; *ts'ENLī'k'* squirrel)

wī-SEM- k'!ā-ama māl tgō'stg'ē that was a large exceedingly good canoe 107.5 (*wī*-large; *sem*-very; *k'!ā*-exceedingly; *am*, good; *-a* connective [§ 22]; *māl* canoe)

In Tsimshian the demonstratives seem to be more numerous. There are two independent forms: *gwī* THIS, *gwa°* THAT.

gwī:

dā° da gwī°t they are here

adut plīā° redet Waxayā°°q dep gwī°°t then Waxayā°°q told them

lgu-sga-na'k da gwī° a little after this (*sga*-across; *nak* long)

gwa°:

nīn!ī' ksdemā's gal-ts!ēpts!a'be gwa° those are the nine towns (*nīn!ī'* this; *ksdemā's* nine; *gal-ts!a'p* town)

(ī'īlksats!ā°ontk wā° xā° gwa° this slave's name was G.

k!u-sgō°ksem gwa° we will stop here for a while

adut and'xde dep gwa° then these agreed

Derived from *gwa°* is *gwa'sga°*, which always refers to absent objects:

ada al sger lgu-dza'gum a'uta gesga gwa'sga° but then the little dead porcupine lay there (*ada* then; *al* but; *lgu*-little; *dzag* dead; *a'uta* porcupine; *gesga* at [see § 28])

a'lge hē°otget wā°lbesge gwa'sgaga° no house stood there

It would seem that *gwa°* refers to locations near by, since it is never used with the ending *-ga*; while *gwa'sga* designates the distance, and is always used with the corresponding connectives.

Derived from *gwa* is also *gwa'ī*, which seems to point to the part of the sentence that follows immediately; while *gwa°* is almost always in terminal position.

nin'í' wálnā'lb gwai na-tgi-dā'ul those were the houses that had come down

negwā'o de lguā'mlge gwā'it Ha'ts!ēna'set the father of the boy was that Ha'ts!ēna'set

Possibly these two demonstratives are related to *gu*, which appears often with the function of a relative pronoun, but seems to be a demonstrative of another class. These appear to be made up of the demonstratives *d* and *g*, which have been treated in § 20, and the two vowels *-ī* and *-ū*. I have not succeeded, however, in gaining a clear understanding of these forms. I have found the series

-ī

-ū

—

-dū

—

-gū

of which I shall give examples:

-ī:

ttū'o sēnī this one hit thee

nān'í' biā'lstē gwā° sē-wā'tēmī yē'olūa° this is the star that we call *yē'ol*

k'ū dū'o nēmī those around us

gal-ts!a' bē t'í' bēnī la gu gwā° this is the town of the sea-lions

ada hē'lde wā'ldi a gwā° much did this one here

wī-sqanē'oste hē'otgedī a st!ū'op!elt a large mountain stands here behind the house

-ū

nē-bā'odu hanū'og this woman has been running

nē-bā'odu awā'n the one near thee has been running

-du

nin'í' gal-ts!epts!a' bē du gwā° those are the towns

du nū'ol dem dedū'olsedēl . . . who will live then? ZE 792¹³⁰

gā'° du gan lū'ontin you were angry for something of the kind.

-gu

gū na-dī-g'ig'ī nērga nē-ga-niā'otgem those were the ones prayed to by our grandfathers

da'yaga sēm'ā'g'itga° guge g'a'mgem dzī'usdega° thus said the chief, that sun

tnē'rint in-k'!lkl'!nā'm ya'ts!esge da k!wan, gu lā'wula wuticā'yān I am the one who gave you the animals that you always found (*t* he; *nē'riu* I; *in* nomen actoris; *k!nā'm* to give; *ya'ts!esg* animals; *da* to; *k!wan* you [dative]; *lā'wula* always; *wā* to find)

Among the demonstratives may also be enumerated the element *n-*, which, in the Nass dialect, forms the common conjunction *n-k'ē*, and

which also may be contained in the stem *nē-* (Tsimshian *n.'er-*) of the independent pronouns. In Tsimshian it is found in the very frequent demonstrative *nin.'i'* THAT ONE.

Numerals (§§ 57, 58)

§ 57. Cardinal Numbers

The Tsimshian dialects use various sets of numerals for various classes of objects. In Tsimshian one of these classes is used for simple counting. The others designate flat, round, long objects; human beings; canoes; measures. In the Nass dialect round and long objects are counted by the same set of numerals.

These sets of numerals in the two dialects are as follows:

I. Abstract count.		II. Flat objects.		III. Round objects.	
Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.
1 k'äku	k'ä'ek	= I	= I	k'ë'el	k'ë'rel
2 t'ëpxä't	t'ëpxä'd	= I	= I	k'ë'lbel	gü'öp'el
3 golä'nt	gwant	= I	= I	gul'ä'l	k'ulë'
4 txälp	txälp	= I	= I	= I	= I
5 kstënc	kstëns	= I	= I	= I	= I
6 q'ä'elt	q'ä'olt	= I	= I	= I	= I
7 t'ëpxä'elt	t'ëpxä'olt	= I	= I	= I	= I
8 qandä'elt	q'andä'olt	yuxdä'elt	yukda'lt	= II	= II
9 kstemä'e	kstemä's	= I	= I	= I	= I
10 k'ap	k'lap	= I	= I	x'pë'el	kpël
11 k'ap di k'äku	k'lap di gä'ek	= I	= I	x'pë'el di k'ë'el	
12 k'ap di t'ëpxä't	k'lap di t'ëpxä'd	= I	= I	x'pë'el di k'ë'lbel	
20 k'ë'lbel wul k'ap	k'edë'ol	k'iyë'tku		= I	
30 gula wul k'ap		= I		= I	

IV. Long objects.		V. Human beings.		VI. Canoes.	
Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.	Tsimshian.
1 = III	q'a'wutsxan	ky'äl	k'äl	qamä'et	q'amä'ot
2 = III	qä'opsxan	bagadë'l	t'ëpxadë'l	galbä'eltkws	galbä'oltk
3 = III	ga'ltsxan	gulä'n	gulä'n	gulä'altkws	galtsgä'ntk
4 = III	txä'opsxan	txälpädä'l	txälpädä'l	txälpkws	txälpksk
5 = III	ktü'onsxan	kstensä'l	kstensä'l	kstënskws	kstë'onsk
6 = III	q'ä'ltxan	q'ädeldä'l	q'alda'l	q'äeltkws	q'ältk
7 = III	t'ëpxä'ltxan	t'ëpxadädä'l	t'ëpxaldä'l	t'ëpxä'eltkws	t'ëpxä'ltk
8 = III	yukhëtsxan	yuxdäldä'l	yuk'eadä'l	yuxdä'eltkws	yukdä'ltk
9 = III	kstemä'wsxan	kstemasä'l	kstensä'l	kstemä'skws	kstemä'sk
10 = III	kpë'otsxan	x'päl	kpäl	k'apks	k'apks
11 = III		x'päl di k'äl		k'apks di qamä'et	
12 = III		x'päl di bagadë'l		k'apks di galbä'eltkws	
20 = III		= I	k'edä'ol	k'iyë'tkws	
30 = III		= I	gulä'leg'itk		

	VII. Measures.		VIII. Bundles of ten skins.
	Nass.	Tsimshian.	Nass.
1	(k'ilgā'x') = III	k!el'ō'n	gusk'ewa' g'ilpwa'
2	(k'ibēlga'x') = III	gū'op!el'ō'n	
3	gūlalaō'n	k!ul'ō'n	
4	txalpxalō'n	txalpxl'ō'n	
5	k'stēnselō'n	kstōnsel'ō'n, ksten'ō'n	
6	q'ādelō'n	q!ādel'ō'n	
7	t'epxādelō'n	t'epxā'ōdel'ō'n	
8	yuxdādelō'n	yukdā'ōdel'ō'n, yukdel'ō'n	
9	k'stemāselō'n	kstemāsel'ō'n	
10	x'pāō'ndē	kpel'ō'n	

This system will appear clearer when the numerals are arranged according to their stems.

	Nass	Tsimshian
One:	k'ü(k ^u) k'!ēel qamā(ēl)	k'!ā ^o k k'!E'el q'!amā, which may be the stem also for q'!a'wutsxan
Two:	t'epxā'(t) k'!ē!lēl — baqad(ēl)	t'!epxā'(ōd) gū'op!el qā ^o p, which seems to be the stem for galbā'ōltk
Three:	gol(ā'nt) —	gul- in gwant, gulā'n k'!ulē' It seems doubtful if this is different from the preceding one galt
Four:	txālp _x	txālp _x
Five:	k ^u stēns	k ^u stōns
Six:	q'!ēl	q'!ā ^o l
Seven:	t'epxa	t'!Epxa the same as two
Eight:	qan yux	q'!an yuk
Nine:	k ^u stemā'c	kstemā's (containing mā's thumb?)
Ten:	k'!ap x'pō ^o l	k'!ap kpō ^o l probably related to the preceding one

It will be seen that a multiplicity of stems belong to the first three numerals, eight, ten, and probably twenty. Not all these distinct stems are entirely independent, but evidently in part modifications of

the same remote root. It would seem that the numerals one, two, three, ten, for the class of round objects, had a suffix *-l*, which has brought about modifications of the stems to which it has been attached. It seems plausible, therefore, that *k'!ā'k* and *k'!ē'ṛel*, *giran!* and *k'!ulē*, *k'!ap* and *kpē'l*, are derived each pair from one root.

In some of the other classes the suffixes are obvious, although their meaning is not always clear. The suffix *-sxn*, in the class for long objects in Tsimshian, may well be a contraction of the numeral with *sgan* STICK. The class designating human beings contains the endings *-āl*, *-dāl*, which in the numeral three (*gulā'n*) has been changed to *-ān* by dissimilation. The class expressing measures contains the element *-ōn* HAND.

In the numerals the process of contraction may be observed with great clearness. Examples are the weakened forms *kstēnsū'l* FIVE PERSONS, and that for NINE PERSONS, which is probably derived from the same stem, *katemasā'l*. Here belong also the forms *yukleadā'l*, which stands for *yukdelā'l*; *k'!ē'lō'n*, for *k'!ē'ṛelōn*; *k'!ūqā'x*, for *k'!ēl qāx* ONE FATHOM.

§ 58. Ordinal Numbers, Numeral Adverbs, and Distributive Numbers

Ordinal numbers are not found, except the words *ks-qā'x* and *ks-dzō'x* THE FIRST, and *aniā'* THE NEXT, which are not, strictly speaking, numerals.

Numeral adverbs agree in form with the numerals used for counting round objects.

nLk'ēt lō-la'qskūt *La gulā'alt* then she washed him in it three times
197.11 (-*t* she; *lō-* in; *laqskūt* to wash; -*t* him)

Tsimshian:

| *txā'lpaxa hahak'!ux* four times it clapped together

Distributive numbers are formed with the prefix *mēla-* (Tsimshian *mēlē-*), which has been recorded in § 10, no. 87. Besides this, reduplicated forms are found.

Tsimshian:

| *txā'lpaxude wul k'!ipk'!a'pł sa al mēla-k'!ē'ṛelḍel g'amk* forty days
to each month ZE 792.21 (*sa* day; *g'amk* month)

Syntactic Use of the Verb (§§ 59-65)

§ 59. Use of Subjunctive after Temporal Particles

The method of forming the modes has been discussed before, but it remains to add some remarks on their use. By far the most common form is the subjunctive. All historical prose, every sentence that does not express the speaker's own immediate experience, is expressed in this mode. For this reason almost all introductory conjunctions are followed by the subjunctive mode. Possibly this mode can best be compared with our participles in so far as it often has a somewhat nominal character. This is true particularly of the verb when introduced by the temporal particles *hwîl*, *la*, *lā*, *dem* (Tsimshian: *wul*, *la*, *lā*^o, *dem*). The following examples illustrate their use:

1. *hwîl* seems to indicate primarily an action or state, then the place where an action takes place. It occurs commonly after verbs like TO KNOW, TO HEAR, TO SEE, TO FEEL, TO COME, TO GO, and other verbs of motion, TO FIND, TO TELL, and after many adjectives when treated as verbs. After the preposition *a* (see § 67) it generally expresses causal relations.

After *hwîlā'x* TO KNOW:

hwîlā'yîl hwîl a'nuks^{em} ēl^{et} he knew the condition of being cooked of his seal 183.13 (*a'nuks* done; -*em* attributive connective; *ēl^x* seal)

at hwîlā'x^L hwîl had'a'xk^u^L hwîl'tg^{·ē} he knew the being bad his doing 37.6 (*had'a'xk^u* bad; *hwîl* to do)

(Compare with this *nîg'it hwîlā'x's Ts'ak[·] hē'tg^{·ē}* Ts'ak[·] did not know what he said 127.7)

After *baq* TO FEEL:

baq^L hwîl sqa-d'ā^L dā'sgum ēl^x 183.10 she felt the piece of seal being across (*sqa-* across; *d'ā* to sit; *dā'sk^u* slice; *ēl^x* seal)

n^Lk[·]ē lat baq^L dem hwîl alē'sk^{ut} then he felt himself getting weak

After *na^rna'* TO HEAR:

na^rna'^L hwîl a'lg'îx^L qāq she heard that the raven spoke 151.11
t na^rna'^L hwîl hahū't t'an mok^u^L ia'ns he heard that some one was speaking who caught leaves 15.11 (*hēt* to say; *mok^u* to catch with net; *ia'ns* leaves)

(Compare with this *t na^rna'^L hē^L wī-d'ē'set* he heard what the old man said 22.6)

After *g'a'a* TO SEE:

t g'a'al hwil gōksL melē't he saw a salmon jumping 52.15

t g'a'al hwil ā'lg'alL g'at wī-x-pā'ot he saw a man examining the large jaw 52.6

*t g'a'al līlīng'it hwil la ā'd'ik'sk*L ilā'e* the slaves saw the blood having come out 133.15

After *ā'd'ik'sk** TO COME:

*ā'd'ik'sk*L hwil mesā'x* it came to be daylight 160.7

*ā'd'ik'sk*L hwil sig'a'tk*det* it came that they cried 104.11

*ā'd'ik'sk*L hwil q'andā'ul lax-ha'* the sky came to be clear 78.12

After *iā'ē* TO GO:

hagun-iā'ēL g'at al hwil ts'elēm-nō'ōt the man went to the hole being there 201.11

After *qā'ō* TO GO TO:

nLk'ēt qā'ōL hwil d'āt she went to where he was sitting 209.10

k'ēt qā'ōL hwil sg'it he goes to where he lies 218.4

After *hwa* TO FIND:

nīg'it hwat hwil g'āk'sL qē'ttg'ē he did not find his string of fish lying in the water 117.8 (*nīg'i* not; *g'āk's* to be in water; *qēt* a string of fish)

After *mal* TO TELL:

*t ma'ldet hwil wī'tk*detg'ē* they told him where they got it from 42.8 (*wītk** to come from)

*t māLs G'ix'sats'ā'ntx'L hwil lē-hō'ksh*L Lgō'ulLk*L g'a'tg'ē* 90.15

G'ix'sats'ā'ntx' told where the child of the man was on (*lē-* on; *hōksh** to be with something; *Lgō'ulLk** child; *g'at* man)

After adjectives used as verbs, and after numerals:

*nak*L hwil iā't* long he went 146.11 (long was his going)

*nak*L hwil lō'ōdet* long they walked 126.6

wī-t'ē'sL hwil g'it'k'tg'ē he swelled up much 90.12

wī-t'ē'sL hwil ayawā'th'ut he cried much 123.4

hux k'ēL hwil hwī'ls Trī'msem T. did one thing more 44.13

q'ayīm-dē'lpk'ut al hwil nanā'ōL lax-ha' he was quite near to where the hole in the sky was

Tsimshian:

adat t!el-qā'ōti wul wa'tsega sqā'ōtget he thought about it that the darkness continued ZĒ 784.3 (*t!el-qā'ōti* to think; *wa'tseg* to continue; *sqā'ōtgy* darkness)

adat n!arnū'ō wul la g'ik ha'ts!eksem gō'it!ekst then he heard him come again (*n!arnū'ō* to hear; *g'ik* again; *ha'ts!eksem* once more; *gō'it!eks* to come)

adat n!arnū'ōdet Warayā'ok wul wī-sā'ldzege ts!a-wā'lbet then Waxayā'ok heard the people in the house groan much (*wī-* greatly; *sāldz* to groan; *ts!a-* inside; *wālb* house)

ada sa-nĩ'odze ya'ts!esgede wul kse-gwā'ontge wĩ-gō'ep!a then the animals saw the great light rising ZE 785.6 (*sa-* suddenly; *nĩ'odz* to see, discover; *ya'ts!esg* animal; *ksē-* out; *gwā'ontg* to touch; *ksē-gwā'ontg* to rise; *wĩ-* great; *gō'ep!a* light)

adat ma'lesge wula ha'usge n-ts!a'ptga° then he told what his tribe said ZE 786.8 (*ma'* to tell; *ha'u* to say; *ts!ap* tribe)

adat plĩā'ret nē-ts!a'pt gesga wula dza'ksga wai'k'tga° they told the tribe about their brother being dead (*plĩā'r* to tell; *ts!ap* tribe; *dzak* dead; *wai'k* brother)

at k'!i'otssan wul kse-gwā'ontge g'a'mget and he showed the moon that rose ZE 791.17 (*k'!i'otssan* to show; *g'amg* sun, moon)

ām dep dem iā'oka wula ha'u a'uta good we follow what porcupine says ZE 792.22 (*ām* good; *dep* we; *dem* future; *iā'ok* to follow; *ha'u* to say; *a'uta* porcupine)

The use of *wul* is not quite so regular in Tsimshian as in the Nass dialect. We find, for instance,

t n!axnũ'o ha'us Waxayā'ok he heard what Waxayā'ok said
ada g'ik k!e'relde wul hōltga° and one more being full

On the other hand, *wul* is used very commonly with the introductory conjunctions *ada*, *da*. In fact, in most prose the greater number of sentences begin with this combination:

ada wul k'!ē'pra-lemā'otget then every one was saved
ada wulat yā'ulemrs Waxayā'okga° then he gave advice to W.
ada wul ts!i'ont then he entered

The two forms *wul* and *wula* are apparently used without much discrimination. Both are generally admissible, and I have not succeeded so far in discovering any difference in their meaning.

2. *La* expresses a past state (Tsimshian: *la*).

sem-gwā'ēL hwil'lt al gwasL guis-halai'tg'ē he was very poor on having lost his dancing-blanket 38.14 (*sem-* very; *gwāē* poor; *gwas* to lose; *guis-* blanket; *halai't* ceremonial dance)

k'si-Lō'ōdet al la laxlā'xk'et they went out having finished eating 40.9

t g'a'al wunā'x la ax-g'ēbetg'ē he saw the food which he had not eaten 41.4 (*wunā'x* food; *ax-* not; *g'ēp* to eat something)

a'lg'ix Lōgōbolā' al lat hwilā'xL hwil dē'al Lōgōbolā' spoke when he knew that he had lost 20.10 (*a'lg'ix* to speak; *hwilā'x* to know; *dē'al* to lose)

ba'sak'et al la xsdāt they divided upon his having won 21.1

la hux yu'ksa, nLk'ē . . . when it was evening again 141.4

la lē'sk'et lē-ia'tsL ax t k'ō'uk'et al lax-an-la'k', after the porcupine had struck the fire with its tail 77.7

Tsimshian:

adat sem-lu-sanā'igetga a lat nī° dudā'u leplō°p then he was much surprised at it when he saw the ice (on the) stones (*SEM-*very; *lu-* in; *sanā'ig* surprised; *nī°* to see; *dā'u* ice; *lō°p* stone)
lu-ā'm gā°ts nā°t gesge lat nī°stga° his mother was glad when she saw him (*lu-* in; *ām* good; *gā°d* mind; *nā°* mother; *nī°* to see)
nin'ī' gan-haldem-g'ōlt gesge la g'ik ganlā°ok therefore they arose when it was morning again (*nin'ī'* that it is; *gan-* reason; *haldem-* up; *g'ōlt* to run [plural]; *gesge* at; *g'ik* again; *ganlā°ok* morning)
adat g'ē'lkša lat wul'am-suro°ndē ba°sget then he felt when the wind had driven him ashore (*g'ēlks* to feel; *wul'am-* landward; *suro°n* to blow; *bā°sg* wind)
la g'ik k'ē'reldē lu tgi-iā° sat when again one day went down (*k'ē'rel* one; *tgi-* down; *iā°* to go; *sa* day)
dzedā' lu xgro°tksen if you feel cold
dze lu gwā°nksen you may have been cooked
ada lu qa°odisge ha°utga° when he had finished speaking
ada lat sa-gā°lemga u°nkseget when they had taken off the ashes

3. *Lā* while (Tsimshian: *lā°*).

nlk'ēt mā'ldētg'ē lā metk^uL qal-ts'a°p then they told him that the town was full 183.14
la sem-bag'ait-d'ā'L Lōqs, nlk'ē . . . when really in the middle was the sun, then . . . 103.15
nīg'ī huḡ hwilt la qā°ōdet they did not do it again when they finished 179.10

Tsimshian:

n'ini't wul wulā'ī lā°t wula sī°p!ende na°kstga° that was how she knew that her husband continued to love her (*wulā'ī* to know; *sī°p!en* to love; *naks* husband)
ada lā° wula hē°tge wul-qā°sgedet then continued to stand the wise ones ZE 792.20 (*hē°tg* to stand; *wul-qā°sg* wise)
ada sagait-anā°gasgetga a lā° dem wula iā° g'a°mgem dzē'usdet then they agreed together that the sun should continue to go ZE 791.18 (*sagait-* together; *anā°gasg* to agree; *iā°* to go; *g'amg* moon, sun; *dzē'us* daylight)

4. *dEm* future (Tsimshian: *dEm*).

xpēts'a°xl lig'ē'ensk^ug'ē al dem dē-hwilt the grizzly was afraid to do it also 56.14 (*xpēts'a°c* afraid; *lig'ē'ensk^u* grizzly bear)
hēL qā°ōdel ja°el dem t'uks-t'ē'ses Ts!ak the slave thought he would push out Ts!ak 135.4 (*hē* to say; *qā°ōd* heart; *xa°e* slave; *t'uks-* out of; *t'ēs* to push)
nīg'ī dem huḡ a'd'ik'sguēg'ē I may not come again 165.14
dzaL am-hā'ts' dem g'ē'iptg'ē the stump ate all he was going to eat 55.12
dem k'ē men-iē'en you shall go up 91.2

Tsimshian:

ada dem k'ul-man-gô'sen then you will jump up and about ZE
 790.15 (*k'ul-* about; *man-* up; *gô's* to jump)
gwa'i dem ha'un this will you say ZE 790.15
da me dem kse-lô' l sî'obet then shove out the bone! (*me* thou
 [subj.]; *ksE-* out; *lô'* to shove; *sî'ob* bone)
ma'le demt legû'olardet she told she would burn it

§ 60. Use of Subjunctive in the Negative

The negative conjunction *nîg'i* (Tsimshian: *algE*), and that used in interrogative-negative sentences *nē* (Tsimshian: *al*), are followed by the subjunctive or by the connective *-l*

nîg'it mât'enL dem sqa-ïät lât 107.1 it did not let go what went
 across the way of it (*mât't'en* to let go; *sqa-* across; *ïä* to go; *lât*
 to it)
nlk'ët nîg'it da-a'qlk'det they do not reach it 139.2
nîgîn dem dē-gō'ut I will not take it
nēil ad'ā'dîk'sdeda? are they not coming?
nē meSEM hwa'da? didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian:

In the Tsimshian dialect the negative is generally used with the connective *-l*, as described in § 31; the first person singular following the negative is *-i*. (See § 51.)

a'lge n dem k'î'nā'mt al hanā'og I shall not give it to the woman
a'lge di t'â'ô'xigetga° it is not difficult
a wul a'lge di t wulā'it dem dax-yā'ogul anī'ostga° because he did
 not know how to hold on to the branch (*wulā'i* to know; *dax-*
yā'og to hold; *anī'os* branch)
a'lge di hasā'gai I do not wish (to do so)
a'lget nîsagā'otgetga sts'â'lga° the beaver did not mind it
 (*nîsagā'otg* to mind; *sts'âl* beaver)

Negative-interrogative sentences:

al sî'opgedi guga hanā'oxga°? is not this woman sick?
al me wulā'idut in-wulā'gun? don't you know who has done this
 to you?

§ 61. The Subjunctive after Conjunctions

nlk'ët g'a'al hwoil lēba'yukL qē'wun 103.5 then he saw the gulls
 fly (*g'a'a* to see; *lēba'yuk* to fly [plural]; *qē'wun* gull)
k'ët gō'uL wôhā'st then he takes a string 217.4
wôalk'ët lō-d'ep-t'eklā'alſaant then he breaks it down in it 217.8
 (*lō-* in; *d'ep-* down; *t'eklā'alſaan* to break)
tse n dem swa'a'nt I may cure her 123.7
dat hwoilā'gut when he has done this to him 217.6

Tsimshian:

adat g'e' redaxtga° then he asked her

ada me dem sem wulā'i la gwā'ntgut then ye will know that I have touched

§ 62. Use of the Indicative

On account of the tendency of the Tsimshian language to express all narrative in the subjunctive mood, indicative forms are quite rare, and occur almost only in statements of self-experienced facts. It is remarkable that the particle *na*, which expresses the completed past, and which occurs in the Tsimshian dialect only, is always followed by the indicative.

nan k!ul-sag'ap-iā°nu I have only walked about without purpose

Examples of the use of the indicative are the following:

dem iā'nē al awa'an I shall go (to) near you 196.12

dem qalā'qnōm we will play 75.6

nālnē' l iā'dē I roast that 121.9

lep-g'ē'bedas dzē'edzē Lgo-lep-tq'al-mē'nt grandmother ate her own little vulva 121.12 (*lep-* she herself; *g'ēb* to eat something;

dzē'edz grandmother; *Lgo-* little; *tq'al-* against; *mēn* vulva)

Tsimshian:

gwa'lge ne wā'lbe sem'a'g'ūt the chief's house is burnt

ama wā'lt Tōm Tom is rich

dem g'idī-gā°du rā° I shall catch the slave

wā°nt yā°ogut my grandfather invites thee

§ 63. The Negative

(a) The negative declarative is expressed by the adverb *nī'g'i* (Tsimshian *a'lge*), which evidently contains the stem *nē* (Tsimshian *al*) and the suffix indicating ABSENCE. The stem without this suffix is used in the negative interrogative (see § 60). The negative adverbs are always followed by the subjunctive.

nīg'it hwilā'x' l hwil dā'ull stēlt he did not know where his companion had gone 15.2 (*hwilā'x'* to know; *dāul* to leave; *stēl* companion)

nīg'i t'ēst'ē'st they were not large 113.9 (See also p. 403.)

(b) The negative interrogative is expressed by *nē* (Tsimshian: *al*).

nēl al'ā' dīk'sdēda? are they not coming?

nēl sg'i l me dem ha-men-sā'g'ida? have you anything to pull it up with? (*sg'i* to lie; *me* thou; *ha-* means of; *mēn-* up; *sāg'* to pull)

Tsimshian:

| *al nē-bā'ōdi?* has he not been running?

| *a'l mē-wulā'idut in-wulā'gun?* don't you know who did this to you?

(c) The word *no* is expressed by *nē* (Tsimshian: *a'yīn*). The form *a'yīn* is also sometimes used in interrogative sentences.

"*nē*," *dē'yāl g'a'tg'ē* "no," said the man 87.11

Tsimshian:

| "*A'yīn! nē-gan-wā'lsēmī, nā'ot?*"—"A'yīn." Did you not get what you went for, my dear?"—"No." (*a'yīn* not; *nē*- possessive; *gan*- reason; *wā*l to do; *-sēm* ye; *nā'ot* my dear! [masc.])

(d) *hawā'lg* (Tsimshian) signifies NOT YET.

a hawā'lga gā'ol dēdū'ol'sēt when not yet anything was alive ZE 782.1

(e) In subordinate clauses the negation is expressed by *ar-* (Tsimshian *wa-*). These prefixes have been described in § 11, no. 137, p. 328. This prefix must be considered to have a nominal character, so that the whole sentence appears as a verbal noun.

(f) *g'ilō'* don't! (Tsimshian *g'ilā'*).

g'ilō dze sō'ōsēm, ana! don't take the rest out 181.9 (*dze* weakens the imperative)

g'ilō' mē dze sēm mā'let don't tell about it! 181.11

Tsimshian:

| *g'ilā' bā'ōsēt* don't be afraid!

| *g'ilā' mē dze gā'ot* don't go there!

§ 64. The Interrogative

In the Nass dialect the interrogative seems to be formed regularly by the suffix *-a*, which is attached to the indicative pronominal endings (see § 48). In Tsimshian the most frequent ending is *-ī*, but *-ū* also occurs. It does not seem unlikely that these endings may be identical with the demonstrative endings *-ī* and *-ū*, which were discussed in § 56. After interrogative pronouns these endings are not used.

1. Interrogative suffix *-a*:

nēēL ts'ēns K'al-hā'tgum-q'ē'sēm q al ts'ēm-hwīlbā'? did not Labret-on-One-Side enter the house? 191.12 (*ts'ēn* to enter; *k'al-* on one side; *hātq'* to stand; *q'ē'sēm q* labret; *ts'ēm-* interior; *hwīlp* house; *-a* interrogative)

nēēL wī-t/ē'sda? is it great?

nē mē sēm hwa'da? didn't you find it? 106.7

Tsimshian -i:

wa, n̄'odzēn̄? do you see?
mē dēdū'olēn̄? are you alive?
a wu la dzakl̄ wa'n̄? is the deer dead yet?
al mē n!aen̄'odi gu xstāmqt? don't you hear a noise?
āl di ga'usen̄? have you no hair?

Tsimshian -u:

s̄'opgut? is he sick?
al mē wulā'idut in-wulā'gun? dost thou not know who did this to thee?
al mē lā' wula habēbā'ldut? didst thou not always keep it?

2. No interrogative suffix is used after interrogative pronouns.

agō' what (Tsimshian: *gā°*):

agō' L la an-hā' L qal-ts'ap? what is it that the people say? 138.15
agō' L dem an-a'k'sen? what are you going to drink? 17.14
agō' L hē'tsen? what is talking (there)? 23.9

Tsimshian:

| *gā° wula ha'unt?* what do you say?

nda where (Tsimshian: *nda*):

ndaL hwil̄ hētk^uL hwilp? where is the house?
ndaL demt hwil̄ dē-witk^ut? where will he have come from? 16.6

Tsimshian:

| *nda wula wā'otgent?* where do you come from?

nā who (Tsimshian: *nā°*):

nā t'an-ax-hwīlā'yīn? who does not know thee?

Tsimshian:

| *nā^o t in na'ksge lgū'lgēs Gauō'?* who is the one to marry the daughter of Gauō?
 | *nā^odē gu awā'on?* who is the one next to thee?

§ 65. The Imperative

The imperative of intransitive verbs is ordinarily expressed by the second person of the indicative or subjunctive, while its emphasis may be lessened by the particle *dze*. Very often the personal pronoun is strengthened by the addition of the prefixed subjective pronouns. In many cases the imperative has the future particle, which suggests that the form is not a true imperative but merely a future which serves the purpose of expressing an order.

dem yu'kdenL t'em-lā'nē hold to my neck! 75.11

dem qalā'qnōm let us play! (literally, we shall play) 75.6

Weakened by *dze*:*dze ama-g'a'adeseem* look well after her 191.15*me dze k'ē' me lō-k'ē'tselt* then put in the finger 195.10**Tsimshian:***dem k!ū-man-gō'sen* then jump up and about!*n!inī dem dzagam-hā'otgenga°* that one call ashore! (literally, that is the one you will call ashore)*dem e'an ne-ama-wā'ls negwā'o den* promise him the wealth of your father**Weakend by *dze*:***ada dze wul hau'un* "lax-lō'ob" then say "on stone"**Transitive verbs may form their imperatives in the same way.***tgōnL dem hwī'len* do this! (literally, you will do this)**Tsimshian:***me dem lagax-lu-dā° dā'u* put ice on each side!*me dem se-wa'dit* call him a name!

More frequently the imperative of transitive verbs is expressed by indefinite connectives, or, when there is no nominal object, by the ending *L* (Tsimshian *-t*).

gōuL lgō'ulgun take your child! 205.5*hūts'en-d'a'l qa-ts'ō'ol ts'ak* put back from the fire some dishes 207.2*sā'lebel* steam it! 54.8.**Tsimshian:***wai, di bā'olt* you, on your part, try!*dex-yā'ogwa anū'oset* hold on to the branch!*t!em-stū'ol lu'nsut* accompany my son-in-law to the fire!*man-sa'ik'a as'ont* pull up your foot!

By far the most frequent method of expressing the imperative is by the periphrastic expression *ām* (IT WOULD BE) GOOD (IF).

āmL dem guxt take it! 141.6*āmL dem se-ā'lgum* let us cut wood! 63.4*āmL dem dē-xsan* you gamble also! 29.1*ām me dem wō'ōL qal-ts'a'p* invite the town 206.13**Tsimshian:***ām me dem dī bā'olt* try it too!

ā'mse'nl me k!a-dī-ba'ga n-dī-na-beba'gan just try my playground too (*ām* good; *-se'* dubitative; *me* thou; *k!a-* just; *dī-* on (thy) part; *ba'* to taste; *n-* possessive; *na-* place; *ba'* to taste, play)

ām dem k!ē'oxgent escape!*ām dze gō's dep negwā'o den* go to your parents!

The negative imperative is expressed by *g'ilô'*.

g'ilô'! nēxna'yâtq'ê al ts!em-hwî'lp don't! they might hear you in the house 91.10.

g'ilô' mē dze sem sqa-yô'ak^{ut} don't pass in front of it 107.3

g'ilô' l sēxsā'mēxsemēs don't keep your mouths closed 84.5

§ 66. Subordinating Conjunctions

The use of the temporal particles and of the negative as subordinating conjunctions has been described before (§§ 59 et seq.). It remains to enumerate a few of the other important conjunctions.

1. *k'ê* THEN; generally in connection with the demonstrative *n-*

nLk'ê ā'dîk'sk^{ut} then he came

k'ê dōql annā'sL qāq then he took the skins of ravens 39.2

nL dem k'ê mē-txē'ldîL smax then burn the meat 213.1

2. *da* when.

da la wōqsl g'a'tg'ê when the man is buried 218.4

3. *dze* (*tse*) weakens statements.

nLk'ê g'îdaxL sem'ā'g'ît tse hwîl wîtk^{ut} then the chief asked where it might come from 183.13

nîg'ît hwîlāx's Wig'a't tse hwîl d'ep-a'ak^{uL} not knew Giant where he came down 15.1

nLk'ê wōxwā'xdet a tse hwîl hwî'LL ēlx then they wondered at where was the seal 42.6

ōp tse nō'ōt, tse mē'tk^{uL} ak's al ba'nt lest he die, if his belly should be full of water 73.7

The use of *dze* with imperatives has been explained before.

4. *tseda* (*dze da*) when, if.

tseda hasa'xL haldā'ug'ît demt dzak^{uL} sel-g'a'tt, k'ê, when a witch desires to kill a fellow-man, then 217.1

tseda huḡ hwî'lēE, nLk'ê, when I do it again, then 165.12

ts!ē'nē nāt, tseda nē'en enter, my dear, if it is you! 39.13

5. *ōp tse* else, lest.

ōp tse nō'ōēE else I might die 74.4

k'ê sem-ia'lk^{uL} lax-ō' l lô'ōp; ōp tse g'utg'wā'ōtk^{uL} sāk qan-hwîl 34.9 then the top of the stone was very slippery; lest the olachen might be lost was the reason of his doing so (*sem-* very; *ialk^u* slippery; *lax-ō'* top; *lô'ōp* stone; *g'wā'ōtk^u* to be lost; *sak* olachen)

6. *ts'ō* although.

ts'ōt huḡ hwîlā'x't although he knows it

simshian:

1. *ada* then.

ada ma'tede dep gua'o then these told

adat g'ik sga-bā'ot he assisted him (literally, then he stood by him)

2. *da* when.

ne la dem gwā'ntge da n dem sū mea'wulget when I shall have touched it, then I shall swing the rope (*gwāntg* to touch; *sū* to swing; *mea'wulg* rope)

da al ts!elem-ha'pda n!ā'otet, ada . . . when the killer-whales rushed in, then . . . (*ts!elem-* into; *hap* to rush [plural]; *n!ā'ot* killer-whale)

3. *dze* weakens statements.

adat ge'redaxtge a gū dze gan ha'ut then they asked why he might have said so

āp!exdi a n dze txal-wā'sde lqū'lgida° I may remember when I may have met my child (*āp!ex* to remember; *txal-wā'* to meet; *lqū'lg* child; *-i* I, my [see § 51])

4. *dze da* when, if.

n dem wa'lint dze da bā'sen I will carry you if you are afraid (*wa'li* to carry on back; *bā's* to be afraid)

dze da lā ts'ī'ni dā n dem sa-dā-ga'inat when I enter, I shall fall with it (*ts'ī'n* to enter; *sa-* suddenly; *dā-* with something; *ga'ina* to fall)

5. *ōp dze* else, lest.

bā'senut ōp dze dza'gi I fear (lest) I fall

6. *ts'u* although.

ts'u nī'yeda tgi-ō'ksut, da g'ap-a'lga-di-sga'yīksqī although I (literally, this one) fell down, he (I) really did not hurt himself (myself) (*nī'yeda* he, this; *tgi-* down; *ōks* to drop; *-u* I; *g'ap-* really; *a'lga* not; *di-* on [my] part; *sga'yīksq* to be hurt)

ts'u waqait n'a g'idegane'otsga° even though far to the Tlingit

7. *asī* while.

ada asī hiā'oksga lī'omitga° then while he began his song

8. *amī* if (event assumed as not likely to happen)

amī dze la me g'a'lks dze dem lu-da'klxan if you should feel that you may drown (*g'alks* to feel, *lu-* in; *da'klxan* to be drowned)

amī dze la k'!ē'oxgen when you have made your escape

9. *yū'ol* if (event expected to happen).

yū'ol ne yē'dzen if I hit you

§ 67. Preposition

The preposition *a* is used to express local, temporal, and modal relations. When used for expressing local relations, the particular class is often expressed by the local particles prefixed to the verb and substantive. The preposition always takes the connective suffix *-l* or *-s*, as described in §§ 23, 28.

The following examples illustrate the wide application of this preposition:

1. Signifying AT:

- baXL Lgo-a'k's aL awa'adetg'ê* a little water ran near them 117.3
(*baX* to run; *Lgo-* little; *ak's* water; *awa'a* proximity)
iaga-ma'gat aL g'ä'u he put him down at the front of the house
46.8 (*iaga-* down; *mag* to put; *g'ä'u* beach in front of house)
aL g'ä'leq outside 121.15

2. Signifying IN; generally with the verbal prefix *lō-* and with the substantival prefix *ts'em-*:

- lō-ma'qsk^u L t'ēlx' aL ts'em-ts'ak'* the grease ran in (into) the dish
46.14 (*lō-* in; *maqsk^u* to stand [plural]; *t'ēlx'* grease; *ts'em-* inside of; *ts'ak'* dish)
tq'al-lō-dzô'qst aL hwilpg'ê he stayed in the house 64.11 (*tq'al-* against [i. e., permanently]; *lō-* in; *dzôq* to camp; *hwilp* house)

3. Signifying ON; generally with verbal prefix *lē-* and substantival prefix *lax-*:

- lē-iaq' L oq aL lax-anē'st* a copper hangs on a branch 138.3 (*lē-* on; *ia'q* to hang; *anē's* branch)

4. Signifying TOWARD; often with the verbal prefix *hagun-*:

- hagun-iē'ēL g'at aL awa'at* a man went toward him 138.14 (*hagun-* toward; *iē'ē* to go; *g'at* man; *awa'a* proximity)
iä'êt aL g'ilē'lîx' he went into the woods 119.11
g'a'ask^ut aL lax-ha' he looked at the sky 137.6

5. Signifying FROM:

- wētk^ut aL awa'as nōxt* he came from near his mother 22.12 (*wētk^u* to come from; *awa'a* proximity; *nōx* mother)
k'saxt aL hwil'lp he went out of the house 166.11

6. Signifying TO; used like our dative:

- hwil hwil'ls dep bē'ebēe as nē'en* thus did my uncles to thee 157.9
(*hwil* to do; *dep* plural; (*n-*)*bē'ēb* uncle; *-ēe* my; *nē'en* thou)
g'inā'mt aL Lgo-tk'ē'Lk^u he gave it to the boy 139.4

7. Signifying WITH; instrumental:

- La'lbEL q'aldō'x' aL ha-q'ō'L* she scraped the spoon with her fish-knife 8.9 (*La'lb* to scrape; *q'aldō'x'* spoon; *ha-q'ō'L* fish-knife)

lê-ia'tset lax-a'k's al waqlt he struck the water with his tail 75.15
(*lê- on; ia'ts to strike; lax- surface; ak's water; waql beaver's tail*)

guxl lak^u al lêt qanl daql he took fire-wood with wedge and hammer 90.8 (*gux to take; lak^u fire-wood; lêt wedge; qan and; daql hammer*)

8. Signifying ON ACCOUNT OF:

sēpk^ul qâ'ôts Wî-g'a't al xda^xt sick was Giant's mind on account of his hunger 69.4

sem-pla'k'sk^ut al hwî'ltg'ê he was very tired on account of what he had done 62.15

9. Expressing time:

al wî-sa' all day long 138.9 (literally, at great day)

al hað'ng'ê mēsā'x-g'ê before daylight 151.6 (at not yet daylight)

al sînt in summer 20.14

10. Used with various verbs:

lê-metmē'tk^ut al t'ē'ben they were full of sea-lions 108.8 (*lê- on; mētk^u full; t'ē'ben sea-lion*)

mētk^ul māl al lān the canoe was full of spawn 29.10

ansgwa'tgut as ne'tg'ê they made fun of him 143.3

nLk''ēt g'enL g'a'tg'ê al hwîndô'ô the man fed him with tobacco 90.10 (*g'en to give to eat; g'at man; hwîndô'ô tobacco*)

g'ēk^ul liâ'n al haya'tsk^u he bought elk for coppers 194.11 (*g'ēk^u to buy; liâ'n elk; haya'tsk^u copper*)

sa-hwa'det al X-ama'lgwaxdel Wâ'se they called him Eating-Scabs-of-Wâ'se 41.14 (*sa- to make; hwa name; x- to eat; ama'llk^u scab*)

g'âtsk^ut al hana'q he was tired of the woman 126.1

wai-g'a'tk^ut as nequâ'ôdet he longed for his father 203.13

The preposition *a* is used very often with *hwîl* and *dēm* to express causal and final subordination, the subordinate clause being thus transformed into a nominal phrase.

11. *al hwîl* because (literally, at [its] being):

laxbets'ē'x'det . . . al hwîlt g'a'adet they were afraid because they saw it 207.10

al hwîl nîg'idi halai'ts Ts'ak^u; nîLne't qant-hwîla'k^udetg'ê because Ts'ak^u was no shaman, therefore they did so 123.12 (*nîg'i not; di on his part; halai't shaman; nîLne't that; qan reason; hwîl to do*)

lō-hwa'ntk^ul qâ'ôdet al hwîl x'tamk^ut its heart was annoyed because of the noise 95.15 (*lō- in; hwanth^u annoyed; qâ'ôt heart; x'tamk^u noise*)

lō-hwa'ntk^u L qā'ōdet al hwil xstamk^ut he was annoyed on account of the noise 95.15 (*lō-hwa'ntk^u* annoyed; *qā'ōt* mind)
aba'g'ask^ut al hwil sē-k' a-wi-yē'tk^ust he was troubled because he cried anew very much 21.12 (*aba'g'ask^u* to be troubled; *sē-* anew; *k' a-* exceedingly; *wi-yē'tk^u* to cry)

12. *al dem* in order to, that:

tsagam-wō'ōt al dem dedā'leqt he called it ashore to talk with it 38.1 (*tsagam-* ashore: *wō'ō* to call; *dedā'leq* to talk with)
k'ēt bōxt al dem nōōm-a'k'st he waited for her to be thirsty 21.7 (*bōx* to wait; *nōōm-* to desire; *ak's* to drink)
lō-ya'ltk^ut al dem yō'ōxk^ut he returned to eat 55.9
k'si-ba'x al dem gun-lu'kt he ran out to make move

13. Sometimes the connection expressed by *a* is so weak that it may be translated by the conjunction AND. Evidently the verb following *a* is nominalized.

yō'ōxk^ut al wī-t'ē'sem yō'ōxk^ut he ate, and ate much 36.10
d'āt al wī-yē'tk^ut he sat and wept 39.7 (he sat down, weeping)
iaga-iā' L na'k'stg'ē . . . al la gwā'ōtk^ut his wife went down, and he was lost 166.7, 8

Tsimshian:

The variety of forms which the preposition *a* takes in Tsimshian has been discussed in § 28. Here examples will be given illustrating its application.

1. Signifying AT:

ada k'a-t.ā'ot gesga g'ilhan'li then he sat at the inland-side for a while
al di nā°kl g'ad a awa' naksē ne-wa'g'u? does a person lie near my brother's wife? (*al* not; *di-* on his part; *nā°k* to lie; *g'ad* a person; *awa'* proximity; *naks* wife; *wa'g'* brother)

2. Signifying IN:

demt ū'oden a ts!em-la'get he will bake thee in the fire (*ūd* to bake; *ts!em-* interior of; *lag* fire)

3. Signifying ON:

adat l'ī-se-gw'lgē la'ge dA lax'ō'tga° then he lighted a fire on top of him (*l'ī-* on; *se-* to make; *gulg* to light; *lag* fire; *lax'ō* top)
me dem t!ā'ont gesge stū'op!elga° make him sit in the rear of the house

4. Signifying TOWARD:

ada hagul-iā'ot gesga awa' ne-wā'lb then he went slowly toward his house
gun-iā'ot gesge wul nā°kt he went to where he lay

5. Signifying FROM:

wā'otget gesge awā' na'kstga° he came from near his wife
haldem-bā'oget Astiwā'l gesge lae-lō'opga° Astiwā'l arose from
 the stones

6. Signifying TO; used like our dative:

ada wul ha'us negwā'ot ges nī'otga° then his father said to him
adat wula k'!ina'msge da'u gesge lgu'olgetga° then he gave ice
 to his child (*k'!ina'm* to give; *da'u* ice; *lgu'ol* child)

7. Signifying WITH, instrumental:

dat wul lū-sga-ya'dze ts!alt gesge lī then she struck him across
 the face with the feather (*lū-* in; *sga-* across; *yadz* to strike;
ts!al face; *lī* feather)

dzā'bet al an'o'ntg'ē he made with his hands

lābet al ha-q'ō'l she scraped with a fish-knife 8.9

8. Signifying ON ACCOUNT OF:

lū-q!ā'ga qd'ots Astiwā'l gesge ne-txalā'ndet Astiwā'l was sad
 on account of those he had (left) behind (*lū-* in; *q!āg* open,
 hollow; *qd'od* mind; *txalā'n* behind)

9. Expressing time:

a wi-gā'msem during the whole (great) winter

a na-qā'ga in the beginning ZE 781¹¹

10. Used with various verbs:

a wult se-q!an-q!adā'ula ga-gā'oda a gwa'dekssem iēont because
 she refreshed the hearts with cool fog ZE 797.32 (*q!an-dā'ul*,
 literally, to go over, to refresh; *gwa'deks* cool; *iēon* fog)

hō'ltge wā'lbet a ts!ā'q full was the house of fat

adat wul plā'res negwā'ot gesget g'ilks-nī'osge na'kstga° then
 she told her father that she had looked back at her husband
 (*plā'r* to tell; *g'ilks-* back; *nī'* to see)

11. *a wul* because:

a wult la na'gedat n!arnū' han because for a long time she had
 heard say (*nag* long; *n!arnu'* to hear; *han* to say)

asde wul wa-dī-lgu-rā'oga because they, on their part, were even
 without a little foam (i. e., had nothing) (*wa-* without; *dī-*
 on their part; *lgu-* little; *rā'og* foam)

12. *a dem* in order to, that:

txan!i' gā bā'old la'msu a demt wula dza'kdut everything tries
 my father-in-law to kill me (*txan!i'* all; *gā* what, something;
bā'old to try; *lams* father-in-law; *dzak* to kill)

a demt ā'otut in order to bake me

a demt ma'ksge ne-sesi'optga° in order to gather his bones

13. *a and*:

ada wul wa'ndit a bā'okedet then they sat down and lamented

TEXTS

NASS DIALECT

Txanē'tkL ¹	sa ²	hīs-dzô'qsl ³	klope-tk'lē'Lk ^{u.4}	Wi-hē'lt, ⁵
Every	day	played camping	little children.	Many
q'am-k'lēL ⁶	wī-ga'n. ⁷	Wi-lō-nô'ôL ⁸	wī-ts!ā'wut. ⁹	Wi-d'e'xL ¹⁰
only one	great log.	Great in hole	great inside.	Large
wī-ga'n. ⁷	NL ¹¹ hwīl ¹²	g'its'EL-qā'ôdēL ¹³	k'ope-tk'ē'Lk ^{u.4}	Nīlne'L ¹⁴
great tree.	Then where	in went	little children.	Then
hwī'lpdētḡ.ē ¹⁵	wī-qalk'si-nô'ôm ¹⁶	gan. ⁷	Nlk'ēt ¹⁷	lō-sī-me'ldēL ¹⁸
their house	large through hole of	tree.	Then	in made burn they
lak ^u	lāt. ¹⁹	Nlk'ē ¹⁷	huḡ	txā'xk ^u det ²⁰
fire	in it.	Then	again	they ate
				many
				their traveling provisions.
Hân . ts'elē'mL	gul-q'anē'tk ^u L ²¹	k'ope-tk'ēLk ^{u.4}	La ²²	nak ^u L ²³
Salmon	the provisions of	all	little children.	When
hwī'ldet ²⁴	aL ²⁵	txanē'tk ^u L ¹	sa, ²	nLk'ē ¹⁷
they did so	at	every	day,	then
				when
La ²²	huḡ	lō-dzô'qdet ²⁶	aL ²⁵	wī-ts'EM-ga'n. ²⁷
when	again	in they camped	at	great in log.
				Then
				again
				the water rose.

¹ *tra*- all (§ 10, no. 93); *tranē'tk^u* independent form; *L*-connective of numerals (§ 23.6).

² Same form in singular and plural (§ 41).

³ *hīs*- to pretend (§ 10, no. 79); *dzôq* to camp; *-s* suffix (§ 17, no. 6) required by *hīs*; *L*- connective of predicate and subject (§ 23).

⁴ *k'ops*- small [plural] (§ 10, no. 113); *tk'ēLk^u* children [plural]; *k'ops*- only in the plural; *Lgō*- is the singular of *SMALL*.

⁶ *wī*- great (§ 10, no. 73); *hīl* many (almost always used with the prefix *wī*-).

⁷ *q'am*- only (§ 10, no. 118); *k'ēl* one flat thing (§ 57); *L*- connective of numerals.

⁸ *wī*- great (§ 10, no. 73); *gan* tree, log.

⁹ *wī* great; *lō*- in (verbal prefix [§ 9, no. 29]); *nô'ô* hole; *-L* predicative connective.

¹⁰ *ts'ēLk^u* the inside; in combination with nouns the prefix *ts'EM*- is used to designate THE INSIDE (§ 11, no. 152); *-t* probably possessively ITS.

¹¹ *wī* great; *d'ER* large.

¹² *n*- demonstrative (?); *L* probably connective.

¹³ Verbal noun, here designating the place where something happens (§ 59).

¹⁴ The prefix *g'its'EL* is not known in other combinations; *ē'ē* (singular), *qā'ô* (plural), to go; *-det* 3d person plural (§ 53); *-L* connective.

¹⁵ *n*- demonstrative (?); *L*- probably connective. This conjunction seems to appear here doubled.

¹⁶ *hwīlp* house; *-dēt* their; *-g'ē* invisible (§ 20).

¹⁷ *wī*- great; *qalk'si*- through (§ 9, no. 24); *nô'ô* hole; *-m* adjectival connective.

¹⁸ *nL*; see note 11; *k'ē* then; *t* transitive subject, 3d person (§ 48).

¹⁹ *lō*- in (§ 9, no. 29); *si*- to cause (§ 13, no. 164); *mēL* to burn; *-det* they; *-L* connects predicate and object.

²⁰ *lā* 3d person pronoun, oblique case (§ 54).

²¹ *qū'āxku* (singular), *txā'ôxku* (plural), to eat (intransitive verb); *-det* they.

²² A compound the elements of which are not quite clear (compare *tranē'tk^u* all); also *qane-hwila* always (§ 10, no. 120).

²³ Particle indicating that one action is past when another sets in; also verbal noun (§ 59).

²⁴ *nak^u* long, temporal and local.

²⁵ *hwīl* to do; *-det* they.

²⁶ a general preposition (§ 67); *-L* indefinite connective.

²⁷ *lō*- in; *dzôq* to camp; *-det* they.

²⁸ *wī*- large; *ts'EM*- inside of (§ 11, no. 152).

Nlk'ē ¹⁷	g'ig'â'k'sL ²⁸	wi-ga'n.	Nlk'ē	uks-o'lik'skut. ²⁹	Ni'g'ât ³⁰
Then	floated	the great log.	Then	out to sea	it drifted.
Not they					
hwîlâ'x'L ³¹	k'ope-tk'ē'lk ^{u.4}	YukL ³²	gwanem-qalâ'qdet ³³	al ³⁵	
knew it	the little children.	Beginning	they were playing	at	
lo-ts'a'wul ³⁴	wi-ga'n	La ²²	hwagait-uks-dâ'ul ³⁵	al ³⁵	hwagait-g'îks ³⁶
inside of	great log	when	away	out it was going	at way off shore
			to sea		
La ²²	uks-na'kut. ³⁷	Nlk'ē ¹⁷	k'si-Lô'ôtk ^{uL38}	k'âlL ³⁹	Lgō-tk'ē'lk ^{u.4}
when out to sea	far.	Then	out	went	one little boy.
Nlk'ēt ¹⁷	g'a'at ⁴⁰	hwîl	La ⁴¹	hwagait-uks-o'lik'skut. ^{29,35}	al ³⁵
Then he	saw	where	when	way seaward	it drifted
to					
hwagait-g'îks. ³⁶	Nlk'ē ¹⁷	k'si-qâ'ôdel ⁴²	k'ope-tk'ē'lk ^{u.4}	Nlk'ē ¹⁷	
way off shore.	Then	out	went	the little children.	Then
sîg'a'tk ^u dēt; ⁴³	qanē-hwîla ⁴⁴	sîg'a'tk ^u dēt. ⁴³	Nlk'ē ¹⁷	k'ul-da'ul ⁴⁵	
they cried;	always	they cried.	Then	about	went
wi-ga'n ⁷	al ³⁵	hwagait-lax-sē'elda. ⁴⁶			
the log	at	way off	on	the ocean.	
great					
Nlk'ē	huX	k'si-Lô'ôtk ^{uL38}	Lgō-hwîl-xô'ôsgum ⁴⁷	Lgō-tk'ē'lk ^{u.4}	
Then	again	out	was put	the little being	wise little child.
Nlk'ēt ¹⁷	g'a'al ⁴⁰	hwîl ¹²	lēba'yukL ⁴⁸	qē'wun. ⁴⁹	Nlk'ē
Then he	saw	where	flew	gulls.	Then
again					
lō-ya'ltk ^{u.51}	al	ts'a'wul ³⁴	wi-ga'n.	K'ēt	malL ⁵²
he returned	at	inside of	great log.	Then he	told it:
"Always					
lē-hwa'nL ⁵³	qē'wun ⁴⁹	al	lax-ō'em, ⁵⁴	aq-dep-hwîlā'gut?" ⁵⁵	Nlk'ē
on	sit	gulls	at	top of us,	without we [way off] doing?"
					Then

²⁸ g'ig'd'k's to drift.

²⁹ uks- out to sea, from land to sea (§ 8, no. 6); -t intransitive, 3d person singular.

³⁰ ni'g'ât indicative negation; -t transitive subject, 3d person.

³¹ hwîlâ'x to know; -det (3d person plural ending has been omitted here).

³² yuk appears both as verb and as particle.

³³ gwanem-a prefix of doubtful significance.

³⁴ lō-a verbal prefix, appears here with the noun ts'a'wul THE INSIDE. It seems that this whole expression is possessive or verbal, because otherwise the connective would be -m (§ 22).

³⁵ hwagait- away (§ 10, no. 71); uks- seaward (§ 8, no. 6); da'ul to leave; perhaps the ending -t would be better.

³⁶ hwagait- is both verbal and nominal prefix; g'îks the region off shore (a noun corresponding to the verbal prefix uks-).

³⁷ uks- seaward; nak^u far; -t perhaps closure of sentence (§ 20).

³⁸ k'si- out (§ 8, no. 8); Lô'ôtk^u.

³⁹ k'âl one (numeral for counting human beings [§ 57]; -L connective of numerals (§ 23).

⁴⁰ g'a'a to see; -t it (object).

⁴¹ hwîl La present and past participle forming nominal clause (§ 59).

⁴² k'si- out of (§ 8, no. 8); qâ'ôd to go (plural); -det they.

⁴³ irregular plural (§ 46); singular wuyi'tk^u.

⁴⁴ qanē- always (§ 10, no. 120).

⁴⁵ k'ul- about; da'ul to leave, to go.

⁴⁶ hwagait- way off (verbal and nominal prefix); lax- surface of (nominal prefix corresponding to lē- on; (§ 11, no. 151; § 9, no. 30) sē-elda ocean.

⁴⁷ Lgō- little; hwîl- being (§ 59); xô'ôsk^u wise; -m adjective connective (§ 22).

⁴⁸ g'îbâ'yuk^u (plural lēbâ'yuk^u) to fly (§ 45).

⁴⁹ Singular and plural same form (§ 41).

⁵⁰ Adverb.

⁵¹ This verb occurs always with the prefix lō- IN.

⁵² mal to tell (transitive verb).

⁵³ lē- ON corresponds to the nominal prefix lax- (note 46); d'a (plural hwan) to sit; -L indefinite connective.

⁵⁴ lax- surface (corresponds to the verbal prefix lē- on [note 53]); ô' top; -m our.

⁵⁵ aq- without, and also negation of dependent clauses (§ 11, no. 137); dep- plural of transitive pronoun; hwîlâ'k^u is a peculiar form; while it is apparently a passive of hwîl, it is used as a transitive verb; -t probably object 3d person.

tgōn⁵⁶ hēl⁵⁷ k'āl⁵⁹ Lgō-tk'ē'lk^u:⁴ "ām⁵⁸ dep⁵⁹ d'isd'ē'sl⁶⁰
 this said one little child: "Good we strike
 qa-dz'a'gam,⁶¹ nL dēm k'ē⁶² ilā'ēlaat,⁶³ dep⁶⁴ dēm k'ē
 our noses, they future then bleed, we future then
 mant⁶⁴ aL dāx'L⁶⁵ wī-ga'n. nL dēm k'ē⁶² tq'al-hathē't⁶⁶
 rub it at outside of great log. They future then against stand
 ts'obā'qL qē'wun lā'tg'ē.⁶⁷ Nlk'ē hwī'ldetg'ē.⁶⁸ D'isd'ē'sdēl⁶⁰
 feet of gulls on it. Then they did so. They struck
 qa-dz'a'qdēt.⁶¹ K'ē ā'd'ik'sk^uL⁶⁹ hwīl¹² ilā'ēlaat.⁶³ Nlk'ēt k'īlq'al-
 their noses. Then came being they bled. Then they around
 ma'ndēt⁷⁰ aL wī-ga'n. Nlk'ē la'mdzixdēt⁷¹ aL ts'a'wul wī-ga'n.
 rubbed it on the great log. Then they entered at the inside of the log.
 Nlk'ē ad'ā'd'ik'sk^uL⁶⁹ wī-hē'ldēm⁷² qē'wun. Nlk'ē lē-hwa'nt⁵³
 Then came many gulls. Then on they sat
 lā'ōt.¹⁹ K'ē tq'al-gulgwa'lukL⁷³ as'isa'it.⁷⁴ La²² sem-bagait-d'āl⁷⁵
 on it. Then against dried their feet. When very middle was
 Lōqs,⁷⁶ nLk'ē huX k'saxL⁷⁷ Lgō-k'ā-wi-t'ē'st.⁷⁸ Nlk'ē lēba'yukL⁴⁸
 the sun, then again went out little really great large. Then flew
 qē'wun. Nī'g'it³⁰ daa'qLk^udēl⁷⁹ dēm lēbā'yukdēt^{g'ē}.⁴⁸ Nlk'ēt
 the gulls. Not they succeeded future they flew. Then he
 dōqL⁸⁰ k'āl⁵⁹ Lgō-tk'ē'lk^u:⁴ Nlk'ēt lō-haL-t'uxt'a'qL⁸¹ t'ēm-
 took them one little child. Then he in along twisted their
 lā'nīx't⁵³ gul-ganē'L⁸³ wī-hē'ldēm⁷² qē'wun. Nlk'ēt lō-d'ep-
 necks all great many gulls. Then he in down
 dā'LET⁸⁴ aL hwīl nanō'ōL⁸⁵ wī-ga'n. Nlk'ē lō-am'ā'mL⁸⁶ qagō'ōL⁸⁷
 put them at where holes great log. Then in good hearts

⁵⁶ The introductory *t-* of the demonstrative is the subject of the transitive verb; HE.

⁵⁷ For *hēl-L*.

⁵⁸ *ām* good; used here as a periphrastic exhortative: IT WOULD BE GOOD IF WE — (§ 65).

⁵⁹ *dep* plural of transitive subject (§ 48).

⁶⁰ *d'is* (plural *d'isd'ē's*) to strike (§ 42).

⁶¹ *dz'aq* nose; plural *qa-dz'aq* (§ 43); -*m* our.

⁶² *Nlk'ē* (note 17) appears here divided by the future particle *dēm*.

⁶³ *ilā'* blood.

⁶⁴ *d ep mant* we rub it (§ 48) (subjunctive).

⁶⁵ *dāx'* surface, outer side.

⁶⁶ *tq'al-* against (§ 9, no. 35); *hēl* (plural *hathē't*) to stand.

⁶⁷ *lā'* oblique case, 3d person pronoun; -*g'ē* absent (because the outer side of the tree was invisible to the speaker).

⁶⁸ *hwīl* to do; -*dēt* they; -*g'ē* absent.

⁶⁹ *ā'd'ik'sk^u* (plural *ad'ā'd'ik'sk^u*) to come.

⁷⁰ *k'īlq'al-* around; *mant* to rub (transitive verb).

⁷¹ *ts'ēn* (plural *la'mdzix*) to enter.

⁷² *wī-hē'ldēm* many (see note 5); usually used with adjectival connective -*m*, not with numeral connective -*L* (§ 22).

⁷³ *tq'al-* against; *gwa'luk* to dry.

⁷⁴ *asa'e* (plural *as'isa'e*) foot.

⁷⁵ *sem-* very (§ 15, no. 168); *bagait-* in middle; *d'a* to sit (used to express the idea of TO BE IN A POSITION, for round objects).

⁷⁶ *sun* or moon.

⁷⁷ *k'sax* to go out (probably related to *k'si-* OUT OF [§ 8, no. 8]).

⁷⁸ *Lgō-* a little; *k'ā-* really; *wī-* great; *t'ē's* large (almost always combined with *wī-*); -*t* probably close of sentence.

⁷⁹ *da-aqLk^u*; *aqLk^u* to attain. The prefix *da* may be the same as in *de'ya* HE SAYS THUS (§ 49, *d*).

⁸⁰ *gōu* (plural *dōq*) to take (§ 46).

⁸¹ *lō-* in; *haL* along (§ 9, no. 50); *t'aq* (plural *t'ax'a'q*) to twist; -*L* connects predicate with object.

⁸² *t'ēm-* prefix indicating certain parts of the body; probably from *t'ām* SITTING (§ 33).

⁸³ See note 21.

⁸⁴ *lō-* in; *d'ep-* downward (§ 8, no. 4); *dāL* to put.

⁸⁵ See note 8; *nanō'ō* is here plural.

⁸⁶ *lō-* in; *ām* (plural *am'ā'm*) good (§ 42).

⁸⁷ *qā'ōt* (plural *qagā'ōt*) mind, heart.

k'ope-tk'ē/Lk^u. G'ē'ipdel⁸⁸ sma'x'tg'ē⁸⁹ La²² t'a'k'dēL⁹⁰ hwí'ldetg'ē⁹¹
 the little children. They ate it the meat when they forgot what they did
La²² hwagait-k'ul-da'uldēt⁹² aL hwagait-lax-sē'lda.⁴⁶
 when way out about they went at way out on ocean.

Nig'f⁹⁰ lig-i-tsagam-dē'lpk^udet,⁹³ aL lig-i-lax-ts'ā'L⁹⁴ ak's.
 Not anywhere landward short they at some- on edge of where water.

Nlk'ē La huX k'ēil⁶ sa dē-nExna'xdēL⁹⁵ wī-xstō'ntk^u. K'ē
 Then when again one day also they heard great noise. Then
k'si-Lō'ōL⁹⁶ k'ope-tk'ē/Lk^u. Gwinā'dēL, an-tgo-lē'lbik'sk^u⁹⁷
 out went the little boys. Behold the whirlpool
hwil La⁹⁸ lō-lē-d'ēp-yu'kdet.⁹⁹ Nlk'ē ā'd'ik'sk^uL⁹⁹ hwil¹¹
 where when in on down they went. Then came the
sig'a'tk^udet⁴³ La²² lō-d'ēp-hē'tk^uL¹⁰⁰ wī-ga'n aL dēm¹⁰¹ Lōqk^uL
 their crying when in down stood the great tree to future swallow
 (them)

an-tgo-lē'lbik'sk^u.⁹⁷
 the whirlpool.

Nlk'ē La²² lō-d'ēp-hē'tk^ut,¹⁰⁰ dē-uks-ba'xL k'āl³⁹ g'a'tg'ē.¹⁰²
 Then when in down it stood, also sea- ran one man.

Q'am-k'ē/L¹⁰³ asa'eL⁷⁴ g'a'tg'ē.¹⁰² Nlk'ēt g'aLk^uL¹⁰⁴ wī-ga'n aL²⁵
 Only one foot the man. Then he speared the log with great

qalā'st.¹⁰⁵ K'ēt tsagam-dā'mgantg'ē;¹⁰⁶ de-lē-mā'tguL¹⁰⁷ g'a'tg'ē.¹⁰²
 his harpoon. Then he ashore pulled it; he saved them the man.

Nlk'ē bax-Lō'ōL¹⁰⁸ k'ope-tk'ē/Lk^u aL ts'ēm-hwí'lpL¹⁰⁰ g'a'tg'ē.
 Then up went the little children to inside of house of the man.

Nlk'ē yuk-txā'q'ens¹¹⁰ Q'am-k'ē'lem-asa'ē.¹¹¹
 Then began he fed them Only-One-Foot.

⁸⁸ *g'ēip* to eat something. We should expect here *t g'ē'ipdet smar*.

⁸⁹ *sma*: venison; -*t* its; -*gē* absent.

⁹⁰ *t'ak*: to forget; -*det* they; -*L* connective.

⁹¹ *hwil* to do; -*det* they; -*gē* absent.

⁹² *hwagait*: way off; *k'ul*: about; *dāul* to go; *det* they.

⁹³ *lig-i*: somewhere, indefinite place (§ 8, no. 20); *tsagam*: landward (§ 8, no. 9); *dēlpk*: short, near; -*det* they.

⁹⁴ *lig-i*: (see note 93); *lax*: surface; *ts'āL* shore, edge (nominal term corresponding to *tsagam*).

⁹⁵ *dē*: also (precedes transitive subject); *nExna'x* to hear.

⁹⁶ *lō* (plural *Lō'ō*) to go (§ 46).

⁹⁷ *an*: prefix indicating place (§ 12, no. 157); *tgo*: around; *lē'lbik'sk*: to flow (?).

⁹⁸ *hwil* *La* where in the past.

⁹⁹ *lō*: in (namely, inside the whirlpool); *lē*: on (namely, on the surface of the water); *d'ēp* downward; *yuk* to begin; -*det* they.

¹⁰⁰ *lō*: in; *d'ēp*: down; *hēl* to place upright; *hētk*: to be placed upright, to stand (§ 17).

¹⁰¹ *aL dēm* to the future—, final sentence (§§ 59, 67); i. e., to the future swallowing of the whirlpool.

¹⁰² *g'al* man; -*gē* absent.

¹⁰³ *q'am* only; *k'ēl* one flat or round thing.

¹⁰⁴ *g'aLk*: to spear; the preceding *t* is the subject, the terminal -*L* connate predicate and object.

¹⁰⁵ Terminal *t* either pronom or close of sentence.

¹⁰⁶ *tsagam*: shoreward; *dā'mgan* to haul.

¹⁰⁷ *mātk* (plural *lē-mā'tk*) to save (§ 45).

¹⁰⁸ *bax*: up along ground (§ 8, no. 1).

¹⁰⁹ *ts'ēm*: the inside of (nominal prefix).

¹¹⁰ *yuk*: beginning; *txā'q'ens* to eat (plural) (see note 20); -*en* causative suffix.

¹¹¹ See note 103. Here *q'am k'ēl* is used as an attribute, not as a predicate, hence the connective -*am* instead of -*L*.

[Translation]

Children played camping every day. There were many of them, and there was only one great log. It had a great hole inside. It was a large log. That is the place where the children went in. Then the large tree with the hole in it was their house. They made a fire burn in it, and they also ate [many] traveling-provisions. Salmon was the traveling-provisions of all the children. When they had done so for a long time every day, when the water was great (high) again, they again camped in the great log. The water rose again and the great log floated. It drifted out to sea. The children did not know it. They were playing inside of the great log while it was going out to sea and when it was far away from the shore. Then one boy went out. He saw that they had drifted seaward and that they were way off shore. Then the children went out. Then they cried. They cried all the time. Then the great log went way out on the ocean.

Then a little wise boy went out. He saw gulls flying about. He returned again into the great log, and he told them, "Gulls are always sitting on top of us. Can we not do anything?" Then one child said the following: "Let us strike our noses. Then they will bleed. Then we will rub (the blood) on the outside of the great log. Then the feet of the gulls will stand on it." They did so. They struck their noses, and blood came out of them. Then they rubbed it on the great log. Then they entered the inside of the great log. Many gulls came and sat on it. Then their feet dried against it. When the sun was right in the middle of the sky, the one who was really a little large went out again. Then the gulls flew. They did not succeed in flying. Then one boy took them. Then he twisted off the necks of all the many gulls. Then he put them down into the hole of the great log. Then the children were glad. They ate the meat and forgot what was happening, that they were going way out on the ocean.

They were not anywhere near shore or the edge of the water. Then one day they heard a great noise. The boys went out. Behold! there was a whirlpool in which they were going down. Then they began to cry when the great log stood downward in it, about to be swallowed by the whirlpool.

While it was standing downward in it, a man ran seaward. The man had one foot. Then he speared the great log with his harpoon. He pulled it ashore. The man saved them. Then the children went up into the house of the man. Then Only-One-Foot began to feed them.

TSIMSHIAN DIALECT

ADA'OGAM¹ Ā'UTAGA² (STORY OF PORCUPINE)

Ninlī'sge³ la⁴ ksū'otga°⁵ a⁶ la⁴ wa'nsa⁷ txanlī'sge⁸ ya'ts!esgesga⁹
 That it was when fall, at when were sitting all animals in
 na-ga-ts!em-tsla'ptga°¹⁰ Da'¹¹ wula¹² dī¹³ t!ā'osge¹⁴ wī-medi'ok¹⁵
 their towns. Then being on his part sitting great grizzly bear
 gesga¹⁶ n dī tsla'pt¹⁷ a⁶ dza¹⁸ wī-gā'msemga°¹⁹ Ada²⁰ ga'ni-wula²¹
 in his also town at when great winter. Then always
 gwa'ntgesga²² wā'osga°²³ da¹¹ g'ik²⁴ lū-la'wa'l²⁵ na-ts!em-tsla'psga¹⁰
 touched the rain, then also in it dripped the town of
 wī-medi'okga°¹⁵ Ada²⁰ g'ik²⁴ lō'gaksgega²⁶ n-lī'otga°²⁷ Ada²⁰
 the great grizzly bear. Then again was wet his fur. Then
 semga!²⁸ lu-hā'oxgesga²⁹ gā'ot³⁰ gesga¹⁶ sga-na'ksa³¹ wā'otga°³²
 very in annoyed his heart at too long rain.

¹ ada'og story: -sm connection (§ 22).

² ā'uta porcupine; -ga° absent (§ 20).

³ ninlī' that (§ 56); -sge (§ 25).

⁴ la when (§ 59).

⁵ ksū'o fall; -ga° absent (§ 20).

⁶ a preposition (§ 67).

⁷ t!ā° (plural wan) to sit (§ 46); -sge (§ 24).

⁸ txanlī' all (contains the particle txa- ENTIRELY); -sge (§ 24).

⁹ From yats to kill many; ya'ts!esat the killing (§ 17, no. 2); the terminal -saga stands here for asga IN.

¹⁰ na- separable possession (§ 56); ga- distributive plural, the towns of the various kinds of animals; ts!em- inside (§ 11, no. 152); ts!ab town; -t his; ga° absence.

¹¹ da conjunction (§ 66, no. 2).

¹² § 59.

¹³ dī on (his) part (§ 15, no. 167).

¹⁴ t!ā° to sit; -sge § 25.

¹⁵ wī- great (§ 10, no. 73); medi'ok grizzly bear.

¹⁶ a preposition (§ 67); absent conjunctive form (§ 28).

¹⁷ n- separable possession; dī- on his part (cf. note 13); ts!ab town.

¹⁸ dza weakened statement, WHEN IT MAY HAVE BEEN (§ 66, no. 3).

¹⁹ wī- great (§ 10, no. 73); gā'msem winter; -ga° absence.

²⁰ Conjunction (§ 66, no. 1).

²¹ gani- all (§ 10, no. 120).

²² gwa'ntg to touch (i. e., here, fell); -sge connection (§§ 24, 25).

²³ wā° rain.

²⁴ g'ik again (§ 15, no. 169).

²⁵ lū- in (§ 9, no. 29); la'wa'l to drip; no connective after l (§ 29).

²⁶ lō'gaks to be wet (fur, skin).

²⁷ n- separable possession; lī fur, hair of body; -t his; -ga° absence.

²⁸ sem-pal very (§ 15, no. 178).

²⁹ lu- in (§ 9, no. 29), relating to gdod mind; hdozg annoyed.

³⁰ gdod mind.

³¹ sga- across (§ 9, no. 36); nag long; here apparently a verbal subordinate construction: AT ACROSS LONG BEING THE RAIN.

³² wā° rain; the -t is a difficult directive ending, which is used very frequently, and for which no adequate explanation has been given.

Ninlī³³ gan-kse-tlā'ot³⁴ gesga¹⁶ ne-txaa'gasga³⁵ n-tsla'ptga¹⁰ at³⁶
 That reason out he sat at the mouth of his town, at he
 nī³⁷ lig'i-lep-gā'ot³⁸ gesga¹⁰ k'udū'ontga³⁹ Ada a'sī⁴⁰ detlā'ot⁴¹ gesga¹⁶
 seeing everything at around him. Then while sitting at
 gwa'sga,⁴² gaktatnā'oga⁴³ ā'utaga⁴⁴ gun-hē'otget⁴⁵ gesga¹⁶ awā'otga⁴⁶
 that, behold who the porcupine toward stood at his proximity.
 A'sī⁴⁰ t⁴⁷ sga-iā'ot⁴⁸ gesga¹⁶ n-leksā'gasge⁴⁹ n-tslā'psge¹⁰ wī-
 When he across went at the doorway of the town of the
 medi'okga¹⁵ ada wul ha'usga⁵⁰ wī-medi'okga¹⁵ "Tslī'ona⁵¹ g'ī'ot⁵²
 great grizzly bear, then being said the great grizzly bear, "Enter here.
 n-sī'ep!Engsi!⁵³ Me dem k'la-xdi'oyut."⁵⁴ Ninlī'33 gan da' wula
 my friend! You shall a little eat with me." That it was reason then when
 tslī'onsga⁵¹ a'ut⁴⁴ gesga¹⁶ awā'osga⁴⁶ wī-medi'okga¹⁵ Ada' wula
 entered the porcupine at the proximity of the great grizzly bear. Then being
 wī-se-la'ksesga⁵⁵ wī-medi'okga¹⁵ Adat sa-gā'osga⁵⁶ lgu-ā'utaga⁵⁷
 great made fire the great grizzly bear. Then he suddenly took the little porcupine.
 Adat dekda'klega⁵⁸ ga-sešī'otga⁵⁹ dii⁶⁰ ga-an'ō'ntga⁶¹ Adat
 Then he tied his feet and his hands. Then he
 hał-sge'rt⁶² gesga dzó'gasga⁶³ la'ktga⁶⁴ Adat wul gwa'lk!Engsi⁶⁵
 alongside laid it at the edge of the fire. Then he burnt
 haklā'osga⁶⁶ lgu-ā'utaga⁵⁷ Nlī³³ ada' wul ha'usga⁵⁰ wī-medi'ok¹⁵ asga¹⁶
 the back of the little porcupine. He then said the great grizzly to the bear

³³ ni that; n/i probably demonstrative (§ 56)

³⁴ gan- reason; following ninlī, it means THEREFORE; kse- out, generally directive, but here indicating the position outside; t'do to sit; -t he.

³⁵ ne- separable possession; txa- direction; āq mouth.

³⁶ a preposition (§ 67) with subjective (subjunctive) pronoun attached (§ 49).

³⁷ nio to see; after io the connective is missing (§ 29).

³⁸ lig'i- somewhere, this or that (§ 8, no. 20); lep- self (§ 10, no. 129); gāo something, what; lig-i-gi'io anything; lig-i-lep-gāo everything.

³⁹ kudūon the place around (a nominal expression). When used in the possessive, it is considered as inseparable possession (§ 55).

⁴⁰ asi while (§ 66, no. 7), here followed by the progressive form.

⁴¹ d'etlā'io progressive form of t'do to sit (§ 37).

⁴² gwao this; gwa'sga that (§ 56).

⁴³ an interjection, probably gaktata behold; t he; nāo who.

⁴⁴ ā'uta porcupine; -ga connective (§ 25).

⁴⁵ gun- toward (§ 10, no. 114); hē'otg to stand; -t he.

⁴⁶ aroo proximity (a noun which corresponds to the particle gun- [see notes 39, 45]).

⁴⁷ t subject of intransitive verb, here emphatic.

⁴⁸ sga across (§ 9, no. 36); iā'io to go; -t he.

⁴⁹ n- separable pronoun; leksā'g doorway.

⁵⁰ ha'u to say.

⁵¹ tsli'ion (plural, la'mdžex) to enter by (imperative [§ 65]).

⁵² g'iot here.

⁵³ n- separable possession; si'op!Engsi friend; -i my (in address [§ 51]).

⁵⁴ me thou (subjective [§ 49]); dem future (§ 59); k'a- a little while (§ 10, no. 107); xdi'io to eat with some one; -u me; -t (see note 32).

⁵⁵ wī- great (§ 10, no. 73); se- to make (§ 13, no. 164).

⁵⁶ t subjective pronoun; sa- suddenly; gāo to take.

⁵⁷ lgu- little (§ 10, no. 135).

⁵⁸ dakti to lie (with plural object dekda'kl).

⁵⁹ asi'io (plural, gasesi'io [§ 43]).

⁶⁰ di and; i connective (§ 30).

⁶¹ an'ō'n hand; ga-an'ō'n hands (§ 43).

⁶² hał- along (§ 9, no. 50); sge'rt to lie.

⁶³ dzó'g edge (noun corresponds to the particle hał- [see note 62]).

⁶⁴ lak fire (cf. note 32).

⁶⁵ gwa'g to burn; gwa'lk!En to cause to burn (§ 17, no. 1).

⁶⁶ hak'do back; has no prefix ne-, because, as a part of the body, the possession is inseparable.

Igu-a'ut^a a⁶ la⁴ gwa'lksga⁶⁵ n-li'om⁶⁷ haklá'otga⁶⁶: "Duu, duu,"
 little porcu- at when was burnt the fur of its back: "Duu, duu,"
 pine. was
 da-yê'ga⁶⁸ wi-medi'okga°, "Dem wā'lut,"⁶⁹ da-yê'ga⁶⁸ a'utaga,
 said the great grizzly bear. "Future I do it," said the porcupine,
 "sem'a'g'id,⁷⁰ lū'on⁷¹ deda'klut,⁷² ada dem wul wā'luda ne-ha'unt."⁷³
 "chief, untie my bands, then future being I do it what you say."
 Yagai⁷³ a'iget⁷⁴ ne-segā'tga⁷⁵ wi-medi'okga ha'usga Igu-a'uta ges⁷⁶
 However, not he minded the great grizzly bear said the little porcupine to
 nli'otga°, a wul⁷⁷ sem-gal⁷⁸ wi-gat-g'a'dga°. ⁷⁸ Nli'otga kla-gat-g'a'det⁷⁹
 him, because very greatly he is strong. He is most strong
 gesga txanli'sga⁸ ya'ts!esga°. ⁹ Ninli' ³³ gan-a'iget⁷⁴ n!exnō' ⁸⁰ klabe-
 among all animals. That reason not he heard the little
 one
 ha'usga⁸¹ Igu-a'uta ges⁷⁶ nli'otga°. Sem-gal wi-a'dzeksga°, ⁸² adat g'ik
 said little porcupine to him. Very much proud, then he again
 lagauk-klā'xset⁸³ gesga ts!em-n-la'ktga°. ⁸⁴
 to fire kicked him into in the fireplace.

[Translation]

When it was fall, all the animals were sitting in their towns. A great Grizzly Bear, on his part, was also sitting in his town in mid-winter. Rain was always falling, and it also dripped into the house of the great Grizzly Bear. His fur was wet. Then he was much annoyed because it was raining too long, therefore he sat at the entrance of his house and looked around to see everything. While he was sitting there, behold! Porcupine came near him. When he passed the doorway of the house of the great Grizzly Bear, the great Grizzly Bear said, "Enter here, friend! You shall eat with me for a little while." Therefore the Porcupine entered near the great Grizzly Bear. The great Grizzly Bear made a great fire. He suddenly took the little Porcupine. He tied his feet and his hands. Then he laid him near the edge of the fire. Then the back of the little Porcupine was burnt. Then the great Grizzly Bear said to the little Porcupine when

^a *Hom* hak'd'o back fur (§ 22).

⁶⁵ This verb has always subjective pronouns (see § 49).

⁶⁶ Here indicative, therefore -u objective pronoun with third person object (§ 50).

⁷⁰ *sem'a'g'id* chief (see § 33).

⁷¹ *lū'on* to untie. Here indicative construction in place of imperative.

⁷² *deda'klut* bands; -u my; -t (see note 32).

⁷³ *yagai* however (§ 15 no. 174).

⁷⁴ *a'iget* 1:ot (§ 15, no. 180; § 63).

⁷⁵ *ne-segā'* to mind; -*ig* connective (§ 24 B12 absent).

⁷⁶ *ges* preposition, definite form before pronoun designating human beings (§ 28).

⁷⁷ *a wul* because (§ 67, no. 11).

⁷⁸ *wi-* greatly (§ 10, no. 73); *gat-g'a'd* strong (a compound of *g'a'd* PERSON).

⁷⁹ *klā-* exceedingly (here used as superlative (§ 10, no. 106)).

⁸⁰ *ne-xnō'* to hear; no connective after vowels (§ 29).

⁸¹ *klabe* the little one, poorly (§ 10, no. 113), also plural to *Igu*-small.

⁸² *a'dzek* proud.

⁸³ *lagauk-* from the sides of the house to the fire; *klax* to kick.

⁸⁴ *ts!em-* the inside; *n-* place (§ 12, no. 157); *lak* fire.

the fur on his back was burnt, "Duu, duu!" said the great Grizzly Bear. "I will do it," said the Porcupine. "Chief, untie my bands, then I will do what you say." However, the great Grizzly Bear did not mind what the little Porcupine said to him, because he was very strong. He is the strongest of all the animals, therefore he did not listen to what the poor little Porcupine said to him. He was very proud. Then he kicked him again into the fireplace.

KWAKIUTL

BY

FRANZ BOAS

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KWAKIUTL

By FRANZ BOAS

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

THE Wakashan stock embraces the languages spoken by a number of tribes inhabiting the coast of British Columbia and extending southward to Cape Flattery in the state of Washington. Two principal groups may be distinguished—the Nootka and the Kwakiutl. The former is spoken on the west coast of Vancouver island and at Cape Flattery, the latter on Vancouver island and on the coast of the mainland of British Columbia from the northern end of the Gulf of Georgia northward to the deep inlets just south of Skeena river. The outlying islands north of Milbank sound are occupied by a branch of the Tsimshian, while the coasts of Bentinck Arm are inhabited by the Bellacoola, a tribe speaking a Salish language. The neighbors of the Wakashan tribes are the Tsimshian to the north, Athapascan tribes to the northeast, Salish tribes to the southeast and south, and the Quileute at Cape Flattery. Among all these languages, only the Salish and the Quileute exhibit some morphological similarities to the Kwakiutl.

The Kwakiutl language may be divided into three principal sub-languages or main dialects—the northern, or the dialect of the tribes of Gardner inlet and Douglas channel; the central, or the dialect of the tribes of Milbank sound and Rivers inlet; and the southern, which is spoken by all the tribes south and southeast of Rivers inlet. Each of these main dialects is subdivided into sub-dialects which differ somewhat in phonetics, form, and vocabulary. Their number can not be determined exactly, since almost every village has its own peculiarities. They may, however, be grouped in a number of divisions. Only the divisions of the southern dialect are known.

There are four of these. The most northern is spoken in the villages of the extreme northern end of Vancouver island and of Smith inlet; the second, in the region from Hardy bay to Nimkish river, including the islands which form the eastern coast of Queen Charlotte sound; the third is spoken in the neighborhood of Knight inlet; and the last, in Bute inlet and the region of Valdez island.

The second of these dialects, which is spoken by the Kwakiutl tribe of Vancouver island, forms the subject of the following discussion. The proper name of the tribe is Kwā'g'uł; the name of its language, Kwā'k'wala. A treatise on the grammar of this language, by Rev. Alfred J. Hall,¹ was published in 1889; but the author has not succeeded in elucidating its structural peculiarities. I have published a brief sketch of the grammar in the Reports of the Committee on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, appointed by the British Association for the Advancement of Science,² and another in the *American Anthropologist*.³ Texts in the language, collected by me, were published by the United States National Museum,⁴ and other series of texts, also collected by me with the assistance of Mr. George Hunt, will be found in the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.⁵ A series taken down without the assistance of Mr. Hunt from the lips of various informants will be found in the Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology.⁶ References in the following sketch refer to volume III of the Publications of the Jesup Expedition, if not stated otherwise; v and x refer to the respective volumes of the same series; U.S.N.M. to the paper in the Annual Report of the United States National Museum for 1895; CS to the Kwakiutl Tales in the Columbia University Series. The first Arabic number of each reference indicates the page of the volume, the second the line on the page.

¹ A grammar of the Kwakiutl Language, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 1888, II, 57-105.

² Sixth Report, *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1891, 655-668; also Eleventh Report, *Ibid.*, 1896, 585-596.

³ N. s., II, 708-721.

⁴ *Annual Report* for 1895, 311-737, particularly 665-731.

⁵ Vol. III, Kwakiutl Texts, by Franz Boas and George Hunt. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1902-1905. Vol. X, Part 1, Kwakiutl Texts, Second Series, by Franz Boas and George Hunt. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1906. Vol. V, Part 2, The Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, by Franz Boas. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1909.

Kwakiutl Tales, by Franz Boas. *Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology*, Vol. II.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. Sounds

The phonetic system of the Kwakiutl is very rich. It abounds in sounds of the *k* series and of the *l* series. The system of consonants includes velars, palatals, anterior palatals, alveolars, and labials. The palatal series (English *k*) seems to occur only in combination with *u* articulations, or as labio-palatals. The anterior palatals may, however, also be explained as a *k* series with *i* position of the mouth; so that the two classes of palatals and anterior palatals may be considered as modifications of the same series. The anterior palatals have a markedly affricative character. In most of these groups we find a sonant, surd, fortis, and spirant. The sonant is harder than the corresponding English sound. The surd is pronounced with a full breath, while the fortis is a surd with increased stress and suddenness of articulation, and accompanying closure of the glottis. The sonant is so strong that it is very easily mistaken for a surd, and even more easily for a weakly pronounced fortis, since in many combinations the laryngeal intonation which characterizes the sonant appears like the glottal stop which always accompanies the fortis. Besides the groups mentioned before, we have a series of lateral linguals or *l* sounds, the glottal stop, and *h*, *y*, and *w*.

This system may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal
Velar	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q!</i>	<i>x</i>	—
Palatal	<i>g(w)</i>	<i>k(w)</i>	<i>k!(w)</i>	<i>x^u(w)</i>	—
Anterior palatal . .	<i>gⁱ</i>	<i>kⁱ</i>	<i>kⁱ!</i>	<i>xⁱ</i>	<i>n</i>
Alveolar	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t!</i>	<i>s(y)</i>	—
Affricative	<i>dz</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>ts!</i>	—	—
Labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p!</i>	—	<i>m</i>
Lateral	<i>ɭ</i>	<i>L</i>	<i>L!</i>	<i>ɭ, l</i>	—

Glottal stop, ^ε

h, y, w

The vowels are quite variable. The indistinct *ε* is very frequent. The two pairs *i e* and *o u* probably represent each a single intermediate sound. The whole series of vowels may be represented as follows:

			<i>E</i>		
<i>i e</i>	<i>î</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>o u</i>
<i>ī ē</i>	<i>ë</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>ō ū</i>

By certain grammatical processes, consonants may be weakened, hardened, or aspirated. These changes take place in accordance with the phonetic table given before. The hardened surd becomes a fortis, and the weakened fortis or surd becomes a sonant. The hardened and softened sonants strengthen their glottal element to an *x*. Examples of these changes will be given in §4. By aspiration the series of *k* sounds and of *l* sounds are transformed into their corresponding spirants, while in the dental and labial series aspiration does not occur. The hardening and weakening of the spirants reveals a number of unexpected relations of sounds. We find—

Spirants	Hardened	Weakened
<i>x</i>	<i>xʰ</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>x(w)</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>
<i>x̣</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>tsʰ</i>	<i>y</i> or <i>dz</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>l</i>

Similar relations of consonants appear in cases of reduplication. Thus we have—

ē'qa reduplicated *ē'ṣē'qa* (*q* and *s*)

q!u'lyaḳ reduplicated *q!ulsq!u'lyaḳ* (*s* and *y*)

The change of *x̣* into *n* suggests that the *n* may belong rather to the anterior palatal series than to the alveolar series.

The nasals, *l*, *y*, and *w*, when weakened, become sonant by being preceded by the glottal stop. *y* and *w* are clearly related to *i* and *u*.

§ 3. Sound Groupings

The Kwakiutl language does not admit clusters of consonants at the beginning of words. Extensive clusters of consonants are rare; and even combinations of two consonants are restricted in number, their sequence being governed by rules of euphony. On the whole, a stop (i. e., a sonant, surd, or fortis) can not be followed by another consonant. This is carried through rigidly in the case of the palatals and laterals, while combinations of consonants in which the first is an alveolar or bilabial stop do occur. *p* followed by consonants is not rare; *t* followed by consonants is by far less frequent. The corresponding sonants followed by a consonant do not appear as often, because the intonation of the vocal cords tends to increase in strength, and an *x* is introduced which separates the sounds.

Besides combinations with precedent palatal stops, a few others are rigidly avoided. These are *l-s*, *l-n*, *l-k^u*, *l-g^u*, *l-ʃ^u*, *s-g^u*, *sk^u*. Combinations of *t* sounds followed by *s* do not occur, because they unite and form an affricative sound; *h* occurs only at the beginning of words (except in the imitation of the language of a monster), and does not enter into consonantic clusters. *y* and *w* are strongly vocalic, and are always followed by vowels, although they may be preceded by consonants. *w* following a *k* sound is assimilated by it, so that the *k* sound is pronounced with *u* position of the lips, as a labio-palatal.

Clusters of three or more consonants follow the same rules as combination of two consonants, so that clusters are possible as long as any two adjoining consonants tolerate each other. We find, for instance, *xsd*, *xst*, *ʃ^ust*, *ʃ^ustl*, *x^hdg*, *nxs*, *nx^hq!*, *nx^hs*, *nsL*, *nlt*, *nltb*, *mxs*, *m^hx^hs*, *m^hx^hd*, *msL*, *mlts*, *mlw*, *lxL*, *lx^hs*, *lxm*, *lxL*, *lx^hs*, *lx^hd*, *lx^hL*, *lsd*; and of clusters of four consonants, *xsdx*, *m^hx^hst*, *nx^hst*.

§ 4. Euphonic Laws

There are a considerable number of rules of euphony which govern the sequence of sounds. These become active when two phonetic elements come into contact by composition or by syntactic co-ordination. They are partly ante-active (i. e., working forward) or progressive, partly retroactive or regressive, partly reciprocal. The ante-active processes include laws of assimilation and of consonantic elision; the retroactive processes consist in the hardening and softening of consonants; the reciprocal influence manifests itself in contraction and consonantic assimilation. Since the rules of consonantic combination (§ 3) relate partly to the initial, partly to the terminal consonant of the combination, these changes are apparently partly ante-active, partly retroactive; but since they are founded on the mutual influence of adjoining sounds, they are better treated under the head of reciprocal changes.

(1) Ante-active Changes

The *u* vowels do not admit of a following anterior palatal, which is changed into a palatal with following *w*, or, as we may say, *k* sounds with *i* tinge become *k* sounds with *u* tinge when following a *u* vowel; or *k* sounds following *u* vowels are labialized. Posterior palatals, when following a *u* vowel, also assume a *u* tinge.

Instances of these changes are the following:

(<i>ɬā'wayu-g'ila</i>)	<i>ɬā'wayugwila</i> to make a salmon-weir 26.39
(<i>sō'-g'anɛm</i>)	<i>sō'gwanɛm</i> you perhaps 146.28
(<i>ɬā'wayu-g'a</i>)	<i>ɬā'wayugwa</i> this salmon-weir
(<i>ō'-g'iw-ē*</i>)	<i>ō'gwiwē*</i> forehead 19.5
(<i>ō'-g'ig'a</i>)	<i>ō'gug'ē*</i> inside
(<i>*mā'qēs [āyaha] sō'-k'as</i>)	<i>*mā'qēs(āyaha)sō'kwas</i> really thrown into my belly 478.1
(<i>ō'-k'äx-ē*</i>)	<i>ō'kwäx'ē*</i> knee 154.11
(<i>ō'-k'!in-ē*</i>)	<i>ō'k!winē*</i> body 61.13
(<i>ō'-k'!ilg-ē*</i>)	<i>ō'k!wulgē*</i> front of body
(<i>bō'-x'ēid</i>)	<i>bō'x'ēid</i> to leave

Changes of velars following a *u* vowel:

(<i>*mā'ɬulayu-ga</i>)	<i>*mā'ɬulayugwa</i> Potlatch-Present-Woman 142.1
(<i>ts!ō-g-ē*</i>)	<i>ts!ō'gwē*</i> given away among other things
(<i>yō-xa</i>)	<i>yō'xwa</i> to say "yō" X 176.19

When the vowel following the *k* after a *u* vowel is an *ɛ*, the timbre of the weak vowel tends towards the *u*.

When a *u* vowel is followed by a consonantic cluster the first sound of which is a *k* sound (according to § 3 these can be only *x'*, *ɬ**, or *x*), the *x'* changes to *ɬ**, while the others remain unaffected.

(<i>yū'-x'sä</i>)	<i>yū'ɬ*sä</i> it is entirely this 102.18
(<i>ō-x'siu-ē*</i>)	<i>ō'ɬ*sīwē*</i> mouth of river

On the other hand—

(<i>ō-xlä-ē*</i>)	<i>ō'xlä*</i> head part
(<i>bō-xlē</i>)	<i>bō'xlē</i> to leave a miserable person

The *u* tinge of *k* sounds and the very short *u* do not seem to modify the following anterior palatal *g*, at least not according to the usage of the older generation.

(<i>yōk^u-g'a^ll</i>)	<i>yō'k!ug'a^ll</i> (not <i>yō'k!ugwa^ll</i>) noise of wind
(<i>mɛg^u-g'it-x'ēid</i>)	<i>mɛgug'it!ēd</i> to put things on the body 199.11

Examples of change of the anterior palatal to the medial labio-palatal *kw* are, however, not absent.

(<i>dā'doq^u-k'ina-la</i>)	<i>dā'doxkwinala</i> to see accidentally
--	--

I have recorded as equally admissible—

g'ō'x^ug'in and *g'ō'x^ugun* my visible house here

g'ō'x^ug'aEn and *g'ō'x^ugwaEn* my invisible house here

While the rule just described is founded entirely on the phonetic influence of the stem element upon its suffix, we have also a class of phonetic changes which are due to etymological causes, and can not be brought entirely under phonetic rules.

When a word ending in a consonant is followed by a suffix beginning with another consonant, there is a strong tendency to elision of the initial consonant of the suffix, although the combination may be admissible according to the general phonetic laws. Thus the compound of the stem *qās-* TO WALK, and the suffix *-x'id* TO BEGIN, would result in the phonetically admissible combination *qā'sx'id*, which we find in a word like *'wālasx'ē'* LYNX. Nevertheless, the resulting form is *qā's'id*. The elision of the initial sound of the suffix is therefore not entirely due to phonetic causes, and must be treated in detail in a discussion of the suffixes. It is quite likely that the suffixes in question may be compounds of two suffixes, the first of the combination being dropped. The question will be discussed more fully in § 18 (p. 449).

Another ante-active change which is not entirely due to phonetic causes is the transformation of *ā* into *wā* after *n* and vowels, which occurs in a few suffixes: for instance—

t'ē'p-ā to step off

sōp-ā'la to chop off

k'at-ā'la long thing on water

mex-ā'la canoe drifts on water

lā'-wā to be off (the right line)

dā'wā to fail to hold

han-wā'la hollow thing on water

g'i'-wāla to be on water

(2) *Retroactive Changes*

The changes just mentioned are best explained as an effect of the stem upon the suffix. We find, however, also others, indicating an action of the suffix upon the stem. These consist in a hardening or weakening of the terminal consonant of the stem, and can not be explained by phonetic causes, but must be founded on etymological processes.

The following examples illustrate these processes which were mentioned before in § 2. In the first column the stems are given, the terminal sounds of which are modified by the addition of suffixes. In the second column hardened forms are given, in the third weakened

forms. In order to make the changes more readily recognizable, the suffixes are separated from the stems by means of hyphens.

(a) Theme ends in surd or fortis:

Theme	Hardened	Weakened
<i>ēp-</i> to pinch	<i>ē'p!-īd</i> to begin to pinch	<i>ē'b-ayu</i> dice 112.93
<i>qap-</i> to upset	<i>qap!-ā'lōd</i> to upset on rock 179.27	<i>qab-ē's</i> upset on the beach
<i>xaā'p!</i> cradle 53.42		<i>xaā'b-ek*</i> cradled
<i>wat-</i> to lead		<i>wā'd-ek*</i> led 109.6
<i>yat-</i> to rattle	<i>ya't!-āla</i> rattle sound 229.27	
<i>āt!-</i> sinew		<i>ad-ē'g'i</i> back sinew
<i>t!ēk'-</i> to lie on back 256.38		<i>t!ē'g'-īl</i> to lie on back in house 259.12
<i>k'!ē'lak'-</i> to club	<i>k'!ē'lak'!-ēnē</i> clubbing	
<i>LEMk'-</i> to wedge	<i>LEMk'!EXōd</i> to wedge neck, i. e., foot of tree	<i>LE'mg'ayu</i> wedge
<i>geg-</i> wife	<i>gā'gak!a</i> to try to get a wife	<i>geg'a'd</i> having a wife
<i>bek^u-</i> man	<i>bek!-u's</i> man in woods	<i>begw-ī's</i> man on beach
<i>tēk^u-</i> to expect		<i>tēgu-ē'nā'kula</i> to come in sight being expected X 186.2
<i>xunk^u-</i> child		<i>xu'ngwad</i> having a child CS 170.11
<i>ēNEMō'k^u</i> one person	<i>ēNEMō'k!us</i> one person on ground CS 212.11	<i>ēNEMō'gwīs</i> one person on beach
<i>ēlq^u</i> to put out tongue	<i>ēlq!w-ēnox^u</i> a person who removes cinders from eye with tongue	
<i>yāq^u-</i> to lie dead		<i>yā'gw-īs</i> lying dead on beach
<i>wunq-</i> deep		<i>wu'ng-īl</i> deep floor 187.23
<i>k'!īmL-</i> to adze	<i>k'!ī'mL!-āla</i> noise of adzing, U.S.N.M. 677.19	
<i>q!ulā'L-</i> to hide		<i>q!ulā'L-ē'nā'kula</i> to go along hiding 262.39

(b) Theme ends in sonant:

Theme	Hardened	Weakened
<i>Dzā'wad</i> Knight inlet	<i>Dzā'wadE-ēnox</i> people of Knight inlet	
<i>gēg'a'd</i> having a wife	<i>gēg'a'dE-ēnē</i> state of having a wife	
<i>‘nā'x'īd</i> day comes	<i>‘nā'x'īda-ēnox</i> a condition in which day is coming regularly 393.4	
<i>mē'x'ba</i> to burn at end		<i>mē'x'baāk</i> burnt at end 247.9
<i>qā's'īd</i> to walk		<i>qā's'īda-as</i> walking place
<i>mēg-</i> to caulk	<i>mēg'āē'nē</i> caulking 100.32	

(c) Theme ends in spirant, continued lateral, or nasal:

Theme	Hardened	Weakened
<i>dēnx-</i> to sing	<i>dā'dēnx-a</i> to try to sing	
<i>īax-</i> to stand	<i>īā'w-a</i> to stand on rock	<i>īā'w-ayu</i> salmon-weir
<i>qamx-</i> down of bird	<i>qā'qamw-a</i> to try to put on down of bird	
<i>‘max-</i> potlatch		<i>‘mā'w-ayu</i> means of giving potlatch
<i>sēx-</i> to paddle	<i>sē'w-ēnox</i> paddler	<i>sē'w-ayu</i> paddle
<i>mīx-</i> to strike with fist	<i>mā'man-a</i> trying to strike	<i>mēn-a'ts!ē</i> striking receptacle (drum)
<i>k!ēs</i> not	<i>k!ē'ts!ēnē</i> not being 10.9	
<i>p!ēs-</i> to flatten		<i>p!ēy-a'yu</i> means of flattening
<i>qās-</i> to walk		<i>qā'y-anēm</i> obtained by walking
<i>t!ōs-</i> to cut		<i>t!ō'dz-atō</i> to cut ear
<i>ts!ōl-</i> black	<i>ts!ō'l-E'mya</i> with black cheek	<i>tsōl-atō</i> with black ear
<i>k!il-</i> afraid		<i>k!il-E'm</i> fear
<i>g!il-</i> to walk on four feet	<i>g!ā'g!il-a</i> to try to walk on four feet	
<i>‘mēl-</i> white		<i>‘mēlbō</i> white-chested
<i>ham-</i> to eat		<i>ha'm-a'yu</i> eating instrument (fork)

Stems ending in *s* and *x*^u present peculiar forms when the accent falls upon the semivocalic *y* and *w*, into which these sounds are transformed. The *y* becomes *ē*, the *w* becomes *ō*. Thus we have from—

x'is- to disappear

x'ē'nākula to disappear gradually

q'ēls- to sink under water

q'ēlē'k^u sunk into water V 488.9

'mens- to measure

'menē'k^u measured V 477.1

t!ems- to beat time

t!ēmē'dzō to beat time on a flat thing III 86.5

sēx^u- to paddle

siō'nākula to paddle along III 297.10

y'ix^u- to dance

yū'nākula to dance along

In some cases the preceding vowel, if accented, is contracted with the *y* which has originated from *s*.

gas- to walk

qū'nākula to walk along

qū'nōdzē to walk alongside of

The use of *dz* and *y* in place of *s* does not seem to follow any definite rules. Thus we find—

lē'ndzem (*la-ns-em*) means of taking under water X 62.10

'mē'nyem (*'mens-em*) measuring instrument

qā'dzas place of walking (considered not as goods as *qā'yas*)

gwā'yaxsta (*gwās-ersta*) to bring mouth near to one III 71.33

hā'dzerstax'id (*hās-erstax'id*) to begin to make noise III 161.22

'wā'layas (*'wālas-as*) size X 161.25

ha'nē'dzas (*han-ēs-as*) canoe lying on beach X 161.17

A purely phonetic change belonging to this class is the palatalization of *k^u* and *x^u* preceding an *o* or *u*. *q'āk^u-* SLAVE becomes *q'ā'k'ō*; *'mek^u-* A ROUND THING BEING IN A POSITION becomes *'mek'ā'la* ROUND THING ON WATER (island); *peṛ^u-* TO FLOAT becomes *peṛ'ā'la* TO FLOAT ON WATER.

(3) Reciprocal Changes

These are partly purely phonetic, partly etymological. Contact of consonants results in their adaptation to admissible combinations. Therefore terminal *k* and *l* surds are changed before initial consonants of suffixes into their spirants. This change is also made when, in a sequence of two words which stand in close syntactic relation,

the former ends in a *k* or *L* surd, and the latter begins with a consonant. On the other hand, *s* following a *l* becomes *ts*; *s* following a *t* forms with it *ts*; and *s* and a preceding *s* are transformed into *ts*. In some cases these changes persist even after the elision of the first consonant of the suffix, in accordance with § 4 (1). From *hanL-* TO SHOOT, and *-x^{ts}id* TO BEGIN, we have *ha'n^{ts}id*. This phenomenon will be more fully discussed in § 18 (p. 449). In a number of instances *t* before an affricative changes to *l*.

Surd *k* stops changed into spirants:

nēk[·] to say

nē'x[·]dems time of saying

nä'nak^u to return

nēx[·]L he will say III 33.13

nä'nak^uL he will return home
III 33.26

wēq^u- to shove a long thing

wē'x^ustend to shove into water

mōk^u-to tie

mō'x^ubāla to tie to end III
89.15

L changed into *l*:

y^lL- to tie

y^llp^lē'gend to tie to a pole III
158.32

āl- to tear

ālts[·]E'nd to tear through (a
string)

kwē'xalaL-xwa

kwē'xalatxwa will dance this
III 447.4

s following *l* changed to *ts*:

(*k[·]!wē'l-sō[·]*)

k[·]!wē'tsō[·] feasted III 32.32

(*q[·]!ōx-ts!ō-ēL-sa*)

q[·]!ō'xts![·]Ewiltsa to dress in III
303.26

(*legwī'l-sa g[·]ō'k^u*)

legwī'tsa g[·]ō'k^u the fire of the
house

s following *d* or *t* forms *ts*:

(*lā'gwīlbend-sēs*)

lā'gwīlbentsēs to push nose
with his III 349.20

(*lē'temd-sō[·]*)

lē'temtsō[·] cover is taken off
from face III 109.23

s following another *s* forms with it *ts*:

(*ax[·]ā's-sen*)

ax[·]ā'tsen place of my III 32.6

(*qā's-sē'stāla*)

qā'tsē'stāla to walk around III
23.13

The sounds *y* and *w*, when interconsonantic, change to *ē* and *ō*:

(*meny-k^u* [from *mēns-*])

mēnē'k^u measured

(*t!emy-dzō* [from *t!ēms-*])

t!ēmē'dzō to beat time on
something flat

(p!ey-k^u [from p!es-])p!ēk^u one to whom potlatch is given III 163.40(qemw-k^u [from qemx^u-])qemō'k^u covered with down III 153.35(xew-k^u [from xex^u-])xōk^u split IV 246.39

On the other hand, ē and ō preceding a vowel become y and w.

(ō-ag-ē^e)

awā'gē crotch

lō^e andlē^ewēs and his*nē'x'sō^e he was told*nē'x'sē^ewēda K. K. was toldxā'ē^e something split

xā'yas his thing that has been split

lā'sandē^e seaside

lā'sand'yas its seaside

The ending ē^e, when preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel, changes to a^y.

nā'qē^e mindnā'qa^yas his mindg'ī'gamē^e chiefg'ī'gama^yas his chief

The diphthong ay, when preceding a consonant, becomes ā.

ayō'l desired

ā'xula to desire

(qay-^enā'kula [from qās-])

qā'nā'kula to walk along

Another class of reciprocal changes affect the vowels. It seems that there are no purely phonetic rules which restrict the sequence of vowels, but contractions occur which depend upon the etymological value of the suffix. Thus the suffix -a (p. 533), when following a terminal a, is contracted with it into ā, ō^ema-a THAT CHIEFTAINNESS becoming ō^emā; with terminal o it is contracted into ō, lā'wayo-a THAT SALMON RIVER becoming lā'wayō. On the other hand, we have, in the case of other suffixes, g'ā'xaaqōs YOUR COMING, in which two adjoining a's are not contracted.

Similar contractions occur in a number of suffixes:

(ts!ā-anem)

ts!ā'nem obtained by drawing water

(lā'wā-āmas)

lawā'mas to cause to be off from a line

(ts!ā-ayu)

ts!ā'yu instrument for drawing water

(ts!ā-anem)

ts!ā'nem obtained by giving

(L!āyō-ap!)

L!ayā'p! to exchange

(lexā'-ālisem)

lexā'lisem to die of coughing

The consonants m and l have a similar effect upon vowels:

(dē'gem-ayu)

dē'gemyu means of wiping face

(t!em-ayu)

t!em'yu thread, i. e., means of sewing

GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES (§§ 5-8)

§ 5. Enumeration of Grammatical Processes

Grammatical categories and syntactic relations are expressed by means of three processes. These are—

1. Composition.
2. Changes in the phonetic character of the stem.
3. Position.

§ 6. Composition

Kwakiutl possesses a large number of stems which occur seldom without word-forming affixes. The latter are numerous, and they are always attached to the ends of stems or of derivatives of stems. The number of stems exceeds by far the number of suffixes. The meaning of many of these suffixes can not be determined, and in their phonetic values they appear subordinate to the stems with which they firmly coalesce.

Two processes bring about the coalescence between stem and suffix: (1) Phonetic contact phenomena and (2) contact phenomena due to the individual character of the stem and of the suffix (see § 4).

The former of these processes is founded entirely on phonetic laws, and includes the transformation in the suffix of a *k* sound into the corresponding sound with *u* timber, after terminal *u* or *o* sound of the stem or preceding suffix; the change of a *k^u* and *x^u* preceding an *o* or *u* into *k^o* and *x^o*; modification of the terminal consonant of the stem or preceding suffix, and of the initial consonant of the suffix, which form inadmissible combinations; and contraction.

The second group of processes can not be explained by phonetic laws, but depends upon the individuality of the suffix and of the stem or preceding suffix. The phenomena involved are contractions of the terminal stem and initial suffix vowels, although the combination of vowels may be quite admissible; elision of consonants; introduction of connective consonants; and retroactive changes which affect the terminal consonant of the stem. In one case, at least, the reason for the introduction of a connective consonant may be traced with a high degree of probability to the retention of the terminal sound of a suffix when combined with other suffixes, while the same sound has been lost when the same suffix closes the word (see p. 532).

The modifications which affect the terminal consonant of the stem belong almost exclusively to a group of suffixes which usually follow

the stem itself, and do not readily admit any preceding suffixes. Most of these either harden or weaken the terminal consonant of the stem, although there is also a considerable number of suffixes of this class which do not produce any changes other than those entailed by purely phonetic laws. In a few cases the changes produced by the suffix are very irregular. It is probable that no verbal or nominal stem ever appears without a suffix of this class. Therefore the terminal sound of a stem can not be determined unless it occurs with a suffix which produces no change.

§ 7. Changes in the Phonetic Character of the Stem

Setting aside the secondary changes produced by the action of phonetic laws and by the mutual effect of stem and suffix, we find that reduplication and change of vowel are used to express grammatical concepts. In the verb we find complete duplication of the stem, with assimilation of the terminal consonant of the first repeated syllable with the following consonant; for instance, *lōqʷ-* TO FISH HALIBUT, *lōxʷloqwa* TO FISH NOW AND AGAIN. True reduplication is, on the whole, restricted to the initial consonant. The vowel of the reduplicated syllable does not always depend upon the stem-vowel, but differs according to the function of reduplication. Vowel-changes in the stem are rare, and consist generally of a lengthening of the stem-vowel. In many cases they may be explained as modified reduplication.

§ 8. Position

The position of words in the sentence is determined by syntactic particles. The parts of the sentence are held together firmly, and their position is definitely determined by their coalescence with syntactic elements which indicate the relations of subject, object, instrument, and possession. By this means the whole sentence is knit together so firmly that a separation into words is quite arbitrary. The firmness of this word-complex is due largely to the complete phonetic coalescence of the syntactic particle with the preceding word, and to its function as determining the syntactic value of the following word. It is of course impossible to determine whether this is an original trait of the language, or whether it is due to a phonetic decadence of the syntactic elements, similar to the one that may be observed in French in the combinations between verb and pronoun.

IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

(§§ 9-17)

§ 9. Character of Stems

Although the formal distinction of noun and verb is quite sharp, the great freedom with which nouns may be transformed into verbs, and verbs into nouns, makes a classification difficult. All stems seem to be neutral, neither noun nor verb; and their nominal or verbal character seems to depend solely upon the suffix with which they are used, although some suffixes are also neutral. I am led to this impression chiefly by the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that occur as nouns, as well as with others that occur as verbs. A separation of suffixes of nouns and those of verbs can be carried through only when the sense of the suffix requires its composition with either a verb or a noun, and even in these cases compositions with the opposite class occur which are sometimes difficult to understand. The neutral character of the stem may also be the reason why many suffixes are attached to the stem freed of all word-forming elements. Examples of the indiscriminate use of suffixes with stems that we should be inclined to class as either nominal or verbal are—

bək!u's man of the woods (from *beg^u* man, *-s* in woods)

t!ē'k!ES to lie on back on ground (from *t!ēk-* to lie on back, and the same suffix as before)

t!ē'semx'ts!āna stone handed (from *t!ē's-* stone, *-em* plural, *-x'ts!āna* hand)

ax'ts!anā'la to hold in hand (from *ax-* to do, and the same suffix as before)

It is difficult to understand the combination of a suffix like *-ōL* TO OBTAIN with stems some of which we consider as verbal, while others appear to us as nominal stems. We find *q!ā'k'ōL* TO OBTAIN A SLAVE (from *q!āk^u-* SLAVE), and also *lōL* TO OBTAIN (from *la*, a general auxiliary verb, originally designating motion). Lack of discrimination between the nominal and verbal function of words is also brought out by compounds like *begwā'nemx'ē'id* TO BECOME A MAN (from *begwā'nem* MAN, *-x'ē'id*, inchoative), and *mîx'ē'id* TO BEGIN TO STRIKE (from *mîx-* TO STRIKE and the inchoative suffix).

A number of suffixes may also be used indiscriminately with nominal and verbal function; for instance, from *-naɣwa* SOMETIMES,

we have *lā'naṣwa* HE GOES SOMETIMES and *x'iyā'snaṣwa* PLACE WHERE SOMETHING DISAPPEARS FROM TIME TO TIME (from *x'is-* to disappear, *-ās* place of). For these reasons a strict classification into nominal and verbal suffixes does not seem admissible.

§ 10. Nominal Suffixes

Nevertheless many suffixes have assumed distinctly the function of giving to a stem a nominal or a verbal character. We find, for instance, many nouns ending in *-a* and *-ē^ε*, others ending in *-em*, animate beings ending in *-ānem*, and terms of relationship ending in *-mp*. Besides these, there are a great many which express place and time of an action or process, various forms of the nomen actoris, the results and causes of actions and processes, possession, instrumentality, material, etc.; in short, a wide range of verbal nouns. They retain, however, their neutral value. This is best expressed by the fact that most of these verbal nouns retain their syntactic relation to the direct and indirect object. The Kwakiutl does not say "the seeing-place of the canoe," but "the place-of-seeing the canoe."

Among purely verbal suffixes, there are a number which express actions affecting nouns, which for this reason are always (or at least generally) suffixed to nouns, as, "to make," "to take care of," "to sound;" verbs expressing sense impressions, as "to smell of," "to taste like;" and words like "to die of." With these groups may be classed a number of suffixes which change the subject of the sentence, like the passives and causatives.

§ 11. Local and Modal Suffixes

Most important among the suffixes which are both verbal and nominal is the extensive group of local terms. These embrace a great variety of ideas expressed by our prepositions and by many local adverbs, and contain also a long series of more special local ideas (like "in the house," "into the house," "on the ground," "on the beach," "on rocks," "in the fire," "in water") and an exhaustive series of terms designating locally parts of the body (for instance, "on the hand," "on the chest," "on the thigh," "in the body"). A second group classify nouns according to form, and set off human beings as a distinct category. A third class of suffixes indicate time-relations, such as past, present, and future. With these may be classed the suffixes which indicate the modality of a process as

beginning, gradual, continued, repeated, uncertain, simulated, etc. Many of these suffixes express the subjective relation of the mind of the speaker to the event. This is also true of the demonstrative suffixes indicating position in relation to the speaker, and visibility or invisibility. These, however, must be classed with the syntactic particles which will be found treated on pages 527 et seq. To the suffixes expressing subjective relation belong those expressing the source of subjective knowledge—as by hearsay, or by a dream. Quite numerous are the suffixes expressing ideas like “much,” “little,” “admirably,” “miserably,” “surprisingly.” I am under the impression that all these have primarily a subjective coloring and a high emotional value. Thus, the ending *-dzē* LARGE is used in such a manner that it conveys the impression of overwhelming size, or the subjective impression of size, while the word *‘wā’las* expresses size without the emotional element; *-xōl* indicates the entirely unexpected occurrence of an event and the surprise excited by it. The latter example shows that the subjective character of these suffixes may also be used to express the relations of a sentence to the preceding sentence. In a sense, *-xōl* is a disjunctive suffix. As a matter of fact, these suffixes are used extensively to express the psychological relation of a sentence to the preceding sentence. They indicate connection as well as contrast, and thus take the place of our conjunctions.

§ 12. Classes of Words

The classification of suffixes here given shows that a division of words into verbs and nouns has taken place, both being fairly clearly distinguished by suffixes. We find, however, that syntactically the distinction is not carried through rigidly; nouns being treated with great ease as verbs, and verbs as nouns. It must be added here that the forms of the pronouns as attached to the noun and as attached to the verb are distinct. Since the psychological relation of sentences is included in the process of suffix formation, conjunctions are absent. For this reason, and on account of the verbal character of most adverbs, there remain only few classes of words—nouns, verbs, and particles.

There is no clear classification of nouns into groups, although the grammatical treatment of nouns designating human beings and of those designating other objects is somewhat different, particularly in the treatment of the plural. The noun-forming suffixes, mentioned

in the beginning of § 10, also indicate the occurrence of certain classes of ideas. The principle of classification, however, remains obscure. In syntactic construction a classification of nouns according to form—such as long, round, flat—is carried through in some cases, and runs parallel with a differentiation of verbs of position and motion for objects of different form.

§ 13. Plurality

The idea of plurality is not clearly developed. Reduplication of a noun expresses rather the occurrence of an object here and there, or of different kinds of a particular object, than plurality. It is therefore rather a distributive than a true plural. It seems that this form is gradually assuming a purely plural significance. In many cases in which it is thus applied in my texts, the older generation criticises its use as inaccurate. Only in the case of human beings is reduplication applied both as a plural and a distributive. In the pronoun the idea of plurality is not developed. The combination of speaker and others must not be considered as a plurality; but the two possible combinations—of the speaker and others, including the person addressed, and of the speaker and others, excluding the person addressed—are distinguished as two separate forms, both of which seem to be derived from the form denoting the speaker (first person singular). The plurality of persons addressed and of persons spoken of is indicated by the addition of a suffix which probably originally meant "people." This, however, is not applied unless the sense requires an emphasis of the idea of plurality. It does not occur with inanimate nouns.

In the verb, the idea of plurality is naturally closely associated with that of distribution; and for this reason we find, also in Kwa-kiutl, the idea of plurality fairly frequently expressed by a kind of reduplication similar to that used for expressing the distributive of nouns. This form is applied regularly in the Bella Bella dialect, which has no means of expressing pronominal plurality.

Related to the reduplicated nominal plural is also the reduplicated verbal stem which conveys purely the idea of distribution, of an action done now and then.

§ 14. Reduplication for Expressing Unreality

Reduplication is also used to express the diminutive of nouns, the idea of a playful performance of an activity, and the endeavor to perform an action. It would seem that in all these forms we have the

fundamental idea of an approach to a certain concept without its realization. In all these cases the reduplication is combined with the use of suffixes which differentiate between diminution, imitation, and endeavor.

§ 15. Pronominal Ideas

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of are each represented by formal elements. It was stated before that the inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural are distinguished, and that both are probably derived from the first person singular. This means that these two forms are not conceived as plurals. It was also stated that the second and third persons have no pronominal plural.

The demonstrative is developed in strict correspondence with the personal pronoun; position near the speaker, near the person addressed, and near the person spoken of being distinguished. These locations are subdivided into two groups, according to visibility and invisibility. The rigidity with which location in relation to the speaker is expressed, both in nouns and in verbs, is one of the fundamental features of the language. The distinction of proper nouns and common nouns, and that of definiteness and indefiniteness—similar to that expressed by our articles—is expressed by a differentiation of form of these demonstrative elements.

The possessive pronoun has forms which are different from those of the verbal pronouns, and by their use verb and noun may be clearly distinguished.

§ 16. Syntactic Relations

The fundamental syntactic categories are predicate, subject, object, possession (which is closely related to instrumentality), and finality (which is closely related to causality and conditionality). In other words, the syntactic cases, nominative, accusative, genitive (possessive or instrumentalis), finalis (causalis), may be distinguished, while all local relations are expressed in other ways (see § 11). Verbal subordination is expressed by means of forms which are closely allied to these nominal cases. Verbal co-ordination is expressed by verbal suffixes, and thus does not belong to the group of syntactic phenomena.

§ 17. Character of Sentence

The contents of the Kwakiutl sentence are characterized primarily by an exuberant development of localization. This is brought about

partly by the use of local suffixes which define the exact place where an action is performed, without regard to the speaker; partly by the expression of location in relation to the speaker. Thus the sentence "My friend is sick" would require in Kwakiutl local definition, such as "My visible friend near me is sick in the house here." Furthermore, the psychological relation of the sentence to the state of mind of the speaker—or to the contents of preceding sentences—is expressed with great care. The chief formal characterization of the sentence is the close connection of its parts, which is due to the fewness of syntactic forms by means of which all possible relations are expressed, and to the subordination of the noun under the verb by means of particles which coalesce phonetically with the preceding word, while they determine the function of the following word.

DESCRIPTION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 18-69)

Formation of Words (§§ 18-46)

Composition (§§ 18-39)

§ 18. SUFFIXES

Compounds are formed by the use of suffixes. There is no proof that the numerous suffixes were originally independent words. I have found only one case in which an independent word appears also as a suffix. This is *-q/es* TO EAT (p. 501), which occurs independently as *q/esa'* TO EAT MEAT 21.9. We may also suspect that the suffix *-p/a* TO TASTE, and the stem *p/aq-* TO TASTE, are related. It seems hardly justifiable to infer from these two cases that all suffixes must have originated from independent words; since the independence of these two stems may be a recent one, or their subordination may have been made according to analogous forms. It is perhaps also not fortuitous that the suffix forms for the idea "to eat" are exceedingly irregular.

The Kwakiutl language has very few particles, or words unable to be modified by composition with other elements. The suffixed elements coalesce quite firmly with the theme to which they are attached. Pronominal and syntactic suffixes must be distinguished from those forming denominating and predicating ideas, that, by themselves, are not sentences. Among the latter class we find a considerable number that may be designated as terminal or complete, in so far as they round off the theme into a complete word

without any appreciable addition to its significance. Many of these are of rare occurrence. Almost all of them, except *-a* and *-la*, are denominative in character. We find for instance:

from the stem <i>dzaʔ^u-</i>	<i>dzaʔwu'n</i> silver salmon
<i>hanʔ^u-</i>	<i>haʔnō'n</i> humpback salmon
<i>gwāx-</i>	<i>gwā'xnīs</i> dog salmon
<i>mēl-</i>	<i>mēlē'k</i> sockeye salmon
<i>met-</i>	<i>met!ā'nē</i> large clam (<i>Saxidomus</i>)
<i>lēq-</i>	<i>lēq!estē'n</i> kelp
<i>ts!ēx-</i>	<i>ts!ēx'i'nas</i> elderberry
<i>t!ēq^u-</i>	<i>t!ēx^usō's</i> cinquefoil

The composition of these stems with various suffixes enables us to isolate them from their completive endings. It is not improbable that in some cases by analogy forms may have developed which are not true stems, but fragmentary phonetic groups derived secondarily from longer words. The stems are almost throughout monosyllabic, as will be shown on page 550. When, for instance, the word *gē'was* DEER is treated as though it were a compound of the stem *gēʔ^u-* TO HANG and the suffix *-as* PLACE, it is barely possible that this does not represent its true origin. The treatment of a few English loan-words makes it plausible that this process may have taken place. On the other hand, a number of polysyllabic Kwakiutl words are never reduced to monosyllabic elements in composition. As an example may be given the word *mē'gwat* SEAL, which never loses any of its sounds. This process shows clearly that what has often been termed "apocope," or, if occurring initially, "decapitation," is merely due to a substitution of one affix for another one.

Most suffixes in Kwakiutl add a new idea to the word to which they are added, and these are generally attached to the theme. At the same time, phonetic modifications occur, either in the theme alone, or in the suffix alone, or in both. Examples of such compounds are the following:

<i>bēk^u-</i> man	<i>bā'k!um</i> genuine man, Indian (see no. 111)
<i>lap-</i> to peg	<i>labē'm</i> pegging utensil, peg (see no. 173)
<i>ʔuls-</i> to long	<i>ʔu'lyālīsēm</i> to die of longing 382.27 (see no. 152)
<i>mēl-</i> sockeye salmon	<i>mēlmā'nō</i> head of sockeye salmon

When a significant suffix is added to a word provided with a significant suffix, the latter loses its formal, completive element, if it has one, and the new suffix is attached to the theme of the first suffix. For instance:

- t!ek^u*- to move, *-ax-* down (no. 19), *-g'alil* in house (no. 46),
t!ekwā'xalil to take down in house
hēl- right, *-k'ōt* opposite (no. 12), *-aq-* crotch (no. 71), *-ē^e* noun
 (no. 161), *hē'tk'ōdagē^e* right side in crotch, i. e., right anal fin
xunk^u- child, *-ad* having (no. 170); *-x^eid* to begin (no. 90).
xu'ngwadex^eid to begin to have a child
L!āq^u- red, copper; *-ē^est-* around (no. 6), *-g'alil* in house (no. 46),
-k^u passive participle, *L!ā'qwē^estalilk^u* made to be copper all
 around in the house
**mel-* white, *-xlō* hair of body (no. 76), *-geml* mask (no. 54a),
**mE'lxlōgeml* white body-hair mask, i. e., mountain-goat
 mask

Other suffixes are added to words which retain their formal, completive elements. Examples are—

Stem.	Completive suffix.	Suffix.	
<i>q!ā'k^u</i> - slave	<i>-ō</i>	<i>-bidō^e</i>	<i>q!ā'k'ōbidō^e</i> little slave
<i>q!wās-</i> to cry	<i>-a</i>	<i>-būla</i>	<i>q!wā'sabūla</i> to pretend to cry
<i>sās-</i> children	<i>-em</i>	<i>-nuk</i>	<i>sā'semⁿnuk</i> having chil- dren

In still other cases the usage is not absolutely fixed:

- hanl-* to shoot, *-bes* fond of, *ha'nlb^es* fond of shooting
ē'ax- to work, *-ala* completive suffix, *-bes* fond of, *ē'axalab^es* fond
 of work

or with slight differentiation of meaning:

- bek^u*- man, *-ānem* completive suffix, *-k'āla* noise
bek!wā'la man's voice
begwā'nemk'āla voice of a man

For convenience' sake those suffixes that are attached to the stem without its formal, completive endings may be called stem-suffixes; the others which are attached to the stem with its formal endings, word-suffixes. As indicated before, the line of demarcation between these two classes is not rigidly drawn. An examination of the list of word-suffixes shows that they include largely adverbial and conjunctive ideas possessing a strong subjective element, and implying a judgment or valuation of the idea expressed in the word to which the suffix is attached.

While the word-suffixes modify the terminal sound of the stem and undergo changes of their own initial sounds in accordance with the rules of sound grouping, the stem-suffixes exert a more far-reaching effect upon the stem to which they are affixed. On the whole, these changes are quite regular and consist, on the one hand, in the transformation of surds into fortes, and the other in the transformation of surds and fortes into sonants, and other parallel changes described in § 4. I have called the former group hardening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation of the terminal sound is increased, and accordingly the acoustic effect of the sound is harder; while I designate the second group as weakening suffixes, because the intensity of articulation is decidedly decreased by their action. A third group of suffixes is indifferent and causes or suffers no changes except those occasioned by the laws of sound grouping. A fourth group loses initial sounds when the stem to which they are suffixed terminates in certain sounds. These are mostly indifferent, but a few are hardening or weakening suffixes.

The only sounds thus affected are anterior palatals (*g*·, *k*·, *k*·!, *x*·), the sonant velar (*g*), *x*, and *s*. The loss of the initial palatal or velar never occurs after vowels, *m*, *n*, and *l*. It occurs regularly after labial, dental, palatal, velar, and lateral surd stops (*p*, *t*, *k*·, *k*·!, *q*, *q*·, *ʎ*), and after *s*. The number of cases in which suffixes of this class appear attached to a sonant or fortis stop (except in cases in which terminal sounds are strengthened or weakened) are so few in number that I am not sure whether the initial sound is dropped in all cases. There are a few examples that suggest a certain variability of usage:

dzē'dzōnogotāla and *dzē'dzōnogortāla* *Dzō'noq!* was on top 118.29
megug·i't!ēd to rub on 199.11

Suffixes with initial *g*·, *x*·, and *g* lose these sounds also after the spirant palatals and velars (*x*·, *x*·!, *x*, *x*·), while initial *k*·! is generally retained in these cases:

sepe'lx·-k!āla-g·ilē ringing noise on water 152.34 (nos. 144, 42)
ax-k·!ā'la to ask 7.5 (no. 144)
ts!ex-k·!i'lq·end-āla to drop in lap 258.2 (nos. 70, 2, 91)

This rule, however, is not rigid. We find, for instance,

gemx-ōt-stā'-lil left hand side of door X 76.6 (nos. 12, 59, 46) where the initial sound of *-k·!ōt* drops out; and
**nex-k·!ō't* straight down, where it is retained

Possibly this difference is due to the fact that the *x* in the last-named form is changed by contact from the terminal *q* of **neq-* STRAIGHT.

Suffixes with initial *-k* lose this sound under the same conditions that govern the elision of *g*, *x*, and *q*. An exception is—

qE'lx^ukwônd to lift by the top (*qElq^u-k'E-nd*, nos. 38, 2)

Terminal *l* of the stem has the effect of eliding all initials. Only one exception has been found:

hël-k'!ôt right side 81.2

It is interesting to note that the suffix *-g'iu*, which belongs to this class, behaves differently according to its meaning. It signifies FOREHEAD, FRONT. Whenever it appears with the specialized meaning BOW OF CANOE, it is entirely unchangeable, even after an *ô* vowel, when, according to the general phonetic rules, it should be expected to assume the form *-gwiu* (see no. 57).

Among these suffixes the following weaken the terminal consonant:

-xtâ head

-xt!a seaward

-x'sa away from

Strengthening is:

-k'!âla noise

The suffix *-x'êd* (nos. 87 and 90), and the inchoatives in *-g'al-*, *-g'il-*, *-g'ae-* (no. 197), lose the initial *x*, *g'a*, or *g* after all consonants except *m*, *n*, *l*, and after sonants. At the same time terminal *p* and *t* are transformed into the fortes *p!* and *t!*, and all *k* and *l* stops are transformed into their spirants, while *s* and *l* remain unchanged.

The suffix *-sgem* ROUND SURFACE (no. 85), which is undoubtedly related to *-gem* FACE, follows the same rules as suffixes in *g*, but it always retains its *s*: We find, instead of

mê'x-sgem

mê'xsem to sleep on a round object

ma'êl-sgem

ma'êlse'm two round objects

The suffix *-ê'sta* AROUND has the form *-sê'sta* after vowels, *m*, *n*, *l*, and behaves, therefore, in a manner opposite to that of suffixes in *g*, *x*, and *q*.

The suffix *-sqwap* FIRE loses its initial *s* after stems ending in *s*, except when affixed to the stem *t!ê's-* STONE, in which case both *s*'s are lost, and we find the form *t!ê'qwap* STONES ON FIRE.

The suffix *-sx'ä* TOOTH seems to lose its initial *s* after stems ending in *s* and in *k* sounds. The number of available examples, however, is not sufficient to state definitely the mode of its treatment.

One phonetic characteristic of the suffixes remains to be mentioned. It is the insertion of *l* and the transformation of *s* and *t* into *l*. It is difficult to give satisfactory rules for the use of the *l*. Apparently in one of its uses it is related to the inchoative *-g'íl-*, which has been referred to before (p. 450), and it is sometimes weakening, sometimes indifferent. Thus we find from the stem *qās-* TO WALK, *qādzeltū'sela* TO BEGIN TO WALK DOWN RIVER, and the theoretical form *qāsatū'sela* TO BE WALKING DOWN RIVER. Here the *l* weakens the terminal *s* of *qās*, while in *sē'xultū'sela* TO BEGIN TO PADDLE DOWN RIVER (from *sēx'-* to paddle) the terminal *x'* is not changed. This *l* appears with particular frequency after the suffix *-o-*, which has a privative significance, as in *-wult'a* OUT OF AN ENCLOSED PLACE; *-wultā* OUT OF A CANOE; *-wultōs* DOWN OUT OF; *-wults!ō* OUT OF (no. 37). In the suffix *-stō^s* EYE, OPENING, the *l* is substituted for *s*, perhaps on account of the cumbersome form that would result, *-ltstō^s*. The terminal *t* of the suffix *-k'!ōt* OPPOSITE (no. 12) changes regularly to *l* before *ts!*:

hēlk'!ōlts!āna instead of *hēlk'!ōt-ts!āna* right hand

It would seem that the *l* before *ts!* is sometimes a glide, at least I can not offer a satisfactory explanation of its occurrence:

ō- SOMETHING, *-ig'-* BACK, *-x'ts!ān-* HAND, *-ē^s* NOUN, form *awī-gralts!ānē^s* BACK OF HAND

dā TO TAKE, *-ba* END, *ts!ān* HAND, *-d* INCHOATIVE, form *dā'bal-ts!ānēnd* TO LEAD BY THE HAND

**neq-* MIDDLE, *-ts!ō* IN, *-la* VERBAL ENDING, form **neqelts!ā'la* TO BE IN THE MIDDLE

Similar phonetic groupings occur, however, without the *l*:

**wāb* WATER, *-ts!ō* IN, **wā'bets!ō* WATER IN SOMETHING

Following is a list of suffixes grouped according to their mode of attachment and effect upon the stem:

WORD-SUFFIXES

Adverbial

-emsk' I told you so!

-eng'a it seemed in a dream

-āna perhaps

-axaa also

-ēl astonishing!

-wist'a very

-ul past

-p!en times

-bōla to pretend

-ē^m indicating close connection in thought between two sentences

-ē^{m-wis} and so

-mā at once

-t'a but

-naṣwa from time to time

- ^a <i>nēs</i> oh, if!	- <i>xō</i> behold!
- <i>nō</i> too much	- <i>x dē</i> transition from present to past
- <i>sō</i> passive	- <i>x sālā</i> carelessly
- <i>dzā</i> indeed	- <i>x sū</i> still
- <i>g anēm</i> perhaps	- <i>x st! aak</i> apparently, like
- <i>k as</i> indeed	- <i>x st!</i> as usual
- <i>k as</i> beautiful, beautifully	- <i>x lā</i> very
- <i>k ināl</i> miserably	- <i>x lē</i> miserably
- <i>q lāmas</i> for the reason that	- <i>l</i> it is said
- <i>q! anāk</i> quite unexpectedly	- <i>lag i</i> meanwhile
- <i>q lālam</i> to no purpose	- <i>lax</i> potentiality
- <i>x</i> exhortative	- <i>l</i> future
- <i>xent</i> evidently	

Adjectival

- <i>ō</i> small	- <i>dzē</i> large
- <i>bido</i> small (singular)	- <i>ga</i> female, woman
- <i>mēnēx</i> small (plural)	

Miscellaneous

- <i>ōstq! a</i> to use so and so often	- <i>sgēm</i> mask
- <i>sdana</i> to die of—	- <i>gamē</i> the one among—, excellent
- <i>xa</i> to say—	
- <i>lāl</i> to dance like	- <i>xwās</i> days
- <i>ts! es</i> (- <i>dzes</i> ?) piece of	

STEM-SUFFIXES

Indifferent Suffixes

- <i>em</i> nominal suffix	- <i>ēm</i> near by
- <i>elg'is</i> doing for others	- <i>ēsō</i> rest
- <i>a</i> verbal and nominal suffix	- <i>i lāla</i> about
- <i>a wil</i> across	- <i>ō</i> meeting
- <i>ap!</i> neck	- <i>ō</i> out of
- <i>ap!</i> each other	- <i>āla</i> on water
- <i>āmas</i> to cause	- <i>āla</i> each other
- <i>atus</i> down river	- <i>ōmas</i> class of animals
- <i>ānem</i> class of animate beings	- <i>ōt</i> , (- <i>wut</i>) fellow
- <i>anō</i> instrument, passive	- ^a <i>usta</i> up river
- <i>asdē</i> meat	- ^a <i>usdēs</i> up from the beach
- <i>yag a</i> returning	- <i>ōk</i> person
- <i>aqā</i> past	- <i>ōlem</i> nominal suffix
- <i>āxa</i> down	- <i>ōl</i> to obtain
- <i>agō</i> extreme	- <i>ōlsā</i> continued motion
- <i>āla</i> continued position	- <i>bēta</i> into, in
- ^a <i>yāla</i> to go to look for	- <i>ba</i> end

-p/a taste
-p/āla smell
-p/altō with eyes
-bes expert, fond of
-p/ēq tree
-pōL (Newetsee dialect) into,
 in
-manō head
-mis useless part
-mut refuse
-mp relationship
-d inchoative
-dems time of
-ēnak direction
-nd inchoative
-ents/ēs down to beach

-enx edge
-saqō penis
-sta water
-ts!E- with hands
-ts!aq long
-ts!ō in
-dzaqwa to speak
-k'a to happen
-k'ina accidentally
-q!ēs to swallow
-q!ēqē meat
-q!ā to feel
-xa flat
-xlā top of head
-xlō top of tree, hair on body
-la verbal and nominal suffix

Hardening Suffixes

-em genuine
-em^{ya} cheek
-es expert
-a on rock
-a to endeavor
-aga among
-ēmas class of animals
-ēnē abstract noun
-ēnox nomen actoris
-ēs body (?)

-ēq in body
-ēxsd to desire
-ōs cheek
-bō chest
-s on ground
-g'a^{et} to begin to make noise
-xō neck
-xsd hind end
-xla bottom end

Weakening Suffixes

-em instrument
-em diminutive
-en nominal suffix
-^eenx season
-elk^u doing regularly
-eltsus down river
-ayu instrument
-abō under
-amāla along river
-ad having
-abō ear
-ānem obtained by—
-aanō rope
-as place
-ats!ē receptacle
-aq crotch
-ālas material (?)

-ālisem to die of—
-ē nominal suffix (?)
-id having
-inēt obtained by—
-ēs body (?)
-ēs beach
-ēg'ē back
-il in house
-ēL into house
-ēsēla ashore (?)
-ilba nose
-ēL!xō mouth
-ō^eyō middle
-ns obtained unexpectedly
-ō^{et} ugly
-^enākula gradual motion
-nēq corner

-*nō* side
 -*nōs* side
 -*nulem* temples
 -*nulg'a* groins
 -*nsa* under water
 -*ndzem* throat
 -*dzō* flat

-*k^u* passive participle
 -*xs* in canoe
 -*x'sā* away
 -*xsēg'a* front of house
 -*exsta* mouth
 -*t* passive of verbs expressing
 sense perceptions

SUFFIXES LOSING THEIR INITIAL CONSONANTS

Losing initial *g*:

-*g'iu* forehead
 -*g'it* body
 -*g'ila* to make
 -*g'ustā* up

-*g' eg'a* inside
 -*g' āg* side of
 -*g'it* reason

Losing initial *k*:

-*k'ā*, -*k'auē* between
 -*k'ē* top of a square object

-*k' āx'ē* knee

Losing initial *k'*:

-*k'!in* body
 -*k'!āla* noise
 -*k'!ōt* opposite

-*k'!ēs* in body
 -*k'!lga* front of body

Losing initial *x*:

-*x'ēid* to begin
 -*x'ēid* past
 -*x'p!ēg'a* thigh
 -*x'dem* place
 -*x'da^ux^u* pronominal plural
 -*x'dē* transition from present
 to past
 -*x's^ē* across

-*x'sa* away from
 -*x'siap!* arm
 -*x'siu* mouth of river
 -*x'sīs* foot
 -*x'sila* to take care of
 -*x'ts!āna* hand
 -*x'la* top

Losing initial *g'a*:

All inchoatives in -*g'al-*, such as—

-*g'alil* in house
 -*g'alers* in canoe

-*g'aalela* suddenly

Losing initial *g*:

-*gem* fare
 -*geml* mask

-*gō* meeting

Losing initial *x*:

-*xt!a* seaward
 -*xsā* through
 -*xtā* head

-*xsēg'a* front of house
 -*xlā* top of head

Losing or modifying initial *s*:

-*sē'sta* around
 -*stō^ē* eye
 -*sōk^u* person

-*squap* five
 -*sx'ā* tooth
 -*sgem* round thing

Although the use of these suffixes follows the rules laid down here with a fair degree of regularity, there are quite a number of exceptional compositions. A few examples will suffice here:

stem <i>gɛgʻ-</i>	<i>gɛnɛʻm</i> wife
stem <i>gʷôgʻ-</i>	<i>gʷôyʻm</i> whale
stem <i>gʻînt-</i>	<i>gʻîñāʻnem</i> child
stem <i>xunḱʷ-</i>	<i>xunôʻkʷ</i> child
stem <i>xʻis-</i>	<i>xāʻxʻaʻya</i> trying to disappear (<i>s</i> weakened to <i>y</i> , instead of being strengthened to <i>ts</i> !)
stem <i>pʻes-</i> to flatten	<i>pʻāpʻaʻya</i> trying to flatten (same as last)

§ 19. CLASSES OF SUFFIXES

I have tried to classify the primary suffixes according to the ideas expressed. Classes of this kind are of course somewhat arbitrary, and their demarcations are uncertain. The general classification of suffixes which I have adopted is as follows:

I. Terminal completive suffixes (§ 20, nos. 1-2).

II. Primary suffixes (§§ 21-37, nos. 3-195).

(1) Suffixes denoting space limitations (§§ 21-24, nos. 3-85).

(a) General space limitations (§ 21, nos. 3-37).

(b) Special space limitations (§ 22, nos. 38-52).

(c) Parts of body as space limitations (§ 23, nos. 53-81).

(d) Limitations of form (§ 24, nos. 82-85).

(2) Temporal suffixes (§§ 25-26, nos. 86-97).

(a) Purely temporal suffixes (§ 25, nos. 86-89).

(b) Suffixes with prevailing temporal character (§ 26, nos. 90-97).

(3) Suffixes denoting subjective judgments or attitudes relating to the idea expressed (§§ 27-32, nos. 98-135).

(a) Suffixes denoting connection with previously expressed ideas (§ 27, nos. 98-104).

(b) Suffixes denoting degrees of certainty (§ 28, nos. 105-107).

(c) Suffixes denoting judgments regarding size, intensity, and quality (§ 29, nos. 108-126).

(d) Suffixes denoting emotional states (§ 30, nos. 127-129).

(e) Suffixes denoting modality (§ 31, nos. 130-131).

(f) Suffixes denoting the source of information whence knowledge of the idea expressed is obtained (§ 32, nos. 132-135).

(4) Suffixes denoting special activities (§§ 33-34, nos. 136-155).

(a) Activities of persons in general (§ 33, nos. 135-143).

(b) Activities performed with special organs of the body (§ 34, nos. 144-155).

(5) Suffixes which change the subject or object of a verb (§ 35, nos. 156-160).

(6) Nominal suffixes (§ 36, nos. 161-194).

(7) Adverbial suffix (§ 37, no. 195).

III. Subsidiary suffixes (§ 38, nos. 196-197).

In the following list the influence of the suffix upon the stem is indicated by abbreviations. STEM-S. and WORD-S. indicate whether the suffix is added to the stem or to the full word. IND. signifies that the suffix is indifferent and has no influence upon the stem except as required by phonetic laws. H indicates that the terminal consonant of the stem is hardened; w, that it is softened.

§ 20. TERMINAL COMPLETIVE SUFFIXES (NOS. 1-2)

1. -a[STEM-S., IND.]. This suffix is of indefinite significance. It is the most common word-closing suffix of verbs, and is very often used with substantives. Generally it disappears when the stem takes one of the primary suffixes, and it is also often dropped before syntactic suffixes. It is even dropped in the vocatives of nouns. In both verbs and substantives it follows very often the suffix -l- (no. 91), which seems to have primarily a verbal continuative character.

(a) Verbal:

mîx'-

mîx'a' to strike

qās-

qā'sa to walk

with -l-:

ts!ex'-

ts!exi'la to be sick

(b) Nominal:

leq^u-

leqwa' five

-ga female, as in *Hä'elamâ'lağa* mouse woman 11.12 (but

Hä'elamâlag O mouse woman!)

with -l-:

ēna- light

ēnā'la day, world

para- shaman

para'la shaman

2. -d[STEM-S.]. The first impression of the suffix -d is that it transforms intransitive verbs into transitive ones.

q!ōxts!ō' to have on

q!ōxts!ō'd to put on

lā'ba to go to the end

lā'bend to reach the end.

A closer examination shows that both forms occur in transitive as well as in intransitive verbs.

-*d* intransitive:

'nɛxwā'xədɛnd to begin to be near 107.17

l!ā'qwaɔd to hand down a copper 84.3

without -*d*, transitive:

q!ō'xts!āla to have on 98.27

nē'xsāla to pull through 76.1

dā'dɛba to hold at end 254.36

On the whole, it seems that the suffix -*d* expresses the motions connected with the beginning of an action; and, since transitive verbs express much more frequently a passing act than a long-continued activity, it seems natural that the suffix should appear frequently with transitive verbs.

Generally the suffix -*d* is suffixed to a primary suffix. When it follows a terminal *m*, it is simply added; when the primary suffix ends with a short vowel, the vowel is dropped and the terminal -*d* takes the form -*nd*. After primary suffixes ending in -*ō* or *ā*, and after -*axa* DOWN (no. 19), it amalgamates with the terminal vowel and becomes -*ōd*.

(a) -*d*:

q!ɛnē'pɛmd to cover face 299.21 (from -*gem* face; see no. 54)

(b) *nd*:

dzā'k'oxɬɛnd to rub hind end 96.21 (from -*xɬ*- hind end; see no. 15)

t!ō'tsē'stɛnd to cut around 138.18 (from -*ē'st*- around; see no. 6)

ts!ɛxbɛt'nd to throw in 365.16 (from -*bɛt*- into; see no. 28)

dā'bɛnd to take end 15.7 (from -*b*- end; see no. 31)

(c) -*ōd*:

nē'xsōd to pull through 53.17 (from -*xsā* through; see no. 3)

l!ā'saqōd to put farthest seaward (from -*ago* extreme; see no. 13)

nɛgō'yōd to move in middle 141.7 (from -*ō'yō* middle; see no. 16)

nē'rustōd to pull up 184.37 (from -*ustā* up; see no. 20)

q!ō'xts!ōd to put on clothes 15.10 (from -*ts!ō* in; see no. 27)

lā'yabōd to push under 80.13 (from -*abō* under; see no. 29)

lā'xtōd to reach top 196.34 (from -*xtā* on top; see no. 30)

q!x'ō'd to take off 16.10 (from -*ō*- off; see no. 37)

PRIMARY SUFFIXES (NOS. 3-194b) (§§ 21-36)

Suffixes Denoting Space Limitations (Nos. 3-85) (§§ 21-24)

§ 21. General Space Limitations (Nos. 3-37)

3. -*xśā* THROUGH [STEM-S., IND.] loses the initial *x*.

la to go
k!umēl- to burn
qās- to walk
p!ēl- to fly
sēx^u- to paddle
nēx- to pull

ts!ēlq^u- hot

laxśā' to go through
k!umē'laxśā to burn through
qā'tśā to walk through
p!ēltsā to fly through 165.22
sē'x^uśā to paddle through
nē'xsōd to pull through 75.40
nē'xsāla to pull through 76.1
ts!ē'lqumxśā'la hot all through
 V 366.12
kwā'xśā hole 72.39

4. -*x^s* ACROSS [STEM-S., IND.] loses the initial *x*.

ēwil- entirely

g'āx to come
sak^u- to carve meat

sōp- to chop
LEmt- to split

ēwi'welx^s cut up entirely X
 155.32
g'ā'xs^a to come ashore 371.37
sēsā'x^us^eend to carve across to
 pieces 31.40
sō'ps^eend to chop across
LE'mtemx^send to split
 across, plural (see no. 196),
 158.30

5. -*i'lā(la)* ABOUT [STEM-S., IND.].

dōq^u- to see

q!wēs- to squeeze

pex^u- to drift

ōdz- wrong

dō'deqwi'lāla to look about
 459.33
q!wē'sⁱlāla to squeeze all over
 40.7
pā'xwi'lāla to drift about
 459.33
Aō'dzi'lālag'ilis Wrong all over
 the world (a name) 165.5

6. -*ē^sst(a)* and -*sē^sst(a)* AROUND [STEM-S., IND.].

(a) After vowels, *m*, and *n*; -*ē^sst(a)*:

ō- something
k!wa to sit
gelq- to swim

mō'p!en four times

awē'^ssta circumference 85.9
k!wē'^sstala to sit about
gelqamē'^sstala to swim around,
 plural (see no. 196), 153.22
mō'p!enē'^ssta four times
 around 13.9
lenē'^ssta to forget 25.3

(b) After *k* and *L* sounds, *s*, *p*; -*sēst(a)*:

qās- to walk

qā'tsēstāla to walk around
49.30

mīx- to strike

mīx'sēstāla to strike around
dēx'sēstāla to jump around
154.11

k'īmL- to adze

k'ī'mītsēstāla to adze around

x'īlp- to twist

x'ī'lpsestāla to spin around

7. -(*E*)*g(a)* AMONG [STEM-S., H].

sēx- to paddle

siō'gwa to paddle among

yaq- to distribute

yā'q'uqa to distribute among

ō- something

ā'wagē the place between, inside X 87.34

x'īlp- to turn

x'ī'lp'eqela to turn in something 92.28

baxō't'eqela pitchy inside V 490.1

nāq- mind

nā'q'aqē song leader V 433.36

mek- a round thing is somewhere

mā'k'uqē to be among X 29.21

g'ī- to be somewhere

g'ī'gēla to be among X 81.35

There are apparently a few cases in which this suffix weakens the stem. I found the two forms *qā'ts'eqa* and *qā'ga* TO WALK AMONG, derived from *qās-* TO WALK.

It is also used to express the superlative:

g'ī'lt! long

g'ī'lt!aga long among (i. e., the longest)

7 a. -*gamē*. This suffix may belong here, although its use as a word-suffix and the indifferent action upon the last consonant make its relations doubtful.

g'ī'gamē head chief (= chief among others)

xwā'k'unagamē excellent canoe (= canoe among others)

'nō'last!egamē the eldest one X 3.32

8. -*kā*, -*ka* BETWEEN [STEM-S., IND.] loses initial *k'* after *s* and *k* and *L* sounds. The original form may be *kwā* (see § 4).

k'īmL- to adze

k'īmLā'la to adze between V 347.19

qens- to adze

qensā'la to adze between V 363.10

k!wēx- to devise

k!wē'k!waxā'wē inventor 222.35

lāx^u- to stand

lā' lēxwawayaa's place of standing repeatedly between on ground 140.35
(lā' lēx^u, -au, -s [no. 44]; -as place [no. 182])

Hamā'lak'awē^s 111.29*bēk^u*- man*bēk'awē^s* man between 121.39

9. **-aq(a)** PAST[STEM-S., IND.] often with *a* reduplication. It would seem that in these cases there is sometimes a weakening of the terminal consonant.

la to go*lā'qa* to go past*g'al*- first*g'ā'laqa* to go past first (=to forestall) 246.35*l!ās*- seaward*l!ā' l!asaaga* to move seaward*gwa*- down river, north*gwā'gwaaga* to move northward X 63.32*'nā'la* south*'nā'nālaaga* to move southward X 228.14*xwēl*- back*xwē'laqa* to go back 28.23

In the following examples the terminal consonant is weakened:

gwās- to turn to*gwā'gawayaga* to turn toward*ētl*- again*āē'daaga* to go back 13.9

10. **-x^s(a)** AWAY FROM [STEM-S., W].

p!el- to fly*p!ā' l!ix'sa* to fly off*qās*- to walk*qeqā'dzix'sa* to walk off*han*- hollow object is somewhere*ha'nx'send* to take (kettle) off (from fire) V 441.40*māx'ts*- to be ashamed*mā'x'dzax'sa* to go away for shame 316.32*'wī^l*- entire*'wī^llx'sa* it is entirely away*sēx^u*- to paddle*siō'x'send* to paddle away 472.21

After *x* the initial *x* seems to be lost:

ax- to do*axsā'nō* it is taken off

- 10a. **-yag'a** RETURNING [STEM-S., IND.].

lā'yag'a to go back X 186.18*hō'xyag'a* they go back X 190.12*lā'yag'elil* to re-enter house 386.11

11. **-ēm's** NEAR BY [STEM-S., IND.]. Possibly the terminal *-s* does not belong to the suffix, but signifies ON THE GROUND (no. 44).

'wun- to hide*'wunē'm's* to hide near by*k!wa* to sit*k!wēm's* to sit near by*lax^u*- to stand*laxwē'm's* to stand watching

12. **-k'ōt** OPPOSITE [STEM-S., IND.]. After *s* the initial *k'* disappears.

la to go

lak'ōtēnd to go to the opposite side 271.8

aps- side

apsō't the other side 96.28

qwēs- far

qwēsōt the far opposite side

gwā- down river

gwā'k'ōt the opposite side down river 130.22

hēl- right hand

hē'lk'ōdnēgwīl the right hand corner in the house 81.2 (see nos. 18, 46)

Before the affricative *ts*, *t* changes to *l*.

hē'lk'ōlts!āna the right hand 15.11 (see no. 67)

While *q* before this suffix changes to *x* in **nē'xk'ōt* (from **nēq-*) RIGHT OPPOSITE, the *k'* drops out in *qēmōt* LEFT SIDE (from *qēm-x-*)

13. **-aqō** EXTREME [STEM-S., IND.].

ēk'!- above

ē'k'!aqō farthest above X 179.32

L!ās- seaward

L!ā'saqōd to put farthest seaward

gwa- north

*gwā'garwē** extreme north end 218.9

14. **-xsd** BEHIND, HIND END, TAIL END [STEM-S., H].

LEq- to slap

LE'q!Exsd to slap behind

*ts!Ek**- short

ts!Ek'!u'xsd a short person

*q!ak**- notch

q!a'ku'xsdē to have a notch for a tail 279.18

ēk'!a up

ē'k'!axsdāla to have hind end up V 325.8

ō- something

*ō'xsdē** hind end V 490.28

nūn wolf

*nū'naxsdē** wolf tail 279.13

15. **-xL(a)** BEHIND, BOTTOM, STERN [STEM-S., H].

**wā'las* large

**wā'lats!ExLa* (canoe) with large stern

ō- something

*ō'xLē** stern of canoe 127.23

*ō'xLax'sīdzē** heel V 475.5 (see no. 75)

hanL- to shoot

ha'nL!ExLēnd to shoot stern of canoe

gwāL- to groan

gwā'L!ExLā'la to groan afterwards X 5.11

16. *-ō'yō* MIDDLE [STEM-S., W].

<i>mōk^u</i> to tie	<i>mō'gwo'yō</i> to tie in middle 370.13
<i>la</i> to go	<i>lō'yō</i> to go to the middle U.S.N.M. 670.17
<i>ō-</i> something	<i>ōyā'ēē</i> the middle 273.23
<i>k'ip-</i> to clasp	<i>k'ibō'yōd</i> to clasp in the middle, to embrace X 177.4
<i>g'ōk^u</i> house	<i>g'ō'kwo'yō</i> middle of house 248.28
<i>da</i> to hold	<i>dā'yiwē</i> to hold in middle V 325.7

17. *-nō* SIDE. The form of this suffix is variable. On the one hand, we have the word-suffix *-nō*, from which are formed *ā'lanāē* LANDSIDE 20.1, *nā'landē* SEASIDE 272.3; and, on the other hand, we have *-nō* as stem-suffix, weakening the terminal consonant. From this form we have—

<i>ax-</i> to do	<i>axnō'lis</i> to place by the side 177.39
<i>lax^u</i> to stand	<i>lā'nōlis</i> to stand by the side 37.9
<i>t!ex-</i> trail, door	<i>t!ēnnōē</i> side door X 171.28

We have also *-nus*, sometimes indifferent, sometimes weakening the terminal consonant.

It weakens the terminal sound in the following forms:

<i>hēl-</i> right side	<i>hē'lk'!ōdēnutsē</i> right side 175.14 (see no. 12)
<i>qās-</i> to walk	<i>qā'dzēnō'dzēndāla</i> to walk alongside <i>qā'nō'dzēndāla</i> to walk along- side
<i>sēx^u</i> to paddle	<i>sē'wonudzē</i> paddling along- side
<i>lax^u</i> to stand	<i>lā'wunōdzētl</i> to stand along- side in house 31.34

It is indifferent in the following forms:

<i>da</i> to take	<i>dā'banusēla</i> to take alongside 152.5 (see no. 31)
<i>dzēlx^u</i> to run	<i>dzē'lxunu'dzē</i> running along- side

The ending *-nulem* (no. 54b) suggests a third form, *-nul*.

18. **-nēq^u** CORNER [STEM-S., IND. (W.?)].**ō-** something**hēl-** right side**aps-** one side**han-** hollow object is somewhere**ō'nēgwīl** corner in house 56.15**hēlk'!ōdnē'gwīl** right-hand corner in house 81.2 (see nos. 12, 46)**apsā'nēgwēs** one corner of mind 260.40**hanē'gwīl** (kettle) stands in corner of house X 125.2919. **-āx(a)** DOWN [STEM-S., IND.].**la** to go**wa** river**p!EL-** to fly**lōx-** to roll**dzelx^u-** to run**la** to go**lā'xa** to go down 165.29**wā'xela** river runs down 36.39**p!ELā'xa** to fly down X 155.21**lōxumā'xa** to roll down, plural 19.12 (see no. 136)**dze'lxwaxa** to run down 196.39**lā'xalīl** to go down in house 187.22 (see no. 46)With **-ayu** (no. 174) it forms **-axō^uyu**.**ts!eq-** to throw**ts!eqā'xo^uyu** to be thrown X 87.28With the inchoative (no. 2) it forms **-axōd**.**ax-** to do**wul-** in vain**lēl-** to invite in**L!āq^u-** red, copper**axā'xōd** to take down 48.24**wulā'xōd** to bring down in vain U.S.N.M. 727.10**lē'lxōd** to call down 185.36**L!ā'qwarōd** to hand down a copper, i. e., to sell a copper 84.320. **-g^ustā** UP [STEM-S., IND.] loses **g^u** after **s**, and **k** and **L** sounds.**ga-** morning, early**k!wā** to sit**'nē'mp!en** once**q!ōm-** rich**dōq^u-** to see**dex^u-** to jump**nēx-** to pull**qās-** to walk**p!EL-** to fly**gāg^ustā'** to rise early 61.5**k!wā'g^ustālīl** to sit up in house 50.17 (see no. 46)**'nē'mp!eng^ustā** (to jump) up once 390.13**Q!ō'mg^ustāls** wealth coming up on ground (name) 377.1 (no. 44)**dō'qustāla** to look up X 167.37**dex^uō'stā** to jump up X 179.17
x^u changes before **ō** to **x'**, see p. 436**nē'rustōd** to pull up 184.37**qā'sustāla** to walk up**p!ELō'stā** to fly up

21. *-nts/ēs* DOWN TO BEACH [STEM-S., IND.].*la* to go*qās-* to walk*lēl-* to invite in, to call*lō'gwala* supernatural*lēnts/ēs* to go to beach 80.21*qā'sents/ēs* to walk to beach*lē'lēnts/ēsēla* to call down to beach 80.17*lō'lēgwālents/ēsēla* the supernatural ones coming down to the beach 159.1822. *-'usdēs* UP FROM BEACH [STEM-S., IND.].*qās* to walk*la* to go*xāp-* to grasp in talons*ōxl-* to carry on back*qā's'usdēs* to walk up from beach*lā'sdēs* to go up from beach 211.15*xā'p'usdēs* to grasp and carry up the beach X 155.21*ō'xlōsdēsēla* to carry on back up the beach X 162.1522a. *-xt!a* OUT TO SEA [STEM-S., W]. Loses initial *x*.*ge'lqet!a* to swim out to sea X 144.27*dō'gut!āla* to look out to sea X 117.26*kwadzēt!ō'd* to kick out to sea X 111.123. *-atūs* and *-eltūs* DOWN RIVER, DOWN INLET [STEM-S., *-atūs* IND., *-eltūs* IND. and W].*yāl-* to blow*gelq-* to swim*qamx^u-* down of birds*qās-* to walk*lā* to go*sēx^u-* to paddle*yā'latū'sēla* to blow down the inlet 274.5*gelqatū'sēla* to swim down river*qā'mxwatōsēla* down coming down river 154.30*qā'dzeltūsēla* to walk down river*Lā'tōselag'ilis* going down river (westward) through the world (name) X 84.39*sē'wultū'sēla* and *sē'xultū'sēla* to paddle down river24. *-'usta* UP RIVER [STEM-S., IND.].*hōq^u-* to go [PLURAL]*'neq-* straight*qās-* to walk*sēx^u-* to paddle*hō'x'usta* to walk up river 62.31*'ne'x'usta'* to continue up river 70.23*qā's'ustāla* to walk up river*sē'x'ustāla* to paddle up river

25. **-a^ewīl** ACROSS [STEM-S., IND.].**mō-* to load**mā^ewīl* a canoe carrying load
across 131.23*qēlq-* to swim*qēlqa^ewī^elēla* swimming across
148.1826. **-ns(a)** UNDER WATER [STEM-S., W].*ēt-* again*ē^edēnsa* again under water
143.19**neq-* straight**neqe^ensēla* straight under
water V 477.30*k!wa* to sit*k!w^ensa* to sit in water 64.22*wun-* to hide (?)*wu^ens^eid* to sink 143.32 (see
no. 90)27. **-ts!ō** IN [STEM-S., IND.].*mā* fish*māts!ō* fish inside (i. e., in
trap) 184.18**mēl-* white**mē^elts!ō* white inside*ax-* to do*axts!ā^ela* to put into 114.36*ts!ix-* sick*axts!ō^ed* to put into 175.27*ts!ix^ets!ā^ela* sick inside, head-
ache*ma^el* two*ma^elts!ā^ela* two inside, i. e.,
two in a canoe 147.15*q!ōx-* to dress*q!ō^exts!ōd* to dress in, to put
on garment 98.1*g^ei-* to be somewhere*g^ei^ets!ē^ewas* place of going in
(see no. 182)*la* to go*lā^elts!ā^elil* to come out of room
in house 194.31 (see nos.
27, 46)**wīl-* entirely**wī^elōlts!ā* (strength) gives out
entirely 141.2 (see no. 37)28. **-bEt(a)** INTO HOLE [STEM-S., IND.].*dēx^e-* to jump*dēx^ebēta^e* to jump into 99.1*la* to go*lā^ebēdas* place of going into
(hole) 9.10 (see no. 182)*L!ēnx-* to shove*L!ē^enxbetēnd* to shove in X
224.1728a. **-pōL** INTO HOLE, IN HOLE (Newetsee dialect) [STEM-S., IND.].*kul-* to lie*kulpō^elil* to lie down in a room
in the house X 207.22 (see
no. 46)*ō-* something*ō^epōlil* room in house X 207.23

29. **-alō** UNDER [STEM-S., W].*lās-* to push*ō-* something*g'igamē* chief*gelq-* to grasp*lā'yabōd* to push under 80.13*a'wā'bā'e* lower side 80.13*a'wā'bōts!ezsdē* thigh (see no. 14)*g'i'gabāē* chief under others 151.26*gē'lgabōsx'ä'ya* to grasp the under side of the bow of the canoe 127.28 (see no. 62)30. **-xtā** ON TOP OF A LONG STANDING OBJECT [STEM-S., W.] seems to lose *x* after all consonants, but may retain it after *m*, *n*, *l*.*ō-* something*k!wā* to sit*k!us-* to sit, plural*ēp-* to pinch*ē'mas* float**mek^u-* round thing is somewhere*ō'xtāē* top of mountain 126.3*k!wā'xtā* to sit on top 182.32*k!udzetā'ya* to sit on top 415.22*ē'bētōd* to pinch at top end X 224.32*ē'madzētāla* top float V 389.8**megutō'd* round thing begins to be on top X 121.1131. **-b(a)** END OF A LONG HORIZONTAL OBJECT [STEM-S., IND.].*dōq^u-* to see*L!ās-* sea*L!ēx-* sea-lion*qanā'yu* lasso*dā* to take*ha'nL-* to shoot*ōdz-* wrong*hēl-* right*x'iq-* to burn*la* to go*dō'x^uba* to see point 91.32*L!ā'sbala* extending out to sea 162.42*L!ā'sabala* to walk on beach*L!ē' L!ēxbāla* sea-lions at ends X 71.6*qanā'yubala* lasso at end 37.13*dā'bēnd* to take hold of end 15.7*hanha'nLbēnd* to shoot at each end 153.3*ō'dzebar^ud* to turn the wrong way 227.25*hēlbax^uidā'mas* to cause to turn the right way 227.28 (see no. 158)*x'i'xbālag'īls* to burn at end on ground 251.29 (see nos. 197, 44)*lā'labēndāla* to go from end to end 196.35

32. **-x^oL(a)** ON TOP OF A ROUNDED OBJECT [STEM-S., IND.] loses **x^o** after *p, s, k*, and *L* sounds.

This ending has assumed two specific meanings:

(a) ON THE FLAMES OF THE FIRE:

<i>ax-</i> to do	<i>axlā'la</i> to put on fire
	<i>axle'nd</i> to put on fire
<i>t!ē'qwap</i> stone in fire	<i>t!ē'qwaplend</i> to put stones on fire 20.8
<i>han-</i> a hollow object is some- where	<i>ha'nx:lāla</i> hollow object on fire (= kettle)

(b) NAMED. The meaning in this case is that the name is on top of the object, in the same way as the Mexicans and the Plains Indians, in their picture-writing, attach the name to the head of the person.

Dā'bendex'la named Dā'bend 22.6
Q!a'mtalalla named Q!a'mtala! 100.1.
a'ngwax'las? what is your name? 388.3

33. **-(E)nx** EDGE OF A FLAT OR LONG OBJECT [STEM-S., IND.].

<i>da</i> to take	<i>dē'nxend</i> to take by the edge 10.14
<i>ō-</i> something	<i>awu'nxē^s</i> edge
<i>qās-</i> to walk	<i>qā'senxendāla</i> to walk along an edge
<i>temk^u-</i> to chop, bite out	<i>te'mkunxend</i> to bite out the edge 197.21
	<i>k'!ē'LENx</i> knife 270.21
	<i>ama''enxē^s</i> youngest child 45.34

34. **-nt** EDGE OF A ROUND OBJECT [STEM-S., IND. ?].

<i>qās-</i> to walk	<i>qā'dznusentāla</i> to walk along
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35. **-dzō** ON A FLAT OBJECT [STEM-S., W].

<i>ō-</i> something	<i>ōdzō'ē^s</i> surface
<i>lēx-</i> to beat time with baton	<i>lē'xdzōd</i> to beat time on a flat thing 230.30
<i>alē'x^u-</i> to hunt sea-mammals	<i>Alē'udzewē^s</i> hunter on the flat thing (i. e., in the sky = Orion)
<i>t!ēp-</i> to step	<i>t!ēbedzō'd</i> to step on a flat thing X 101.18
<i>dōq^u-</i> to see	<i>dō'qudzōd</i> to see a flat thing X 226.12

xus- hill on which fortified vil-
lage is built
t!ēk- to lie on back

xudzedzō'lis hill on flat on
beach X 227.7
t!ēg'edzōlil to lie on back on flat
thing in house (see no. 46)

* * * *-sgem* ON A ROUND OBJECT (see no. 85)

36. *-g'eg'a* INSIDE OF A HOLLOW OBJECT [STEM-S., W.] loses initial *g'ε*.

ō- something
mōq^u- yellowish

ō'gug'ē^ε inside of hollow thing
mō'gug'a yellowish inside (= spoon of horn of the big-horn sheep) U.S.N.M. 680.2

ts!ōx^u- to wash

ts!ō'rug'ind to wash inside
V 432.42

36a. *-nulγ'a* HOLLOW SIDE (compound of *-nō* and *-g'a*, nos. 17, 36).

ō- something

ō'nulγ'aē^ε groins

37. *-ō* OFF, AWAY FROM. This suffix does not seem to occur by itself, but is always combined with a following primary suffix. Nevertheless, on account of its significance, I have included it in the primary suffixes. In its simplest form it occurs with the completive terminal *-d*. It seems to have a secondary form *-wul* [STEM-S., IND.] which may be formed from the inchoative *-g'il-* (see no. 197) and *-ō*. It is not impossible that this suffix *-ō* may be identical with *-wä*, *-ō* (no. 124). This is suggested by such forms as *t!ē'pā* TO STEP OFF (from *t!ēp-* to step), but the identity of these suffixes is not certain.

(a) With the completive terminal *-d*:

ax- to do
qix- to put around
elk^u- blood

axō'd to take out
qix'ō'd to take off 16.10, 39.29
ē'lk'ōd to bleed 197.21 (see p. 436)

t!ōs- to cut
saq!- to peel

t!ō'sōd to cut off 279.13
saq!ō'd to peel off V 473.27

(b) With other primary suffixes:

ax- to do
la to go

axō'dala to take off
lā'wels to go out (see nos. 44, 197)

**wi'el-* all

**wi'elō'sta* all out of water 21.8 (see no. 39)

la to go
lex^u-

lā'ē'sta to go out of water 356.6
lexuste'nd to take out X 155.39 (see no. 39)

<i>*mō</i> to load	<i>*mōlts!ā'la</i> to unload 55.33 (see nos. 27, 91)
<i>la</i> to go	<i>lōlts!ā'līl</i> to go out of room 194.31 (see nos. 27, 46)
<i>ax-</i> to do	<i>ax^wults!ō'd</i> to take out (see no. 27)
<i>la</i> to go	<i>lā'wiōd</i> to take off from fore- head 22.2 (see no. 57)
<i>gāx</i> to come	<i>gā'xwugā</i> to come out of inside of something 415.31
<i>q!ō</i> to well up	<i>q!ō'l^weqā</i> to well up out of a hole
<i>han-</i> a hollow thing is somewhere	<i>hanō'qāl's</i> (box) coming out of ground X 35.31 (see no. 44)

(c) The following are evidently compounds of the suffix *-ō* or *-wul*, but the second elements do not seem to be free.

-wult!a OUT OF AN ENCLOSED PLACE:

<i>*wī'l-</i> all	<i>*wī'lōlt!a</i> all out of the woods 42.34
<i>dex^w-</i> to jump	<i>dex^wwult!ā'līl</i> to jump out of room in house 97.29
<i>ɣwē'laq-</i> backward	<i>ɣwē'laxwult!a</i> to turn back out of 62.27

-wultā OUT OF CANOE:

<i>*wī'l-</i> all	<i>*wī'lōltā</i> all out of canoe 217.20
<i>*mō-</i> to load	<i>*mōltā'lasō^s</i> to be unloaded 217.13
	<i>mō'tōd</i> to unload X 103.26

-wultōs DOWN OUT OF:

<i>dex^w-</i> to jump	<i>dexultō's</i> to jump down out of 279.15
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§ 22. *Special Space Limitations* (Nos. 38-52)

38. *-k^eE* TOP OF A BOX [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *k^e*.

<i>k!wā</i> to sit	<i>k!wā'k^eE^s</i> seat on top X 155.23
<i>wē-</i> not	<i>wē'k^eE^s</i> not full
<i>LEp-</i> to spread	<i>LEpEɣi'ndala</i> to spread over top (see nos. 2, 91)
<i>nās-</i> to cover	<i>nā'sEɣind</i> to cover top
<i>*nemā'x^eid</i> to be level	<i>*nemā'k^eE^s</i> level on top
<i>gēlq^w-</i> to lift	<i>gēl^wkwōend</i> to lift top of box

39. *-st(a)* WATER [WORD-S. and STEM-S., IND.].

(a) Word-suffix:

q'lula' life*wuda'* cold*g-ā'la* first*q'lula'sta* water of life*wuda'sta* cold water 141.17*g-ā'la'sta* first in the water
62.13

(b) Stem-suffix:

ax- to do*dex** to jump*k-ōx** lukewarm*gē* long time*la* to go*axste'nd* to put into water 21.5*dex'sta'* to jump into water
34.28*k-ō'x'sta* lukewarm water 54.1*gē'stāla* long in water X
155.38 (see no. 91)*lā'sta* to go out of water 356.6
(see no. 37)*la'stex-i'd* to begin to go into
water 36.25 (see no. 90)*la'staa's* place of going into
water 34.3 (see no. 182)*axstā'nō* being put into water
X 155.36*ax-* to do*tēq-* to drop*qap-* to upset*tē'xsta* to fall into water 100.10*qapstā'nd* to pour into water
CS 216.740. *-sqwap* FIRE [STEM-S., IND.].*q'lē-* many*q'lē'sqwap* many fires

With *t/lēs-* STONE, this suffix forms *t/lē'qwap* STONE IN FIRE. With other stems ending in *s*, one of the *s* sounds is dropped, which would suggest a form *-qwap*.

ō'mas large (Newettee dialect)*ō'masqwā'pɛlag'ilis* great fire
in world (see no. 45)*wālas* great*wōlasqwapɛlis* great fire on
beach (poetry; see no. 45)41. *-wāla, -āla* STATIONARY ON WATER.(a) After *n* and vowels *-wāla*:*han-* hollow object is
somewhere*k!wā* to sit*ɬa(x*)* to stand*g-i-* to be*gē* long time*hanwā'la* canoe adrift on water
127.6*k!wā'wāla* to sit on water*ɬā'wāla* to stand on water
143.41*g-i'wāla* to be on water X 87.37*gē'wā'la* long time on water
X 181.3

(b) After *p*, *t*, and anterior and posterior *k* sounds *-āla*:

kāt- long object is some- *kātā'la* long object adrift
where

yaqʷ- dead body is some- *yā'qāla* dead body adrift
where

mex- hollow things are *mexā'la* canoes adrift on
somewhere water

Medial *k(w)* sounds are transformed by this ending into the corresponding anterior sounds (see p. 436).

**mekʷ-* round thing is **mekā'la* island, i. e., round
somewhere thing on water

peṣʷ- to float *peṣā'la* to drift

The inchoative form of this suffix is formed with *-g'il-* (no. 197) and is *-g'iltāla*.

k!wā to sit

k!wā'g'iltāla to sit on water

kād- long thing is some-
where

kād'eltāla to put long thing
on water

42. *-Lē* MOVING ON WATER [STEM-S., W]. Inchoative form *-g'ilē* (see no. 197) loses initial *g'i*.

hanL- to shoot

ha'nLēLē to shoot on water

dōqʷ- to see

dō'qūLē'yāla to see moving on
water

*dzeṣk'!*ā'la noise of splitting

*dzeṣk'!*ā'lag'ilē noise of split-
ting begins to be on water
152.19

*sepe'lx'k'!*āla ringing noise of
metal

*sepe'lx'k'!*ālag'ilē ringing
noise begins to be on water
152.34

lāṣʷ- to stand

lā'ṣʷalē to begin to stand
on water 143.11

43. *-a* ON ROCKS [STEM-S., H]. Inchoative form *-g'āā'la*, *-g'i'la* (see no. 197) loses initial *g'a* and *g'i*.

yāqʷ- dead body is somewhere

yā'q!wa to lie dead on rock
154.12

ō- something

ō'nēq!wa corner on rock (see
no. 18) 168.33

ō- something, *-ēnakʷ* direction

awī'nak!wa rocky place 148.30

k!wa to sit

k!waa' to sit on rock 102.31

lāṣʷ- to stand

lā'ṣʷa to stand on rock 148.30

qap- upside down

qap!ā'ēlōd to pour out on rock
179.8

g'il- first*g'ilē'mg'i'lāla* to be on rock,
[pl.] 22.10 (see nos. 196, 197)*k!wa* to sit*k!wā'g'aā'la* to sit down on
rock X 105.25

44. **-s ON GROUND, OUTSIDE OF HOUSE** [STEM-S., H]. Inchoative form *-g'aēls*, *-g'īls* loses initial *g'a* and *g'*.

lēq^u- fire*lēq!u's* fire on ground, out-
side of house 45.32*k!wa* to sit*k!wās* to be seated on ground
X 173.22*k!wā'dzas* place of being seated
on ground X 173.31 (see no.
182)*gē* long time*gē's* long on ground 37.14*lax^u*- to stand*lā's* to stand on ground; tree
37.20*yaq^u*- to lie dead*yā'q!udzas* place of lying dead
on ground 61.8 (see no. 182)*bēk^u*- man*bēk!u's* woodman*k!wa* to sit*k!wā'g'aēls* to sit down on
ground X 173.19**wāt*- to lead**wā'tēls* to lead on ground
X 4.5*mā* to crawl, swim*mā'g'īls* to move on ground
60.37*gun*- to try*gung'e'ls* to try on ground
160.22*dā*- to take*dā'deg'īls'id* to pick up from
ground X 6.18*lā* to go*lā'wēls* to go out 19.8 (see no.
37)**wī'la* all**wī'lawēls* all outside 26.32
(see no. 37)

45. **-ēs, -īs BOTTOM OF WATER** [STEM-S., W]. Generally this suffix is used to designate the beach, but it means as well the bottom of the sea, which is always covered by water. If the latter is to be clearly distinguished from the beach, the suffix **-ns UNDER WATER** (no. 26) is added, with which it forms **-ndzēs UNDER WATER ON THE BOTTOM**. Inchoative form- *-g'a'īs* loses initial *g'*.

k!us- to sit [PLURAL]*k!udzē's* to sit on the beach
102.18*dōq^u*- to see*dō'xdogwēs* to see the bottom
34.4

ək- good
han- hollow vessel is some-
 where
qap- upside down
k!wa to sit

L!ā's- seaward

qap- upside down

ē'g'is good beach, sand 60.21
ha'nē's hollow vessel on beach
 102.34

qabē's upset on beach
k!wā'g'a'lis to sit down on
 beach 96.28

L!ā' L!esbag'a'lis to put out on
 beach (in front of house),
 seaward 101.34 (see no. 31)

qap!ā'lis to upset on beach

Here may also belong the very common suffix of names *-g'ilis* sig-
 nifying IN THE WORLD:

nemō'k one person
ō'masqwap great fire

**nemō'kulag'ilis* alone in world
ō'masqwa'pelag'ilis only great
 fire in world

46. *-lil* IN HOUSE, ON THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE [STEM-S., W]. Inchoa-
 tive form *-g'ilil*, *-g'alil* loses initial *g*.

*leq**- fire
han- hollow vessel is some-
 where

*lax**- to stand
gā- early, *-g'ustā* up

kul- to lie, plural

*yag**- to lie dead

ax- to do
lep- to spread
t!ēk- to lie on back

leqwi'l fire in house
ha'nī'l kettle on floor V 427.1

lā'wil to stand on floor 47.28
gā'g'ustāwil to be up early in
 house 46.12

ku'li'l to lie down in house 25.6
ku'lē'las place of lying down in
 house, bedroom 139.21 (see
 no. 182)

yā'qumg'a'li'l to fall dead in
 house [pl.] X 110.34

ax'ā'li'l to put on floor 137.37
lep!ā'li'l to spread on floor 24.3
t!ex'ā'li'l to lie down on back
 in house 139.18

The very numerous forms in *-lil* are evidently to a great extent
 derived from continuative forms in *-la*.

k!wadā'la to sit on flat thing

gemxōtstāla left side of door

lep- to spread

k!wadā'li'l to sit on flat thing
 in house 24.4 (see no. 35)

gemxōtstā'li'l left side of door
 in house 270.21 (see nos. 12,
 59)

*lebegwi'lk** spread out on
 floor V 430.22 (*lebek**
 spread out, see no. 172)

47. *-ēL* INTO HOUSE [STEM-S., W].*hōq^u*- to go pl.*dēx^u*- to jump*gāx* to come*ax*- to do*hō'gwīL* to enter pl. 21.1*dēwī'L* to jump into house
14.8*gā'xēLEla* to be in the act of
coming in 91.15*axē'LEla* to put into 48.2747a. *-ēLē'sEla* SHOREWARD (STEM-S., W.). This is evidently composed of *-ēL* (no. 47); *-ēs* (no. 45); *-la* (no. 91)*dā'bēLē'sEla* to tow ashore48. *-xs* IN CANOE [STEM-S., W]. Inchoative form *-g'aalex* loses initial *g'a*.*hōq^u*- to go [pl.]*ō*- something*da* to take*k'īp*- to hold with tongs**mō*- to load*k'wā* to sit**wīl*- all, entire*gap*- upside down*aps*- other side*hō'gu^xs* to go aboard 224.9*ōxs* inside of canoe*dāxs* to take aboard 96.32*k'īEBE'xsEla* to put aboard
with tongs V 366.3**mō'xsEla* to load 78.38*k'wā'g'aalex*s to sit down in
canoe 121.26**wīlg'aalex*s all is in canoe V
485.2*qep'E'lex*s to pour into canoe
V 473.15*apsā'xdzē^s* other side of canoe
V 361.2249. *-xLō* ON TOP OF TREE [STEM-S., IND.] (compare no. 76).*han*- a hollow thing is some-
where*g'ē*- to be somewhere*ha'nXLōd* to put a box on top
of a tree 278.31*g'ē'XLō* it is on a tree50. *-x'siū* MOUTH OF RIVER [STEM-S., IND.] loses initial *x*.*ō*- something*wun*- deep*ō'x^usiwē^s* mouth of river 29.3*wu'nx'siū* deep at mouth of
river51. *-g'āg-* SIDE, BANK OF RIVER [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *g*.*mak*- next*k'wa* to sit*mā'k'āgē^s* next to bank of
river 180.23*k'wā'g'āgend* to sit on bank
of river 30.6*k'wā'g'āgels* to sit down on
ground by a river 64.29

ō- something	ō'gwāgē ^e side of canoe 79.14 shore of lake 143.7
sēx ^u - to paddle	sē'sēxwāgē ^e paddles at sides 214.40
gēx ^u - to hang	gēxwā'gedāla to be suspended by the side of V 479.10

52. -xsēg- OUTSIDE FRONT OF HOUSE [STEM-S., W].

k'!āt- to paint	k'!ā'dēxsē'g'ila painting on house-front 186.27
ō- something	ō'xsēg'ē ^e outside front of house, 272.4
lēx- to beat time	lē'xēxsēg'ind to beat front boards of house 247.5

§ 23. *Parts of Body as Space Limitations (Nos. 53-81)*

53. -xLā ON HEAD [STEM-S., H OR W?].

ō- something	ō'xLā'ē head of clam 134.10
nēs- to pull	nēs!ēxLā'labēnd to pull by the head X 171.30
*mēl- white	*mē'ldēxLā'la having white feather on head X 114.12
lēk'- to throw	lēg'ixLā'ls to throw at head outside X 116.20
nēl- to show	nē'lēxLā'x'īd to begin to show head 143.10

54. -gEm FACE. This suffix is probably related to -sgem round thing (no. 85). After *p*, *s*, *t*, *l*, *L*, and *k* sounds, -em; after *l*, *n*, *m*, and fortes, -gem.

*mēl- white	*mē'lgem white face
ēk'! upward, high	ē'k'!igē'malā'mas to cause face to be turned up (see nos. 92, 158)
q'wāx hemlock	q'wā'xamē ^e hemlock on face (around head) 18.10
hap- hair	hape'm hairy face
L!ēl- to push	L!ē'lgemx'īd to push from face 173.36
ax- to be	axamā'la to have on face 271.24

Sometimes with the significance IN FRONT OF:

lāx ^u - to stand	lā'xumē ^e standing in front of
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It occurs also as word-suffix:

āLANē'm wolf	āLANē'mgem with a wolf face,
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54 a. **-gEml** MASK [STEM-S., as no. 54, or WORD-S.].

(a) STEM-S.:

kunx^u- thunder-bird*ku'nxuml* thunder-bird mask
16.1*'mEl*- white*'mE'lqEml* mountain-goat
mask 98.12

(b) WORD-S.:

'mEl- white*'mE'lxlōqEml* mountain-
goat mask 96.2354 b. **-nuLEm** TEMPLES (= sides of face; compound of **-nō** side [no. 17] and **-gem** face [no. 54]).*ō*- something*ō'nuLEmē*^s temples 31.40*ma'tl* two*maē'ma'tlōgunū'LEMā'la* two
persons on each side 217.29
(see nos. 82, 91)*hē'lk'!ōt* right side*hē'lk'!ōdēnū'LEMē*^s right side
of house-front (see no. 12)
186.3255. **-Em'ya** CHEEK [STEM-S., H].*L!aq*^u- red*L!aq!u'm'ya* red-cheeked*'naṣ*^u- to cover with blanket*'nā'umya* to cover cheek with
blanket56. **-ōs** CHEEK [STEM-S., H].*L!aq*^u- red*L!ā'q!ōs* red-cheeked57. **-g'iu, -g'iyu** FOREHEAD [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *g*.*ō*- something*ō'gwiwē*^s forehead 19.5*wā'dzō* broad*wā'dzōgwiyū* with broad fore-
head (see § 4.1)*qēs*- to shine*qē'siu* shining forehead*ēk*^s good*ē'k'iu* prettyBefore vocalic suffixes the terminal *u* becomes *w*.*k'at*- a long thing is somewhere*k'ā'tēwē*^s house beam 118.29
(long thing on forehead)*Lās*- to stick*Lā'siwē*^s what sticks on fore-
head 19.11*hō'ṣ^uhōk^u* a fabulous bird*hō'ṣ^uhōkwīwē*^s hō'ṣ^uhōk^u head
mask 110.16*'yix*^u- to dance*'yixwī'wē*^s dancing-headaddress*x'is*- to show teeth*x'is'wē*^s wolf head mask (teeth
showing thing on forehead)*q!Elx*- wrinkled*q!E'lxēwē*^s wrinkles on fore-
head

<i>bek^u</i> - man	<i>bekwī'wala</i> to have man on forehead 167.27
<i>ax-</i> to do, to be	<i>axē'wala</i> to have on forehead 19.6
<i>gums-</i> ochre	<i>gu'msiwak[*]</i> forehead painted red (see no. 172)
<i>yīl-</i> to tie	<i>yīLEYō'd</i> to tie on forehead
<i>lā</i> to go	<i>lā'wiōd</i> to take off from forehead 22.2 (see no. 37)

This prefix is often used to designate THE BOW OF THE CANOE. In this case the *g* never changes after *ō* to *gw*.

<i>ō-</i> something	<i>ā'g'iwē[*]</i> bow of canoe 127.42
<i>īax^u</i> - to stand	<i>īā'x^ug'iwē[*]</i> standing in bow of canoe 127.9
<i>ṡwid-</i> to stick out	<i>ṡwi'deg'iwala</i> to stick out at bow 143.26

Sometimes *-g'iu* is used with the significance AHEAD, IN FRONT, in the same way as *-ēg-* (no. 69) is used to express BEHIND.

<i>sā'yapalg'iwala</i> to send ahead 149.22 (probably containing the inchoative <i>-g'it-</i> no. 197)
<i>alē'ṡulg'iu</i> to paddle ahead 470.17

We have *-g'iu* also as word-suffix in *g'ā'lag'iwē^{*}* LEADER 8.6.

58. -*atō* EAR [STEM-S., W].

<i>g'ilt!</i> - long	<i>g'ī'ldatō</i> long-eared
<i>gē'mxōt</i> left side	<i>gēmzō'datâē[*]</i> left ear 105.7
<i>hēl-</i> to hire	<i>hē'latâ</i> to lend ear 217.37
<i>wāxs-</i> both sides	<i>wā'xsōdatâē[*]</i> on each ear 223.2
<i>gwās-</i> to turn towards	<i>gwā'saatâla</i> to turn ear to 81.43

59. -*stō* EYE, DOOR; more general, ROUND OPENING LIKE AN EYE [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial 's.

(a) EYE:

<i>dā</i> to wipe	<i>dā'stō'd</i> to wipe eye
<i>kwēs-</i> to spit	<i>kwē'stōd</i> to spit into eye 95.30
<i>'naq-</i> middle	<i>'nā'qō'stâē[*]</i> middle between eyes 168.13
<i>dzer-</i> to rub	<i>dzedzer'stō'ṡwid</i> to rub eyes X 57.34

(b) DOOR:

<i>ax-</i> to do	<i>axstō'd</i> to open door 15.6
<i>ō-</i> something	<i>ō'stā'lil</i> door of house 20.9

wāxs- both sides*wā'xsustālil* both sides of door

51.5 (see no. 46)

māx- to strike*māx'iltō'wē* to knock at door

(c) ROUND PLACE:

lēq^u- to miss*lē'x^ustō* to miss a round place(d) TRAIL. It would seem that in this case the form *-ltō*, which weakens the terminal stem consonant, is also used.**naq-* middle**nexstā'ē^s* middle of trail X 8.32*lēq^u-* to miss**negeltō'* to keep on trail 19.9*lē'gultōd* to miss a trail60. *-līb(a)* NOSE, POINT [STEM-S., W; from *-b(a)* POINT (no. 31)].*ōt-* to perforate*ōdī'lbend* to perforate nose*ō-* something*awī'lbē^s* point of land 682.1*gwa^x-* raven*gwā'wīlbē^s* raven nose 129.41*lāq^u-* to push*lā'gwīlbend* to shove to nose 349.20

This suffix occurs also as word-suffix.

qwē'sa far*qwē'saēlbēdzā* really far from nose 349.19 (see no. 119)**nexwa* near**nexwā'ēlba* near nose 349.2161. *-Exst(a)* MOUTH, OUTWARD OPENING [STEM-S., W].**mek^u-* round object is somewhere**meguxstalē's* round entrance on beach 153.29 (see no. 45)*t!ōq-* gap, narrow opening*t!ō'quxsta* with small mouth*ō-* something*āwaxstē^s* mouth of inlet 155.26, of bottle V 486.3*hā^m-* to eat*hā^m'manōdzexsta* to eat at the side of some one 117.23 (see no. 17)*qet-* to spread*qēdexstā'ē^s* sticks for spreading (mouth) of tree 99.3*gwās-* to turn to*gwā'yaxst* to turn mouth to 71.33**malt!ē-* to recognize**malt!ē'xst* to recognize voice 250.9*ga-* early*gāā'xstāla* breakfast X 167.6*geg-* wife*geg'xst* woman's voice62. *-sx·ā* TOOTH [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *s*.*ō'xlē^s* hind end*ō'xlasx·ā* lower jaw 166.6*a^{wab}ō'ē^s* lower side*a^{wā}'bōsx·āē^s* lower side of bow of canoe 127.20

*wālas large
*neq- straight

t/ēs- stone

*wālasx'ä big toothed (= lynx)
*nexx'ä'la straight edged V
491.30

t/ē'sx'ä stone-edged 96.18

63. -xō NECK [STEM-S., H].

L!āq^u red
ō- something
qix- to put around

q!wēs- to squeeze
k'!ip- to hold around

sōp- to chop

L!ā'q!wexō red necked
ōxā'wē^e neck 149.22 (see §4.3)
qenxā'la to have around neck
167.28

qenxō'd to put around neck
90.2

q!wē'ts!exōd to strangle 136.32
k'!ip!exō'd to embrace around
neck X 121.38

sō'p!exōd to chop neck (i. e.,
foot of tree) V 344.15

63 a. -īL!xō IN MOUTH [STEM-S., W; compound of -ēL (no. 47) and
-xō (no. 63)].

*wāp water
hēl- right
ts!Eṣ^u- to wash

sēk'- to spear

ṣwāk!- canoe

ts!eq- to throw

*wā'bīL!xāwē^e saliva
hē'lēL!xāwē^e mouthful X 157.20
ts!EWē^e!L!xō to rinse mouth V
432.27

sag'ē'!xāla to spear into
mouth U.S.N.M. 670.2

ṣwā'gwīL!xāla canoe in mouth
U.S.N.M. 670.2

ts!eqē'!L!exōd to throw into
mouth 359.13

64. -ndzEm THROAT [STEM-S., W; perhaps related to -ns- (no. 26)].

tōp- speck

tō'bendzem speck in throat

65. -āp! when followed by accent -īp! NECK [STEM-S., IND.].

ō- something

ax- to be
dEṣ^u- to jump
g'ē- to be somewhere

a^ewā'p!ē^e neck piece 18.5, 39.4
ga^eyaā'p!ē^e neck part 38.25
axā'p!ala to have on neck 19.6
dā'ṣwap! to jump on neck 99.27
g'īp!ā'LElōd to put into neck-
piece 39.3

Also with the meaning FOLLOWING, BEHIND, like -ēg'- (no. 69).

īṣṣ^u- to stand

han- hollow thing is somewhere

īā'wap!elis to stand behind on
beach (see no. 45)

ha'ng'īLElā'p!āla canoe fol-
lowing on water (see no. 42)

66. *-x·siā'p!* ARM ABOVE ELBOW. Evidently a compound of the preceding suffix; loses initial *x*.

<i>ō-</i> something	<i>ō'x^usiap!ē^s</i> shoulder and humerus
<i>*wēk-</i> to carry on shoulder	<i>*wix·siā'p!āla</i> to carry on shoulder 57.16

67. *-x·ts!ān(a)* HAND [STEM-S., IND.] loses initial *x*.

<i>t!ēs-</i> stone	<i>t!ē'semx·ts!āna</i> stone-handed 131.32
<i>ax-</i> to do	<i>axts!ā'nēnd</i> to put on hand 198.19
<i>lemx^u-</i> dry	<i>lE'mlemx^u·ts!ānax·^uid</i> to dry hands V 430.8
<i>pex-</i> to scorch	<i>pē'pex·ts!ānax·^uid</i> to dry hands by fire V 429.18

After short vowels this suffix has the form *-lts!āna*; with preceding *t* it also forms *-lts!āna*.

<i>dā'ba</i> to hold end	<i>dā'balts!ānēnd</i> to take by hand X 4.31 (see no. 31)
<i>hē'lk·!ōt</i> right side	<i>hē'lk·!ōlts!āna</i> right hand 15.11

68. *-bō* CHEST [STEM-S., H].

<i>q!āp-</i> to hit	<i>q!ā'p!bō</i> to hit chest
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69. *-ēg·(ē)* BACK [STEM-S., w]. The terminal vowel of this suffix may be *-a*. It appears very often, however, as *-ē* without any apparent grammatical reason.

<i>at-</i> sinew	<i>adē'g·ē^s</i> back sinew V 487.4 (see no. 161)
<i>ō-</i> something	<i>a^uwi'g·ē^s</i> back 144.21, V 475.6 (see no. 161)
<i>māx-</i> to strike	<i>mēnē'g·ēnd</i> to strike back
<i>L!ās-</i> seaward	<i>L!ā'sig·āla</i> being with back seaward 150.9 (see no. 92)
<i>g'il-</i> to walk on four feet	<i>g'il'i'g·ēnd</i> to climb on back 279.5
	<i>g'il'ig·i'ndalap!a</i> to climb on back of neck 279.7 (see no. 65)
<i>la</i> to go	<i>lē'g·a</i> to follow 47.41
<i>ō-</i> , plural <i>ēw-</i> something	<i>ēwig·atts!anē^s</i> backs of hands X 159.30 (see no. 67)

With ending *-ē* it appears in—

**wun-* to hide
ts!ēlk- feather

**wunē'g'ē* to hide behind 120.7
ts!ē'lk'ig'ila feathers on back

It is often used to signify BEHIND, as in the examples given before.

It is also used in a temporal sense, AFTERWARDS.

hēl- right

hēlēg'ind to serve a second
course at a meal 156.18
(i. e., right afterwards)

L!ōp- to roast

L!ō'bēg'a to roast afterwards

nāq- to drink

nā'qēg'ila to drink afterwards
41.25

Peculiar idiomatic uses of this suffix are—

**neq-* straight

**neqē'g'ē* midnight 85.27 (i. e.,
straight behind)

(*naq-* ?)

nā'naqēg'ē to obey 26.13

70. *-k'īlq(a)* FRONT OF BODY [STEM-S., IND.].

ō- something

ō'k'wulqē front of body

g'ī- to be somewhere

g'ē'k'īlqend to put in lap
V 478.25

ts!ēq- to drop

ts!ēzk'ī'lqendāla to drop in
lap 258.2

71. *-aq* CROTCH [STEM-S., W].

ō- something

awā'qē crotch of a tree, hollow
in foot of a tree

awā'gōxlā small of back V
490.32 (see no. 15)

ts!ōp- to tuck in

ts!ō'bagē something tucked
into crotch X 175.6

g'ī'g'ā tooth

g'ī'g'aqāla teeth in crotch 96.17

ts!ēt- crack, split

ts!ēdā'q woman (i. e., split in
crotch ?)

72. *-saqō* PENIS [STEM-S., IND.].

mōk^u- to tie

mō'x^usaqewak^u with tied penis
(see no. 172) 138.11

73. *-x'p!ēg(a)* THIGH (compounded of *-x'p!ē* and *-g'a* inside [no. 36]).

qīx- to put around

qīx'p!ē'g'ind to put around
thigh 89.37

74. *-k'āx'ē* KNEE [STEM-S., IND.].

ō- something

ōkwā'x'ē knee 87.12

LEM- scab

LEMk'ā'x'ē with scabby knees
154.11

75. *-x·sīš, -x·sīdz(ē)* FOOT [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *x·*.*ō-* something*ō'x·sīdzē* foot of mountain
19.12*bēn-* under*bē'nx·sīdzē* under foot 118.30*hē* that*hēx·sīdzēndāla* right down to
foot 19.12*ēp-* to pinch*q!ā'x·sīdzē* to lead 24.4, 50.10
ē'psīdzēnd to pinch foot 96.376. *-xLō* HAIR ON BODY [STEM-S., W] (compare no. 49).*L!āq·-* red*L!ā'guxLō* red-haired*·mēL-* white*·mē'xLō* mountain-goat (i. e.,
white-haired) 7.377. *-q!Egē* MEAT [STEM-S.; probably from *-q* and *-ga* AMONG (no. 7)].*·mēL-* white (see *·mē'xLō* under
no. 76)*·mē'l'mēlq!Egē* mountain-
goat meat*wiyō'q!uqē* the inside V 490.1378. *-ēs* IN BODY [STEM-S., W].*g'ilt!-* long*g'ildēs* long-breathed*·mēk·-* round thing is*·mēgwī's* stomach (i. e., round
thing in body)*ts!ix·-* sick*ts!ix'ī'sēla* (*ts!ix'ī'la-īs-la*),
ts!ix'ts!ēnē's sick in body78 a. *-k!ēs* is probably a secondary form of the last, which loses its initial *k·*, and hardens the terminal stem-consonant.*·nem* one*·nemk!ēs* one down in belly
(= swallowed)*pēnL-* stout*pē'nL!ēs* stout belly 50.15Here belongs probably also a form *-k!aēs*.*ō'k!waēdzē* branch side of tree V 344.15*lā'k!aēdzēnd* to enter the body 77.2079. *-g'it* BODY [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *g·*.*ō-* something*ō'gwitē* body 202.24 V 366.13*qup-* to sprinkle*qupē't!ēd* to sprinkle over body
112.19 (see no. 90)*xōs-* to sprinkle*xō'sit* to sprinkle body 105.38*ēk·* good*ē'k'ētēla* well 'grown (tree) V
496.6*tēk·-* to hang*tē'kwēt!ēdayu* to be hung to
body U.S.N.M. 667.7*dzek·-* to rub*dzek'ī't* to rub body 199.20

In a few cases *-g'it* appears as word-suffix.

<i>*nā'la</i> day	<i>*nā'lag'it'asō*</i> Day - on - Body 196.4 (see no. 159)
<i>t!ē'sem</i> stone	<i>T!ē'semg'it</i> Stone-Body 200.9

In one case the ending *-g'it* appears with its *g'* preserved after a *g*.

<i>*meg*</i> - to put on [PLURAL OBJECT]	<i>*megug'it</i> to put on body [PLURAL OBJECT] 199.11
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80. *-k'!in* BODY, CONSISTING OF (relating to the surface of the body)
[STEM-S., IND., also WORD-S.]; loses initial *k'!*, replaced by *ε*.

(a) STEM-S.:

<i>ō-</i> something	<i>ō'k'!winē*</i> surface of body
<i>*mēl-</i> white	<i>*mē'lk'!in</i> with white body
<i>L!ēmql-</i> yew tree	<i>L!ē'mq!ēk'!in</i> made of yew V 408.1
<i>lēmx*</i> - dry	<i>lēmlē'mx'unx'ēd</i> to get dry V 483.6
<i>x'ix-</i> to burn	<i>x'ix'x'ēnāla</i> being like fire V 196.35
<i>dēwē'x</i> cedar withe	<i>dēwē'x'ēn</i> cedar-withe rope 170.8

Sometimes used to express LOG.

<i>k!wā</i> to sit	<i>k!wā'k'!inīl</i> to sit on log in house 272.29 (see no. 46)
	<i>g'ik'!indāla</i> to put on log 272.33 (see nos. 2, 91)
<i>*nēx*</i> - to cover with blanket	<i>*nēx'u'nd</i> to put on blanket 65.1

(b) WORD-S.:

<i>L!aq*</i> - red	<i>L!ā'qwak'!in</i> copper body (i.e., entirely copper) 80.12
<i>d'la</i> real	<i>d'lak'!in</i> able-bodied 208.39

81. *-ēq* IN MIND [STEM-S., H, often with reduplication].

<i>ō-</i> something	<i>ā'wēqē*</i> inside of body
<i>ēk*</i> good	<i>ēk'!ē'qēla</i> to feel good 123.12 (see no. 91)
	<i>ē'k'ēx'ēd</i> to begin to feel glad 34.30 (see no. 90)
	<i>wā'ēnēqa</i> revengeful
<i>lēl-</i> dead	<i>lē'laē'qēla</i> to long (i. e., to feel dead) 63.14
	<i>lē'laē'x'ēd</i> to yield (i. e., to begin to feel dead)

g'ī- to be
la to go
q!ē- many
**nēk-* to say

g'ī'g'aēqala to think 52.5
lē'laēqala to think of going
q!ā'yāqala to bother 54.38
**nē'nk'!ēx'id* to begin to think
 (see no. 90) 184.3

§ 24. *Limitations of Form (Nos. 82-85b)*

82. **-ōk^u** and **-sōk^u** HUMAN BEINGS [STEM-S., with doubtful influence upon stem].

ma'l two
ēk good
g'in- how many?
hō'lal a few
q!ē- many

ma'lō'k^u two persons 48.21
ē'x'sōk^u handsome 48.29
g'inō'k^u how many persons!
hō'lalō'k^u a few persons
q!eyōk^u many persons

83. **-xs(a)** FLAT [STEM-S., IND.].

**nem* one

**nē'mxsa* one (day) 18.2

84. **-ts!aq** LONG [STEM-S., IND.].

**nem* one

**nē'mts!aq* one (horn) 17.9

85. **-sgem** ROUND SURFACE [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S]; loses *s* and *g*.

(a) STEM-S.:

**nem* one

**nē'msgem* one round thing
 8.1

**mel-* white

**mē'lsgem* white-surfaced
 61.26

k!wā to sit

k!wā'sgem to sit on round
 thing

q!enēp- to wrap up

q!enē'pemd to cover face
 299.21

Here belong also—

L!ā's- seaward

L!ā'sgemāla to face seaward
 61.16

la to go

lā'sgem to go facing (i. e., to
 follow) 8.9

(b) WORD-S.: blanket.

metsa' mink

mā'tsasgem mink blanket

q!wāx hemlock

q!wā'xsem house of hemlock
 branches 45.24

alā'g'im dressed skin

alā'g'imsgem dressed - s k i n
 blanket X 57.3

85a. *-dEn* FINGER-WIDTH [WORD-S., IND.].

ˈneʼmdɛnxsá one finger-width thick V 491.6 (see no. 3)

yaəyüʼduʁˈdɛnʼlāla everywhere about three finger-widths (see no. 5)

85b. *-xwaʼs* day.

hěʼlōp!ɛnxwaʼs the right number of days 355.26

This class of suffixes does not fit in the present place particularly well, since nos. 82-84 are used almost exclusively with numerals, indicating the class of objects. My reason for placing these suffixes at the present place is that suffixes denoting space limitations may be used in the same way as this class. We have, for instance, with *-ts!ō* (no. 27), *ˈneʼmts!ō* ONE INSIDE; and with *-āla* STATIONARY ON WATER (no. 41), *aʔɛbāʼla* SEVEN IN A CANOE AFLOAT. Since, furthermore, *-ōkʷ* HUMAN BEINGS is used with a number of intransitive verbs, and since *-sgɛm* is in its application quite analogous to all the other local suffixes, it seemed best to keep the whole series together. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that there is a distinct contrast between *-dzō* ON A FLAT THING (no. 35) and *-xsa* A FLAT THING; the former indicating the place of an action, while the latter is used only as a classifier of nouns. Furthermore, the few suffixes given here are in a wider sense classifiers than the local suffixes. This is indicated by combinations like *ˈneʼmxsats!ō* ONE FLAT THING INSIDE (*-xsa* a flat thing, *-ts!ō* inside); and *ˈneʼmsgɛmˈstō* ONE DROP, literally "one round thing in round thing" (*-sgɛm* round, *-ˈstō* round opening [no. 59]).

Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86-97) (§§ 25-26)

§ 25. Purely Temporal Suffixes (Nos. 86-89)

86. *-uʔ* REMOTE PAST [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S.]. This suffix has the form *-uʔ* after words ending in *a, m, n, l, ɣ*; after *p, t, s, kʷ, x*, it assumes the form *-wuʔ*. At the same time terminal *kʷ* is aspirated as before a consonant. After *ɛʼ* it has the form *-yul*.

ˈneqāʼp!ɛnkʷimōʔ the dead *ˈneqāʼp!ɛnkʷim* 283.9

Yāʼxʔɛnuʔ the dead *Yāʼxʔɛn* 285.11

lōʔ he went long ago (from *la* to go)

ˈmāʼxōʔ the dead *ˈmāʼxwa* 470.36

gē- long time

ōmp father

ʔɛns- one day remote

as thy father

gɛyōʔ long ago 12.4

ōʼmpwuʔ dead father 113.16

ʔɛʼnsʼuʔ yesterday 31.6

dʼswuʔ thy dead father 142.16

hayō't^uwul former rival

'nemō'x^uwul past friend 271.23

g'ā'xwulēn I came long ago 142.19 (*g'āx* to come; -*ēn* I)

Ō'magasema'yul the dead *Ō'magase^{mē}* 142.17

In a few cases this suffix modifies the terminal sound of the stem.

dā'g'i'nōhwul DEAD FELLOW-WIFE 142.18, which contains the suffix -*ōt* (no. 167, p. 506) changes its terminal *t* to *l* (see also p. 451)

wa'yul OLD DOG, from *wa'ts'lē* DOG, is treated as though the stem were *was-* and the terminal *s* were weakened.

87. -*x'id* RECENT PAST [STEM-S., IND.]. The initial *x* drops out after *p*, *t*, *s*, *l*, and *L* and *k* sounds; *p* and *t* are at the same time strengthened; *L* and *k* stops are aspirated.

ax- to be

ax'ā's'id place where he had been (see no. 182) 42.4

la to go

lāx'id he went 190.29

88. -*L* FUTURE [WORD-S.].

xwā'k!una canoe

xwā'k!unAL a future canoe 83.33

lē'gad having a name

lē'gaDEL one who will have a name 19.1

89. -*x'dē* TRANSITION FROM PRESENT TO PAST, or rather from existence to non-existence [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S.]; loses the initial *x*.

g'il first

g'ilx'dē what had been first 8.11

wā'ldēm word

wā'ldēmxdē what he had said 25.4

x'isā'la to have disappeared

x'isā'lax'dē the one who had disappeared and was no more 85.32

yā'q!udzā's place of lying dead

yā'q!udzā'sdē place where he had lain dead 61.8 (see nos. 44, 182)

k!wīl to feast in house

k!wīldē those who had been feasted, but ceased to feast 22.4

§ 26. Suffixes with Prevailing Temporal Character (Nos. 90-97)

90. -*x'id* inchoative. The initial *x* is dropped after *p*, *t*, *s*, *l*, and *L* and *k* sounds except the fortes; *p* and *t* are at the same

time strengthened; *l* and *k* stops are aspirated. This suffix is evidently compounded with the terminal completive *-d* (no. 2). It can not be used with all other suffixes, many of which have a different way of forming inchoatives (see no. 197). It can also not be used with all stem-verbs.

It was stated before (no. 2) that verbs with primary suffixes ending in *-a* generally form an inchoative in *-nd*. Nevertheless cases occur in which the full suffix *-x^εid* is used. We have—

lx^εstax^εid to begin to go into water 36.25

gwē'xtux^εwid to begin to have a direction on top (= to steer)

ō'dzebox^εid to begin to turn the wrong way

k^ε!ipts!^εā'lax^εid to begin to hold (in tongs) inside 192.38

k^ε!a^εstā'lax^εid to begin to place into water 95.8

Examples of the use of the inchoative with simple stems are the following:

g'il- to walk on four feet

len- to forget

k!uml- to burn

wun- to drill

^εwun- to hide

xek'!- to stay

L!ep- to climb (a pole)

^εlāp- to dig

xō's^εit to sprinkle body (see no. 79)

qās- to walk

p!es- to flatten

nēl- to tell

g'ilō'^εL- to steal

k^ε!i'mL- to adze

k^εēL- to fish with net

dzē'^εk- to dig clams

dōk^u- to troll

dōq^u- to see

nāq- to drink

awu'lq- to want more

yā'^εwix- to act

ix- to turn bow of canoe

qamx^u- to put on down

max^u- potlatch

denx- to sing

g'^ε!lx^εid

lE'nx^εid

k!^εu'mlx^εid

wu'nx^εid

^εwu'nx^εid

xek'!ex^εid

L!ep!^εid

^εlā'p!^εid

xō's^εit!^εid

qā's^εid

p!es^εid

nē'^εid

g'ilō'^εid

k^ε!i'm!^εid

k^εē'^εid

dzē'^εx^εid

dō'^εx^εwid

dō'^εx^εwid

nā'^εx^εid

awu'l^εx^εid

yā'^εwix^εid

ix^εid

qā'mx^εwid

^εma'^εx^εwid

dE'nx^εid

It appears from the rules and examples here given that the inchoatives of stems in *k* and *x*, *k*^u and *x*^u, *q* and *x*, *q*^u and *x*^u, *l* and *l* can not be distinguished. The number of stems ending in a fortis is very small, but all those that I have found take the ending *-x^uid* preceded by a release of the vocal cords. I have no examples of stems ending in a sonant and taking the ending *-x^uid*.

A few cases are apparently irregular, presumably on account of secondary changes in the stem.

(<i>lax^u-</i>) to stand	<i>lā'x^uwīd</i>
(<i>tōx^u-</i>) to go forward	<i>tō'x^uwīd</i>

Both these stems are often treated as though they ended in *-ō*, not in *-x^u*, but the relationship of these two sounds has been pointed out before.

91. *-l(α)* continuative. In stems ending in a long vowel, it is added to the terminal vowel. With stems ending in a consonant, it is generally connected by an obscure *ε*, but also by a long *ā*. Terminal *p* and *t* sounds, including nasals in suffixes and stems, seem to require long *ā*, while *s* occurs both with *ε* and *ā*. In stems ending in a *k* sound with *u* or *i* tinge, it is added to the vocalized tinge. In all suffixes that may take a terminal *-a* (no. 1), it is added to this *-a*.

<i>wul-</i> to hear	<i>wulε'la</i> to hear 11.10
<i>laē' l</i> to enter	<i>laē' lεla</i> to be engaged in entering 24.2
<i>yā' lōd</i> to tie	<i>yā' lodāla</i> to be engaged in tying 28.33

This suffix is evidently contained in the suffixes *-^εnākula* (no. 94), *-k'ālā* (no. 144), *-i'ālā* (no. 5), *-g'aalεla* (no. 96), *-ōlεla* (no. 93), *-g'ilā* (no. 136).

Examples of its use after various classes of sounds are the following:

After long vowels—

<i>pā'la</i> to be hungry 7.4	<i>^εmō'ēla</i> to thank 21.2
<i>hamg'i'la</i> to feed 7.6	<i>ā'la</i> real 9.5
<i>^εwi'la</i> entirely 10.8	<i>axk'!ā'la</i> to ask 7.5

After stems ending in a *k* sound with *u* or *i* tinge—

<i>g-ō'kula</i> to live 7.1	<i>ts'ix'i'la</i> sick 32.27
<i>^εnā'qula</i> light 11.2	<i>p!ē'xula</i> to feel

After consonants of *k* and *l* series—

wule'la to hear 11.10

wu'nqela deep 11.1

xe'nlela very 7.3

k'ilela to be afraid 10.2

le'qela to name 9.13

de'nxela to sing 13.2

After consonants of *p* and *t* series—

axā'p'āla to be on neck
19.6

hē'lō'māla to be on time
15.10

qex'imā'la to be on head-
ring 18.4

hō'lemāla to obtain easily 7.3

ā'xōdāla to handle 32.41

dā'la to hold 14.9

lenā'la to forget

qā'tsē'stāla to go around 23.13

After *s*—

mē'sela to have a smell

lē'stalī'sela to go around on beach
12.7

qwē'sala far 26.43

After suffixes that may take terminal *a*—

Sā'gumbala (name of a place) 7.1 (no. 31)

ts!ē'slāla tongs 21.3 (no. 32)

qanā'yobala having lasso at end 37.13 (no. 31)

gē'stāla long in water X 155.38 (no. 39)

92. **-āla** continuative [STEM-S., IND.]. This differs from the preceding in that it indicates the continued position implied in an act, not the continued activity itself.

x'ōs- to rest

**wun-* to hide

g'ūl- to move on four legs

**neṣu-* near

da to take

beku- man

x'ō'sāla to be in the position
of rest 274.7

**wunā'la* to be in hiding 161.2

g'ūlā'la to be on four legs

**neṣwā'la* to be near 36.10

dā'la to hold 16.5

bekwā'la character of a person

With stems ending in *ē*, *ē*, and *ī* it is contracted to **-āla**:

gē long

hē that

gā'la 129.14

hā'la being that 14.3

93. **-ōl(ēla)** CONTINUED MOTION [STEM-S., IND.].

ē'k'! above

**nāla* south

qwās- direction

ē'k'!ōlēla to continue to go up
126.40

**nā'lōlēla* going south, down
river 125.7

qwā'sōlēla to approach 9.9

94. **-^εnāku(la)** GRADUAL MOTION, ONE AFTER ANOTHER [STEM-S., W].
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>tēk^u</i> - to hang | <i>tē'gu^εnā'kula</i> to hang one after another |
| <i>penL</i> - stout | <i>pe'n^εle^εnā'kula</i> to grow stout 49.15 |
| <i>qās</i> - to walk | <i>qā^εnā'kula</i> to walk along 115.3 |
95. **-naṣw(a)** SOMETIMES [WORD-S.].
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>la</i> to go | <i>lā'naṣwa</i> to go sometimes 11.3 |
| <i>x'ia</i> 's place of disappearance | <i>x'ia'snaṣwa</i> place where he disappears sometimes 28.8 |
96. **-g^aaLEla**, after *k* and *L* sounds **-^aaLEla**, SUDDENLY. Used often with verbs denoting sense-impressions (see p. 514).
- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>dōq^u</i> - to see | <i>dōx^εwale^ε'la</i> to discover 19.10 |
| <i>plaq</i> - to taste | <i>p!^εex^εaLE^ε'la</i> to learn by taste 31.5 |
| <i>q!^εālL</i> - to know | <i>q!^εāl^εaLE^ε'la</i> to learn 135.4 |
| <i>g^ax</i> to come | <i>g^a'x^εaLE^ε'la</i> to come suddenly 33.41 |

The following is apparently irregular:

<i>wuL</i> - to hear	<i>wu^εlā'x^εaLE^ε'la</i> to learn by hearing 35.23
----------------------	---

The following probably belong here also:

<i>ax</i> - to do	<i>ax^εaLE^ε'lōd</i> to take out suddenly 38.13
<i>kwēx</i> - to strike	<i>kwēxale^ε'lōd</i> to strike suddenly 99.3
<i>Lās</i> - to push	<i>Lās^εaLE^ε'lōd</i> to push in suddenly 19.5

97. **-tā^ε** TO DO AT THE SAME TIME WHILE DOING SOMETHING ELSE, WHILE IN MOTION [STEM-S., IND.].

<i>dāl</i> - to laugh	<i>dā'ltā^εya</i> laughing at the same time 284.5
<i>denx</i> - to sing	<i>de'n^εxetā^εya</i> singing while walking 355.15
<i>y^εix^u</i> - to dance	<i>y^εixutā^ε'ya</i> dancing as she came 435.20

With terminal *-ē* (see § 49, p. 530) this suffix has the form **-tē^εwē**:

- 'nē'g^εite^εwē* he says while— 285.6
hā'malā'g^εita^εwē to eat walking 134.2
yā'q!^εent!^εālaxte^εwē to speak while— 374.9

The elements *-g'i-* and *-x-* preceding this suffix in the last two instances are not clear as to their origin.

Suffixes Denoting Subjective Judgments or Attitudes Relating to the Ideas Expressed (Nos. 98-133) (§§ 27-32)

§ 27. Suffixes Denoting Connection with Previously Expressed Ideas (Nos. 98-104)

98. *-xaa* ALSO, ON THE OTHER HAND [WORD-S.].

dā'x'ēidaxaa he also took 8.13

d'ēmīxaas and only you on your part 397.3 (*-em* no. 103; *-l* no. 88; *-s* thou)

lō'gwālaaen I on my part have supernatural power 399.3 (*-en* I)

99. *-x'sū* STILL, ENTIRELY [WORD-S.].

lā'siwalax'sū it still stuck on his forehead 24.5

dā'la'x'sū still holding on 14.11

l!EL!ā'gēx'sū entirely cedar-bark 86.24

99a. *-q!āla* PERFECTLY, COMPLETELY [STEM-S., IND.].

ēnā'q!āla it is full day 441.13

nō'lq!āla entirely uneasy

100. *-lag'iL* IN THE MEAN TIME [WORD-S.].

sēk'ā'lag'iL to spear in the mean time CS 44.25

101. *-t!a* BUT [WORD-S.].

ēnē'x'lat!a but he said, it is said, 100.22

102. *-la* BUT [WORD-S.].

lā'la but he went 14.10

The difference between *-la* and *-t!a* is difficult to define. On the whole, the latter expresses an entirely unexpected event in itself improbable; the former implies that the event, although not necessary, might have been expected.

qap!ē'dēda xwā'k!una la'mē's!a hē'ldik'ama the canoe capsized but he came out well

qap!ē'dēda xwā'k!una la'mē'st!a hē'ldik'ama the canoe capsized and against all expectation he came out well (*qap!ē'd* to capsize; *-ēda* prenominal subj. [p. 530]; *xwā'k!una* canoe; *la* to do, go, happen; *-mēs* no. 104; *hē'ldik'ama* to come out right)

la'mē'st!a wu!ēkwa' it has antlers (although they do not belong to it) (*wu!ē'm* antlers; *-k^u* passive participle, no. 172)

103. *-m* indicates that the subject has been referred to or thought of before.

g'āx'em he came

laε'm'laε gwāl then, it is said, he finished (what has been mentioned before) 141.34

lē'x'āem daā'x's K. and it was only carried by K. 403.28

yū'men—this (what has been mentioned before) is my—211.20

104. *-mēs* [WORD-S.; compounded of *-m-wis* AND SO, indicating that a certain event is the effect of a preceding event].

hēr'idaem'la'wis and so, it is said, it began to be (passim) (*hēr'id* it begins to be, *-la* it is said, *-em-wis*)

g'i'gamē'emxaa'wisen and so I, on my part, am also a chief

This suffix evidently contains *-m* (no. 103); the intimate connection between the expressed idea and the preceding idea being first indicated by *-m*, and their causal relation being indicated by *-wis*. In a few cases, when following *-āna* PERHAPS (no. 106), it occurs without *-m*.

§ 28. *Suffixes Denoting Degrees of Certainty (Nos. 105-107)*

105. *-lax* POTENTIALITY, used in all uncertain conditional sentences [WORD-S.].

a'mē'lalax it might spoil 131.17

y'i'lkwalaxōL you might be hurt 29.35

106. *-āna* PERHAPS [WORD-S.].

'mā'dzāā'nawis what, indeed, may it be? (see no. 119) 11.12

lā'g'īls'la'xā'nawis (what) may he perhaps be doing on the ground? 95.20 (*-g'īls* on ground [no. 44]; *-lax* [no. 105]; *-wis* [no. 104])

107. *-ganEm* PERHAPS [WORD-S.].

sō'gwanEm you perhaps 146.28

§ 29. *Suffixes Denoting Judgments Regarding Size, Intensity, and Quality (Nos. 108-126)*

108. *-k'as* REALLY [WORD-S.]. In the dialects of northern Vancouver Island, particularly in that of Koskimo, this suffix is used throughout, and has lost its significance entirely.

gā'lak'as really a long time 7.4

nε'nvalak!winēk'asōs your real supernatural quality 479.11 (see no. 171)

g'ā'rk'asden really I came 478.4 (see no. 89; *-εn* I)

- 108 a. *-k·as'ō* FINE AND BEAUTIFUL, used particularly in poetry [WORD-S.].

lō'gwalak·as'ō a really fine magic treasure 111.1, 478.9

109. *-ō'l* UGLY, AWKWARD [STEM-S., W].

wā'yā'l a big ugly dog

wiō'lōhwislē* where is the past, ugly, miserable thing? (wi-* where, *-ul* past [no. 86], *-ō'l* ugly, *-wi's* [no. 104], *-xlē* miserable [no. 115]) 99.31

lā'k'adzō'l that really bad one X 207.16 (see no. 108)

110. *-dzē* LARGE [WORD-S.].

l'lā'qwadzē large copper 84.16

q!ā'sadzēk·as a great number of sea-otters (*-k·as* no. 108)

g'ō'x'dzē large house 483.27

- 110a. *-Em* diminutive [STEM-S., W] always used with reduplication (see § 45, p. 526).

næg'ē' mountain

ts!ēdā'q woman

*g'ōk** house

g'īnl- child

nā'nag'īm small mountain

ts!ā'ts!ēdagēm girl

g'ā'g'ogum little house

g'ā'g'īnlēm little child

In *sā'yobēm* LITTLE ADZE (from *sōp-* TO ADZE) the initial *s* is weakened (see § 43.6).

111. *-Em* GENUINE, REAL [STEM-S. and WORD-S., H, lengthens vowel of stem].

bā'k!um genuine man, Indian

bā'gwanēm'em full-grown man

K'kwā'k!um real Kwakiutl

wī'wāp!ēm fresh water V 365.33

112. *-bidō'* SMALL [SINGULAR, WORD-S.]; see no. 113.

q!ā'k'ōbidō' a little slave 99.31

sē'xwābidō' to paddle a little

gē'hwilbabidō' little hooked nose 271.29

bēgwō'ēbidō' ugly, little man (see no. 109)

Very common are the compounds—

amā'bidō' small one 18.10, 38.14

**nēxwā'labidō'* quite near 19.13, 107.20

With verbs this suffix, as well as the following, signify rather that a small person, or small persons, are the subject of the verb, than that the act is done to a slight extent, although the latter is often implied.

ē'p!ēbidō' the little one pinched, he pinched a little CS 12.13

113. **-mEnēx*** SMALL [PLURAL, WORD-S.]. Possibly this is etymologically related to the preceding, since *m* and *n* are the nasals belonging to *b* and *d*; and a similar relation of stops and nasals may be observed in the northern dialects of the Kwakiutl, where we have, for instance, *-idex** corresponding to *-ēnox** (no. 162).

*‘nē’nE’mgēsmenēx** the little *‘nE’mgēs* 135.34

114. **-ō** SMALL [WORD-S.].

gā’xELēlāō little ones entering U.S.N.M. 670.14

115. **-xLē** MISERABLE, PITIFUL, TOO BAD THAT, loses the initial *x* after *s*.

mē’xaxLayîn too bad that I was asleep!

lā’xLē unfortunately X 162.39

116. **-x·Lā** VERY [WORD-S.].

ts!E’lqwa·Lā it is very warm

q!E’msq!Emts!EX·Lā very lazy 45.9

117. **-wīst!a** VERY (perhaps a compound of *-wīs* [no. 104] and *-t!a* [no. 101] BUT so).

ts!ō’ltowīst!a very black

118. **-mā** AT ONCE, WITHOUT HESITATION [WORD-S.]. Used in the most southern Kwakiutl dialect, the *L̄’kwilda^{ts}x*, with great frequency. In this dialect the suffix has lost its significance entirely.

gā’xmā he came at once

119. **-dzā** EMPHATIC [WORD-S.].

gē’ladzā come, do! 13.3 (like German “komm doch!”)

‘mā’dzā what anyway? 11.12

yū’dzāEmxEnt evidently this is it (see nos. 103, 135)

k!ē’dzāEm not at all X 3.29 (see no. 103)

120. **-k·inał** NICELY [WORD-S.].

dE’nxałak·inał singing nicely

121. **-x·sa(la)** CARELESSLY [WORD-S.].

‘nē’kax·sala to speak carelessly

122. **-k·ina** ACCIDENTALLY [STEM-S., with reduplication].

dā’doxkwinala to see accidentally

wā’walk·inē obtained by luck CS 42.8

lō’mak·inālazē will be by chance very much CS 36.7

123. **-q!āla^m(a)** TO NO PURPOSE [WORD-S.].

q!ā^{nā}'kulaq!ā'la^m walking along without object
bē'begwānemq!āla^m common men V 441.15

124. **-wā, -ā** IN A WRONG MANNER, TO FAIL, TO MAKE A MISTAKE, OFF [STEM-S.]. This suffix may be identical with no. 37.

After *n* and vowels, *-wā*; after *p*, *t*, and anterior and posterior *k* sounds, *-ā* (compare no. 41).

lā'wā to go off from road V 491.24

dā'wā to fail to hold V 478.21

t!ē'pā to step off

sōpā'la to chop off V 345.18

tēlō'la to have the bait off V 479.9

k'ēxā'layu to be scraped off V 487.12

125. **-bōl(a)** TO PRETEND TO [WORD-S.].

q!wā'sabōla to pretend to cry 155.34

ts!ex'q!abō'la to pretend to feel sick 278.26 (see no. 148)

ha^mmāpbōla to pretend to eat 257.23

ēwī'ēlabōla to pretend to pinch 260.33

This suffix occurs also with nouns:

ha^mmē'bōlax'dē past pretended food (what had been made to look like food). 260.36

126. **-xst!** AS USUAL; **-xst!aak^u** APPARENTLY, SEEMINGLY, IT SEEMS LIKE.

la'xst!as you do as usual U.S.N.M. 670.7

ladzō'lisaxst!aā'x^umaē apparently reaching up to the sky 238.5

lā'xst!aā'k^u it seems to be 50.25

§ 30. *Suffixes Denoting Emotional States (Nos. 127-129)*127. **-q!anā^k** QUITE UNEXPECTEDLY [WORD-S.].

lā'q!anā'kwaē k'!ē'lax^uīdēq he struck her, although you would not expect it of him

128. **-ēḷ** ASTONISHING! [WORD-S.].

sā'ēḷ it is you! 149.12, U.S.N.M. 725.11

ē'dzāēḷak behold not this! 198.37 (*ēs-* not; *-dzā* no. 119; *-ak* this [see p. 530])

129. **-xōḷ** ASTONISHING! O WONDER! [WORD-S.].

k'!ē'sxōḷ oh, wonder! not 17.7

hē'ēmaa'xōḷ oh, wonder! it was he 138.43

ēalaⁿē'maxōḷ behold! wolves X 57.15

§ 31. *Suffix Denoting the Optative (Nos. 130-131)*

130. *-nē'sl* OH, IF! [WORD-S.].

g'āxnē'sle oh, if (he) would come!

131. *-x* LIKELY HE WOULD! exhortative (see § 66, p. 549).

§ 32. *Suffixes Denoting the Source of Information (Nos. 132-135)*

132. *-l(a)* IT IS SAID [WORD-S.].

xē'nlela'l very much, it is said 7.3

k'!ē'slat!a but not, it is said 8.10 (see no. 101)

lā'laē then, it it is said, he—(passim)

133. *-Emsk* AS I TOLD YOU BEFORE [WORD-S.].

g'ā'xemsk he has come—as you ought to know, since I told you before

134. *-Eng'a* IN A DREAM [WORD-S.].

laē'ng'a in a dream it was seen that he went X 173.40

135. *-xEnt* EVIDENTLY (as is shown by evidence) [WORD-S.].

k'!ēd'saxent evidently nothing 73.18

k'!ē'sxent evidently not 148.15

Suffixes Denoting Special Activities (Nos. 136-155) (§§ 33-34)

§ 33. *Activities of Persons in General (Nos. 136-143)*

136. *-g'ila* TO MAKE [WORD-S. AND STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *g*.

l!ē'nag'ila to make oil 37.5

mō'masila to hurt 29.28

lā'wayugwila to make a salmon-weir 26.39

leqwē'la to make a fire 98.8

gwē'g'ila to do so (to make a certain kind of thing) 15.12

sē'xwila to make a paddle V 496.2

This suffix occurs also with neutral stems as an indifferent stem-suffix.

bek- man

bekwē'la to make a man
103.20

lōk- strong

lōkwē'la to make strong 104.7

This suffix in its passive form *-g'īlak* is used very often to form names of men, in the sense BORN TO BE—

Gu'ntē'lak born (literally, made) to be heavy

Neg'ā'īsī'lak born to be mountain on open prairie

Hā'masī'lak born to be a chief

l!ā'qwasgemg'īlak born to be copper-faced

Peculiar is the mythical name of the mink *l'ē'selag'i'la*, which retains the glottal stop of the passive forms, although it lacks the passive suffix *-k** (no. 172), with which it would mean BORN TO BE THE SUN.

137. *-x·sīla* TO TAKE CARE OF [STEM-S. also WORD-S. Used with reduplication]; loses initial *x*.

ts!ēq- winter-dance

nāq- mind

*bēk**- man (?)

g'ig- chief

panā'yu hook

ts!ē'xts!ēxsīla to take care of winter dance 16.12

nānā'qēx'sīla to resolve 184.2

*bā'baṣ*sīla* to use 36.7

g'ā'g'ixsīla to treat like a chief 360.42

*pā'panayux*sī'lats!ē* receptacle (i. e., canoe) for fishing with hooks V 484.14 (see no. 184)

138. *-lal* TO BE OCCUPIED WITH [WORD-S., generally with reduplication or lengthened vowel].

mā salmon

ō'ma' chieftainness

*wīlk** cedar

pēs- to give a potlatch

hamē'yalał to be occupied with salmon (i. e., to dance the salmon dance) 84.5

a'ō'malał chieftainness dance 84.8

hawī'lkulał cedar dance

pā'salał potlatch dance

139. *-ēxst* TO DESIRE [STEM-S., H].

nāq- to drink

ax- to do

nā'qēxst to desire to drink

ax'ē'xst to desire to do 17.3

140. *-ōL* TO OBTAIN [STEM-S., IND.].

q!ē- many

la to go

*q!āk**- slave

wi- nothing

g'ī- to be

mē'gwat seal

gwō'yō' the thing referred to

q!eyō'L to obtain many 139.36

lōL to obtain 59.34

q!ā'k'ōlānem obtained by getting a slave 136.25 (see § 4, p. 436, no. 179)

wiō'L not to obtain 459.34

g'ā'yōlas place where one obtains something 26.22 (see no. 182)

mē'gwatōL to obtain seals

gwō'yō'las place where one obtains the thing referred to 45.31 (see no. 182)

141. **-a** TO ENDEAVOR [STEM-S., H, always with reduplication with *a* vowel] (see § 46).

dōq^u- to see
x'is- to disappear
nā'qō to meet
yîx^u- to dance
dō'x^uwasela to discover

tsä to draw water
nē's to pull

dā'doq!wa to endeavor to see
x'ā'x'ā'tya to try to disappear
nā'naga^uwa to try to meet
yā'yā^uwa to try to dance
dā'dōx^uwaselaa to try to discover
tsā'tsa^uya to try to draw water
nā'nēts!aayu hook for pulling
 up red cod V 332, 18 (see
 no. 174)

This suffix is used very often with nouns.

ts!elk- feather

sās- spring salmon

g'îx^u- steelhead salmon

xunk^u- child

ṽwāk^u- canoe

tsā'ts!elk!a to try to get
 feathers 157.3

sā'yats!a to catch spring salmon

g'ā'g'îwa to try to catch steelhead salmon

xwā'xunk!wa to try to get a child

ṽwā'ṽwak!wa to try to get a canoe

It also occurs quite frequently with other suffixes.

lōL to obtain (see no. 140)

laē'L to enter (see no. 47)

lā'wels to go out (see no. 37)

**wī'lōL* to obtain all (see no. 140)

lā'lōL!a to try to obtain 73.21

lā'laēL!a to try to enter

lā'lawults!a to try to go out

**wā!*wīlōL!a* to try to get all
 CS 10.30

142. **-^uyāla** TO GO TO LOOK FOR [STEM-S., IND., always with reduplication with *a* vowel] (see § 46).

t!ēs- stone

ṽwak^u- canoe

t!ā't!ēs^uyāla to go to look for
 stones

ṽwā'ṽwaku^uyāla to go to look
 for a canoe

- 142a. **-māla** TO GO [STEM-S., IND.].

q!ē'^umāla many walking 16.2

waō'ṽmāla to go in company with several 44.19

Hā'lamālaḡa right going woman (mythical name of mouse) 11.12
 (see no. 192)

- 142b. **-s'āla** deserted [STEM-S., IND.].

kwas'ā'la to sit deserted CS 40.4

- 142c. **-qō** TO MEET [STEM-S., IND.]; loses initial *q*, used with reduplication or lengthening of stem vowel.

la to go

q'īl first

lē'lqō to meet

g'ig'ī'lqō meeting the first time (i. e., newly married couple)

k'iq- to strike together

q'ul- alive

'yak- bad

k'ā'qō canoes meet

q'wā'lqō to meet alive 193.29

'yā'k'āmas to vanquish 131.24
(see no. 158)

143. **-ōst!qa** TO USE, only with numeral adverbs.

'ne'mpl'ēnōst!qa to use once.

q'lē'p'l'ēnōst!qa to use many times

ma'tlp'l'ē'nōst!eqa it happened twice 470.41

§ 34. *Activities Performed with Special Organs of the Body (Nos. 144-155)*

144. **-k'āla** CONTINUED NOISE, CONTINUED ACTION WITH THE VOICE [STEM-S., H]. After *t*, *ts*, *k* stops, *l*, *l*, *-āla*, with hardened terminal consonant; after *s*, generally *'āla*.

da to hold

dā'k'āla to ask for something
18.9

denx- to sing

dē'nax'āla noise of singing
11.10

sɛpɛlk- noise of metal

sɛpɛ'lɛ'k'ālag'īlē ringing noise
on water 152.34

ax- to do

axk'āla to ask 7.5

tēk- to joke

tēk'wā'la to joke 24.6

lēl- to call

lē'lāla to invite 23.2

ō'dzeq- wrong

ō'dzeq'āla to say something
wrong X 101.30

sāl- love song

sā'lāla to sing love song X
8.36

ō'mis curious

ō'mits'āla curious sound
196.20

g'īnl- child

g'īnlāla noise of child

In a few cases *-k'āla* appears as word suffix.

bɛgwā'nɛm man

bɛgwā'nɛmk'āla noise of a man
148.26

āla really

ā'lak'āla to speak really X
5.24

Irregular is—

yā'q'ant'āla to speak (see *yā'q'eg'a't* to begin to speak, no. 145)

- 144 a. **-āla** TO PERSUADE TO. I doubt very much if this suffix belongs with the preceding, since its rules of attachment are quite different. It is always used with reduplication.

g'in- to add to a price

g'ig'i'n'wala to ask for a higher price

mēx- to sleep

hamē'x'ala to persuade to sleep

145. **-g'a't, -k'ig'a't** BEGINNING OF A NOISE, TO BEGIN WITH THE VOICE [generally STEM-S., H.]. No rule can be given for the use of the two forms of this suffix. The second form loses initial *-k'*.

kwē'g'a't to begin to cry kwē 49.33

māx- to strike

mē'ng'a't sound of striking

dzelx- to run

dzelō'gwa't it sounds like running

hē that

hē'k'ig'a't it sounds thus 443.33

gwē thus

gwē'k'ig'a't it sounds thus 174.26, 202.26

yō'gwuk'ig'a't it sounds like rain

yōg- wind

yō'k'ug'a't it sounds like wind

ē'dzaqwa to say again

ē'dzaq'ug'a't it begins to sound like speaking again X 231.9

wul- to ask

wu' L!eg'a't to question X 5.16

(*xwā-* to croak?)

xwā'k'ug'a't to croak 174.29

yā'q!eg'a't to begin to speak 12.3

146. **-xa** TO SAY [STEM-S., IND.].

mā'lexa to say mā'le 34.27

yē'xa to say yē 35.40

pexa' to utter sound of *paxala* (shaman) 100.10

yō'xwa to say yō X 176.19

malē'xela to continue to say mā'le X 226.22

147. **-dzaqwa** TO SPEAK [STEM-S., IND. ?].

ēt- again

ē'dzaqwa to speak again 18.13

mō'p!en four times

mō'p!endzaqwa to speak four times 73.31

wil- all

wi'ldzaqwa all spoke 319.12

nax- all

nā'x'dzaqwa all spoke X 197.7

148. **-q!a** TO FEEL [STEM-S., IND.].

pōs- hungry

pō'sq!a to feel hungry 36.38

ōdz- wrong

pō'sq!ēx'id 54.8

ō'dzēq!ala to feel wrong 30.34

149. **-q!Es** TO EAT [STEM-S., IND.]. This suffix seems to be very irregular.

g'i'lq!Es to eat first 193.4

149a. **-g'** TO EAT [WORD-S., IND.; also STEM-S.], always used with reduplicated stem.

gē'was deer

L!a'ē' black bear

ālanē'm wolf

lāq hemlock sap

q!a'mdzek^u salmon berry

gā'wēgānēm clam

mēsē'ēq^u sea egg

k!ā'was dried halibut

xo'lē' mussel

bisk-i't biscuit

See also § 43, p. 525.

gegē'wasg' to eat deer

L!EL!ē'g' to eat bear meat

āālanē'mg' to eat wolf's meat

lēlā'xg' to eat hemlock sap

q!aq!a'mdzex^ug^u to eat salmon berries

g'ig'ā'wāxg' to eat clams

mēmēsē'ēxg^u to eat sea eggs

k!ik!ā'wasg' to eat dried halibut

xexō'lēg' to eat mussels

bībisk-i'tg' to eat biscuits

150. **-p!a** TO TASTE [STEM-S., IND.].

ē'xpla good taste

150 a. **-p!āla** TO SMELL [STEM-S., IND.].

ē'xplāla good smell

Q!ā'nēxp!āla it smells of Q!ā'neq!ē'lak^u 95.21

151. **-(a)k'a** TO HAPPEN [STEM-S., IND. ?].

ō'dzak'a it happens wrongly (= to die).

q!ā to find

q!ā'k'a to happen to find
348.13

152. **-ālīsEm** TO DIE OF [STEM-S., W].

q!wās- to cry

q!wā'yālīsEm to die of crying
367.35

xuls- to long

xu'lyālīsEm to die of longing
382.27

ē'mek^u- round thing is somewhere

ē'megwā'līsEm to choke to death V 428.20

153. **-sdana** TO DIE OF [WORD-S.].

pō'sdana to die of hunger 21.6

ē'nā'lasdana to die of the weather (i. e., by drowning) 251.42

154. **-ts!E** WITH HANDS.

wits!eg-ustā not able to climb up with hands (*wi-* not, *g-ustā-* up [see no. 20]).

155. *-p/āttō* WITH EYES.*hēp/ā'ttō* to look at once 63.8*awē'lp/āttō* to discover 154.16*g'ī'lp/āttō* to see first X 197.2

§ 35. Suffixes which Change the Subject or Object of a Verb (Nos. 156-160)

156. *-ap'(a)* EACH OTHER [STEM-S., IND.], with reduplication or lengthening of vowel.*qās-* to walk*kwēx-* to strike*sēx-* to paddle*k!wē'las* feast*qā'qasap/a* to race walking*kwā'kwēxap/a* to strike each other 292.6*sā'sēxwap/a* to race paddling*k!wā'k!wēlasap/a* to vie giving feasts 397.16In the following cases the vowel is lengthened into *ā*:*wul-* to ask*tek-* to throw*mīx-* to strike*nep-* to throw*(tō-)* to attack*sēk-* to spear*wā'lap/a* to ask each other 162.6*tā'k'ap/a* to throw each other 215.10*mā'x'ap/a* to strike each other*nā'pap/a* to throw each other X 6.23*tā'wap/a* to meet fighting 288.10*sā'k'āla* to spear each other.

Long vowels remain unchanged:

wī'n- to make war*lē'nem-* to quarrel*lā'xūla* to love*wī'nap/a* to make war upon each other 270.4*lē'nemap/a* to quarrel together 121.13*lā'xūlap/a* to love each other
lā'xūlap!ōt beloved friend 267.37 (see no. 167)157. *-ā(la)* EACH OTHER, TOGETHER [STEM-S., IND.], with reduplication or change of vowel; original meaning probably JOINTLY.**nemō'k* friend*q!wās-* to cry**nā'muk'āla* friends to each other 147.20 (see p. 436).*q!wā'q!usāla* to cry together 157.8After vowels it takes the form *-sāla*.*ts!ā'ya* sister*ts!ā'ts!a'yasāla* sisters to each other 47.42

Frequently it appears combined with *ga* AMONG (no. 7).

hō' lēla to listen

hā'wa lēlagāla to listen to each other 26.10

xā to split

xōxugā'la broken to pieces among itself 27.7

158. *-āmas* TO CAUSE [WORD-S.].

a'mēlā'mas to cause to be spoiled 13.4

lē'lā'mas to cause to die 39.1

q'ulā'x'idāmas to cause to come to life 48.14 (see no. 90)

gē'was'idā'mas to cause to become a deer (see no. 90)

ē'k'igēmālā'mas to cause face to be turned up 144.20 (see nos. 54, 92)

lāwā'mas to cause to be off 441.32 (see no. 37)

**wi'lōlt!ā'mas* to cause all to come out of woods 40.17 (see no. 37c)

159. *-sō'* PASSIVE [WORD-S.]. A comparison between the use of *-sō'* and *-ayu* (no. 174) for expressing the passive shows that the former expresses the idea TO BE THE OBJECT OF AN ACTION, the latter TO BE THE MEANS OF PERFORMING AN ACTION. This is brought out clearly by the forms *qā's'itsō'* TO BE PURSUED (literally, TO BE THE OBJECT OF GOING) and *qā's'ida'yu* to be carried along (literally, TO BE THE MEANS OF GOING).

mēL- to tease

mē'Lasō' to be teased 28.37

wuL- to ask

wuLā'sō' to be asked 100.23

**nēk-* to say

**nē'x'sō'* to be told 100.19

L!ō'pa to roast

L!ō'pasō' to be roasted 37.27

ax'ē'd to take

ax'ē'tsō' to be taken 43.16

q!a'mt!ēd to sing

q!a'mt!ētsō' it was sung

p!elxelax'ēidā'mas to cause to become fog (see nos. 91, 90, 158)

p!elxelax'ēidā'matsō' to be transformed into fog (*s-s* becomes *ts*) (CS 2.18)

k!wēl feast (see no. 46)

k!wē'ltsō' to be feasted 32.32 (*s* after *l* becomes *ts*)

With following *-ē*, this suffix becomes *-sēwe* (see § 4, p. 438).

160. *-l*, passive of words denoting sense experiences and emotions [STEM S., W].

dōq^u- to see

dō'gul to be seen 8.10

dō'x'walē'la to discover by seeing

dō'x'walē'l to be discovered 41.34

q!āL- to know

q!ā' Lēl known 136.23

p!ēx^u- to feel

p!ē'xul and *p!ayō'l* to be felt

ē'xul- to desire

ē'xul and *ēyō'l* to be desired

**mɛlq^u*- to remember

wāl- to wish

L!ēs- to hate

**mɛ'lgul* to be remembered

wā'lageɫ to be wished 17.7

Lē'dzɛɫ to be hated

Here belongs also—

q!ayá'la to talk (from *q!ē* *q!ā'yōɫ* to be spoken of
MUCH)

§ 36. Nominal Suffixes (Nos. 161-194b)

161. *-e'* [WORD-S.]. This suffix serves to form substantives of neutral stems and suffixes. It occurs generally with a demonstrative *a* or *ē* (see § 56), and then takes the forms *-a'ya* and *-a'ē*.

xā to split

ax- to do

k'!āt- to paint

-xɫa hind end (no. 15)

-y'iu forehead (no. 57)

xāē' what has been split 27.13

axa'ē' work 28.1, 79.18

k'!ā'tē' painting 50.2

ō'xɫē' stern of canoe 79.9

Lā'siwē' what sticks on forehead 22.11

A number of nouns are also found which occur only with *ē'*, but which are not known as neutral stems, except in composition.

L!a'ē black bear

**nāqē'* mind

lē'wē' mat

Here belongs the ending of abstract nouns in *-ēnē'* (see no. 171).

L!ē'ēlālē'ne' the calling 17.2

162. *-ēnox^u* A PERSON WHO DOES AN ACTION PROFESSIONALLY [STEM-S., H].

sak^u- to carve meat

alē'x^u- to hunt in canoe

sē'x^u- to paddle

sak:wē'nox^u meat-carver 32.1

alē'winox^u sea hunter V 496.2

sē'xwilaēnox^u paddle maker V 496.4

tɛwī'x'a to hunt goats

**ma'x^u*- to give potlatch

tɛwī'ēnox^u goat hunter 7.4

**ma'wī'nox^u* potlatch giver 144.3

This suffix is also used to designate tribal names, and place-names derived from these.

Awī'g'a country in back (?) *Awī'k'!ēnox^u*
(Rivers inlet)

Gwa'dzē' north

**ma* what?

Gwa'ts!ēnox^u

**ma'ēnox^u* of what tribe?

The tribal name *Gō'sg'imux^u* contains a similar suffix, although no reason can be given for the change from *n* in *-ēnox^u* to *m* in *-imux^u*. A similar change occurs in the ending *-mp* (no. 168).

- 162a. (-ēdēx^u) The suffix corresponding to the Kwakiutl -ēnox^u in the Bella Bella dialect is -ēdēx^u, which may be of the same origin, the *t* and *n* being related sounds.

He'staēdēx^u 429.33

A^uwi' L!ēdēx^u 431.26

Nō'lowidēx^u 436.30

163. -bīs FOND OF, DEVOTED TO [STEM-S., IND.; and WORD-S.].

(a) STEM-S.:

nāq- to drink

nā'xbīs drunkard

wāx- to smoke

wā'xbīs smoker

(b) WORD-S.:

ē'axala to work

ē'axalabīs fond of work

ē'x'p/a sweet

ē'x'p/labīs fond of sweets

164. -Es CAPABLE OF, used particularly with words denoting sense impressions [STEM-S., H, generally used with reduplication].

dōq^u- to see

dō'dēq!us with good power of seeing

mēs- to smell

mē'mts!Es with good power of smelling

lēlk^u- to lie

lē'lk!us liar

Irregular seem to be—

hō'lāq!us with good power of hearing X 57.20 (from hō'lēla to listen)

dō'xts!Es seer (from dōq^u- to see)

165. -Elk^u DOING REPEATEDLY [STEM-S., W].

nāq- to drink

nā'gēlk^u drunkard (= one who drinks often and much)

hā^um- to eat

hā^umē'lk^u eater

a^uy'i'lk^u attendant of chief

166. -Elg^uīs ONE WHO DOES AN ACT FOR OTHERS [STEM-S., IND.; and WORD-S.].

sēx^u- to paddle

sē'xulg^uīs one who paddles for others

dā'dōq!wāla to watch

dā'doq!wālē'lg^uīs watchman
228.12

xō's- to sprinkle

xō'sēlg^uīs sprinkler X 4.8

lā'lawayux^usīla to take care of salmon-weir

lā'lawayux^usīlē'lg^uīs watchman of salmon-weir CS 6.10

xēk- to sweep

xē'kulg^uīsē'ml sweeper mask
389.25

167. -*ōt* FELLOW [WORD-S., and STEM-S., IND.].

(a) WORD-S.:

<i>g'ōkula</i> to live in house	<i>g'ō'kulōt</i> house-mate
<i>yā'q!ant!āla</i> to speak	<i>yāē'q!ant!ālōt</i> fellow-speaker 31.2
<i>a^emā'lāla</i> to play together	<i>a^emā'lālōt</i> play-fellow X 201.4
<i>lā'xwalap!</i> to love each other	<i>lā'xwalap!ōt</i> loving friends 267.37

(b) STEM-S.:

<i>bēg⁻</i> man	<i>bēx⁻wōt</i> fellow-man 113.12
<i>g'ēg⁻</i> chief	<i>g'ē'x⁻ut</i> fellow chief <i>hayō't</i> rival 248.12
<i>kul-</i> to lie down	<i>kulō't</i> person with whom one lies down X 5.16

168. -*mp* RELATIONSHIP [STEM-S.].

<i>gag-</i> grandfather	<i>gagē'mp</i> 134.2
<i>ab-</i> mother	<i>abē'mp</i> 35.76
(<i>wo-</i>) father	<i>ōmp</i> 22.6
<i>p!ēlwu-</i> husband's sister, brother's wife	<i>p!ē'lwump</i>
<i>nēg-</i> parent-in-law, child-in-law	<i>nēgu'mp</i>

Here belongs also *g'inp* WIFE'S SISTER. It may be that the *m* is here assimilated by an *n* of the stem. A change between *m* and *n* has been mentioned in the suffix -*ēnox^u*, which assumes in one case the form -*īmux^u* (see no. 162). The stem for father appears in the possessive second person without this suffix.

169. -*nuk^u* HAVING [STEM-S., IND.; WORD-S.].

<i>sā'sēm</i> children	<i>sā'sēm^unuk^u</i> having children 45.7
<i>ax-</i> to do	<i>ax^unuk^u</i> possessor 103.12
<i>wā'ldēm</i> word	<i>wā'ldēm^unuk^u</i> to have word, i. e., to talk to 46.30
<i>dō'x^ewa^lēl</i> to be seen	<i>dō'x^ewa^lēl^unuk^u</i> one who has seen things 41.34

170. -*ad* HAVING [STEM-S., w].

<i>lāw-</i> husband	<i>lā'wad</i> having a husband 48.37
<i>lēq-</i> name	<i>lē'gad</i> having a name 19.1
<i>k'!ēd-</i> chief's daughter	<i>k'!ē'dad</i> to have a chief's daughter 133.6
<i>xu'nk^u-</i> child	<i>xu'ngwad^ex⁻ⁱd</i> to become pos- sessed of a child

ab- mother
qā'yas place of walking

abā'yad having a mother 25.16
qā'yadzad having a walking
 place (i. e., words of a song)
 X 6.12

This suffix has a secondary form in *-id* which seems to be more nominal in character than the form *-ad*. It is used in forms of address.

q!āk^u- slave

q!ā'gwid slave-owner! (i. e.,
 O master!)

wa's- dog

wa'dzid dog-owner! (i. e., O
 master! [who has me for a
 dog])

The same form is used in names.

ha'εmsa to eat

Ha'mdzid food-owner

171. *-ēn(ē')*, suffix forming abstract nouns [STEM-S., H, WORD-S].

Never used without possessive pronouns.

k!ē'lak'a to club

k!ē'lak!ēnē' the clubbing

k!ēs not

k!ē'ts!ēnē' 10.9, 262.15

ē'axela to work

ē'axelaēnē' 83.3

awi'nagwis country

awi'nagwits!ēnē' a kind of
 country 258.23

begwā'nem man

begwā'ne'mēnē' manhood
 131.35

172. *-k^u* passive past participle [STEM-S., W].

L!ōp- to roast

L!ō'bek^u roasted 155.22

g'ūlōL- to steal

g'ūlō'lek^u stolen

legwi'l fire in house

legwi'lk^u fire made in house
 187.25

wāt- to lead

wā'dek^u led 109.7

q!ēls- to put under water

q!ēlē'k^u sinker V 488.9

εmens- to measure

εmenē'k^u measured V 477.1

qamx^u- to put on down

qamō'k^u covered with down
 153.35

173. *-Em* INSTRUMENT [STEM-S., W].

k!iL- to fish with net

k!ē'LEM net

lap- to peg

labEm peg 79.13

εmā'yul- to be born

εmā'yulem what is born 77.18

q!emt- to sing

q!ē'mdem song 15.6

174. *-ayu* INSTRUMENT [STEM-S., W].

εlap- to dig

εlā'bayu digging-stick

dēq^u- to drive, to punch

dē'qwayu pile-driver 100.9

This suffix is also used to express a passive. The difference between this and *-sō'* (no. 159) is, that *-sō'* is the passive of verbs that have a direct object, while *-ayu* is the passive of verbs that are accompanied by an instrumental.

qā's'id to begin to walk

qā's'idayu he was a means of walking (i. e., he was taken away)

dēnx- to sing

dē'nx'idayu it was sung 13.14

175. **-anō** INSTRUMENT [STEM-S., IND.]. This suffix is used with a few words only, and is not freely movable.

wusē'g'a to put on belt

wusē'ganō belt

ha'nx'LEnd to put on fire

ha'nx'lanō kettle

la'stanō to be put into water

It seems that suffixes in *-nd* (see no. 2) may take this form; but they take also the forms in *-ayu*; for instance,

axLE'ndayu to be put on 43.14

176. **-g'il** REASON OF [WORD-S.]; loses initial *g*.

lā'g'il reason of going 14.3

g'ā'xēl reason of coming 16.7

177. **-q!āmas** REASON [WORD-S.].

nō'gwaq!āmas I am the reason of U.S.N.M. 669.9

laq!ā'maā'qōs you were the reason of X 229.3

178. **-LEn** CAUSE OF [STEM-S., IND.].

yāq-* to distribute

yā'xLEn property (what induces one to distribute)

ts!ē'lwala to be famous

ts!ē'lwaxLEn fame (what causes one to be famous)

yā'laqua to sing sacred song

*yā'laq*LEn* sacred song X 69.30 (what induces one to sing sacred song)

179. **-ānEm** OBTAINED BY [STEM-S., W, and WORD-S., W].

hanL- to shoot

ha'nġānEm obtained by shooting 138.25

q!āk'ōL to obtain a slave

q!ā'k'ōġānEm obtained by obtaining a slave 136.25 (see no. 140)

Lē'l- to invite

Lē'ġānEm guest (obtained by inviting) 163.9

sen- to plan

se'nā'nEm obtained by planning 278.75

179a. *-inēt* OBTAINED BY [STEM-S., W].

dō'k^u- to troll

dō'gwinēt obtained by trolling

k'ēx- to scrape

K'ē'xinēt Obtained-by-scraping X 179.9

180. *-ns* ARRIVING UNEXPECTEDLY [STEM-S., W, and lengthens vowel of stem].

bek^u- man

bā'guns visitor

k'!ēx^u- to escape

k'!ē'wuns obtained by escaping, runaway slave X 197.5

181. *-mūt* REFUSE [STEM-S., IND., with reduplication] (see § 43).

g'ōk^u house

g'ō'g'ax^umūt remains of a house 146.8

sōp- to hew

sō'yapmut chips (with weakened initial s)

182. *-ās* PLACE OF [STEM-S., W].

sēx^u- to paddle

sē'was place where one paddles 129.32

lā'bēta to go in

lā'bēdas place where one goes in 8.12

L!ōp- cormorant

L!ō'bas cormorant rock 369.29

qās- to walk

qā'yas walking place 11.3

qā'yasnaṣwa place where he would walk 38.39 (see no. 95)

ḷā'wayugwila to make a weir

ḷā'wayugwi'las place of making a weir 27.24

yā'xyq!wa to lie dead on rock

yā'xyq!waas place of lying dead on rock 40.12

183. *-dEms* PLACE WHERE SOMETHING IS DONE HABITUALLY [WORD-S., IND.].

kwē'las feasting-place

kwē'lasdEms place where feasts are held habitually

g'ōk^u house

g'ō'x^udEms village site 51.22

183a. *-ēnak^u* country lying in a certain direction [IND.].

qwēs- far

qwē'sēnak^u far side 11.2

**nāla* south

**nā'tēnak* south side X 144.7

gwa- down river

gwā'nak^u country down river X 3.11

ō- something

awī'nagwis country 142.4 (see no. 45)

184. **-ats!ē** RECEPTACLE [STEM-S., W].*nāq-* to drink*wīn-* to go to war*k!wē'las* feasting place*lēl-* to inviting*ts!ēq-* winter dance*nā'gats!ē* cup, bucket 20.10*wī'nats!ē* war canoe 129.25*k!wē'ladzats!ē*, *k!wē'layats!ē*
feast house*lē'lē'lats!ē* inviting receptacle, i. e., feast house*ts!ā'gats!ē* dance house 11.13185. **-x'dēm** TIME OF [STEM-S., IND., and WORD-S.]. The initial *x* is dropped after *s*, *k*, and *l* sounds.*qā'sdēm* time of walking 146.41*yī'xwā'x'dēm* time of dancing 72.27 (also *yī'x'dēm*)*bēgwā'nēm x'ēdex'dēmōl* time long ago of becoming a man (S 8.4 (see nos. 90, 86))186. **-ēEnx** SEASON. The rule of attachment is not clear. There may be a secondary form **-x'Enx**.*mō'x'unx* four years 18.3*hē'Enx* summer 194.20

In a few cases the suffix seems to weaken the terminal consonant.

mās what*mā'yEnx* what season X 166.28187. **-alas** MATERIAL [STEM-S., W?].*sēx^u-* to paddle*sē'walas* material for paddles
(*sē'xwālas* V 496.5)188. **-ts!Es** or **-dzEs** (?) PIECE OF [WORD-S.].*xwā'k!unats!Es* piece of a canoe*bēgwā'nēmdzEs* pieces of a man 32.42188a. **-ēsō^ē** REMAINS OF [STEM-S., IND.].*xā'qēsō^ē* remains of bones 94.21*ālā'kwisō^ē* blood from a wound U.S.N.M. 669.13*k'ā'pēsō^ē* pieces cut out with shears189. **-mīs** USELESS PART [STEM-S., IND.].*dēnā's* cedar-bark*dēnā'smīs* useless part belonging to cedar-bark (i. e., cedar-tree [yellow cedar])*tsElx-* hail*tsē'lxmīs* hail-stones 121.24190. **-p!ēq** STICK, TREE [STEM-S., IND.; also WORD-S.].*ēmax^u-* to give a potlatch*yīl-* to tie*ēma'x^up!ēq* potlatch pole*yī'lp!ēqēndā'la* to tie to a stick 158.32

Here belongs also

yē'q!Ent!Eq speaker's staff (from *yā'q!Ent!āla* to speak) 186.39

190a. **-aanō** ROPE, LINE [STEM-S., W].*sek*- to harpoon*seg'a'anō* harpoon line V
493.19*q!el*s- to put under water*q!eldza'anō* anchor line V
487.33*māk*- near to*mā'g'aanō* a line next to—V
493.26190b. **-manō** HEAD [STEM-S., IND.].*dzeɣ*^u- silver salmon*dzeɣ'ma'nō* head of silver salmon 93.12*mel*- to twist*mā'lēqamanō* halibut head*xulq*^u- rough*xu'lqumanō* head of dogfish
93.13191. **-asdē** MEAT OF [STEM S., IND.].*bek*^u- man*bā'kwasdē* flesh of a man 32.1*sās*- spring salmon*sā'sasdē* meat of spring salmon
225.32192. **-g(a)** WOMAN [WORD-S.].*lēqwā'ga* brain woman 48.23*Hā'lamālaqa* right going woman 11.12 (see no. 142a)*k'ixelā'ga* crow 47.30

This suffix occurs in combination with *-ayu* MEANS OF (no. 174) very often in names of women.

**mā'xulayūgwa* woman being means of giving potlatch 38.15

A secondary form, *-gas*, belongs at present to the Bella Bella dialect, but occurs in a few proper names and in a few terms of relationship in the Kwakiutl dialect.

ne'mē'mgas* sister 48.31193. **-Em, a frequent nominal suffix of unknown significance [STEM-S., in some cases w.].*tlēs*- stone*tlē'sem**lēq*- name*lē'gem**sās*- spring salmon*sā'tsem**sās*- children of one person*sā'sem**k'!l*- tongue*k'!lē'm*193a. **-nEm**, an irregular nominal suffix, probably related to 193.*geg*- wife*genē'm**q!ē*- many*q!ē'nem*193b. **-ānEm**, irregular, apparently designating animate beings.*bek*^u- man*bēgwā'nem**g'inl*- child*g'inā'nem**g'ā'wēq*- clam*g'ā'wēqānem*

193c. **-ōlem**, nominal suffix.*ts!ex'q/a'* to feel sick*mēg'*- to calk*lɛ'l*- dead*el*- fast, tight*ts!ex'q!ō'lem* sickness 284.18*Mē'mg'ōlem* canoe-calking
285.23*lɛ'lō'lem* death 244.22*elō'lem* ballast 311.25194. **-ōmas, -ēmas**. This suffix is used to designate classes of animals, but occurs also in a few other words.*g'ūl*- to walk on four feet*p!EL*- to fly*ma*- to swim*(ts!ē'sayasdē* clam-meat)*lōk^u*- strong*el*- new*ha'm*- to eat*g't'lg'aōmas* quadrupeds*p!ē'p!aLōmas* birds*mā'maōmas* fish*ts!ē'ts!ek!wēmas* shell-fish.*lō'k!wēmas* strong*wā'L!ēmas* weak*ā'lōmas* new*hē'maōmas* food194a. **-En**, a nominal suffix [STEM-S., W].*L!ēx*- sea lion*dzaɣ^u*- silver salmon*hanɣ^u*- humpback salmon*L!ē'x^tEn* 81.16*dza^twu'n**ha^tnō'n*194b. **-īna** nominal suffix [STEM-S., W].*gwaɣ^u*- raven*gwa^twīna* 46.13

§ 37. ADVERBIAL SUFFIX

195. **-p!En** TIMES [WORD-S.]. I place this suffix with some reluctance in a group by itself, since it seems to form almost the only adverb that exists in the language. Perhaps it would be better to consider it a classifier of numerals (§ 24).*mōp!En* four times 12.5*'nē'mp!Enx'stō^t* one time (span) across 72.39*mō'p!Enē'sta* four times around 13.9*hē'lop!Enɣwa^s* the right number of days 355.26

§ 38. SUBSIDIARY SUFFIXES (NOS. 196-197)

196. **-Em-**. The plural of all suffixes denoting space limitations seems to be formed by the subsidiary suffix **-em**, which precedes the primary suffix.*-xsā* through*-x^s* across*-ē'sta* around*k!wā'xsā* hole*LE'ml-* to split*gɛ'lq-* to swim*k!wā'xumxsā* holes 100.29*LEM!Emx^sē'End* to split
cedar-trees 158.30*gɛ'lqamē'stāla* to swim
about [PLURAL] 153.22.

- <i>axa</i> down	<i>lōx-</i> to roll	<i>lō'xumāxa</i> they roll down 19.12
- <i>ts!ōd</i> into	<i>ts!em-</i> to point	<i>ts!emē'mts!ōd</i> to point into several things 46.37
- <i>a</i> on rock	<i>g'il-</i> to walk on four feet	<i>g'ilē'mg'i'lāla</i> to walk on rocks [PLURAL] 42.4
- <i>s</i> on ground	<i>yā'q^u-</i> to lie dead	<i>yā'qumg'aēls</i> lying dead on ground [PLURAL] 32.12
- <i>xs</i> in canoe	<i>nēx-</i> to pull	<i>nē'xemxēla</i> to pull sev- eral into canoe 208.18
- <i>x'sis</i> foot	<i>t!ēp-</i> to step	<i>t!ē'pemx'sidzēnd</i> to step on feet 184.35

In purely distributive expressions reduplicated forms are used.

197. **-*g'il-*** MOTION, used in combination with a number of primary suffixes denoting space limitations of rest. To these they seem to add the idea of motion. Like other suffixes beginning with *g'*, this suffix loses its initial *g'*. It seems to be indifferent. The following suffix modifies the terminal *l* of the suffix; and two forms appear, *-g'il-* and *-g'aēl-*, which are not clearly distinct. The accent seems to change the vowel into *ā*.

With *-āla* STATIONARY ON WATER (no. 41):

<i>k!wā'wāla</i> to be seated on water (from <i>k!wā</i> to sit)	<i>k!wā'g'iltala</i> to sit down on water
<i>*mek'ā'la</i> round thing on water (from <i>*mek^u-</i> a round thing is somewhere)	<i>*mē'gultala</i> round thing alights on water

With *-Lē^t* MOVING ON WATER (no. 42):

<i>lā'x'walē^t</i> to move about standing on water	<i>hā'ng'aalē^t</i> canoe comes to be on water 130.10
<i>dzexk'!ā'lag'ilē^t</i> sound of splitting comes to be on water 152.19	

With *-a* ON ROCK (no. 43):

<i>k!waa'</i> to be seated on rock 102.31	<i>ax'ā'lōd</i> to put down on rock 171.22
<i>mē'x'a</i> to be asleep on rock	<i>mē'x'a'la'</i> to go to sleep on rock
<i>g'ilē'mg'i'lāla</i> to walk on rock [PLURAL] 22.10	
<i>taō'deg'aā'lōd</i> to put on rock 153.28	

With *-s* ON GROUND (no. 44):

<i>gē's</i> being a long time on ground 37.14	<i>gē'g'īls</i> to move a long time on ground 30.21
<i>k!wa's</i> to be seated on ground 61.8	<i>k!wā'g'aēls</i> to sit down on ground 37.3

With *-ēs* ON BEACH (no. 45):

ha^{nē}'s canoe is on beach 102.34 *ha'ng'a^ēlis* canoe comes to be
on beach 101.40

With *-īl* IN HOUSE (no. 46):

k'wāi'l to be seated in house *k'wā'g'alil* to sit down in
173.20 house 24.5

yā'qumg'alil to fall dead in house [PLURAL] X 110.34

With *-xs* IN CANOE (no. 48):

hō'guxs they have gone aboard *hō'x^twalexs* they start to go
224.9 aboard 84.37

With *-ga* AMONG (no. 7):

dā'g'ilgala to carry among them 240.6
lē'lg'ilgala to kill among them X 14.21

With *-x_L(a)* BEHIND (no. 15):

dā'g'ilx_Lāla to take secretly 99.18
g'ō'kulx_Lāē^t house following behind; i. e., house obtained in
marriage 220.41

The explanation of these forms is not beyond all doubt. While in most cases the distinction of motion and position is quite clear, there are other cases in which the form in *-g'il-* is not applied, although motion seems to be clearly implied. We have *laxs* TO GO ABOARD 147.38; *dāxs* TO TAKE ABOARD 114.25, while the two examples of *hō'gaxs* and *hō'x^twalexs* 22.9 and 84.37, bring out the distinction with the same suffix.

The same element is evidently combined in *-^tgaalela* (no. 96) which may thus be a compound of *-g'il* and a suffix *-lē(la)*.

On the whole, *-g'il* seems to serve as a kind of inchoative, and the suffixes which take this suffix do not often take *-x^tid* (no. 90), or the inchoative completive *-d*. Still we have *ax^tā'ltst!ōd* TO PUT INTO 178.8.

§ 39. ALPHABETICAL LIST OF SUFFIXES

The following list of suffixes is arranged alphabetically, the letters following by groups the order here given:

<i>e</i>	<i>dz, ts, ts!</i>
<i>a, ä, ê, e, ë, i, î, y</i>	<i>g', k', k'!</i>
<i>ā, ô, o, u, w</i>	<i>g^u, k^u, k!^u</i>
<i>b, p, p!, m</i>	<i>q, q, q!</i>
<i>d, t, t!, n</i>	<i>x', x^u, x</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>l, l, l, L, L!</i>

- em* (for -*gem*) face 54, 85
- em* genuine 111
- em* instrument 173
- em* diminutive 110*a*
- em* nominal 193
- em*- plural of locative suffixes 196
- em^aya* cheek 55
- emsk^u* as I told you 133
- eml* mask 54*a*
- en* nominal 194*a*
- en* (for -*k'!in*) body 80
- eng'a* in a dream 134
- (*ε*)*enx* season 186
- es* capable of 164
- ersta* mouth 61
- elk^u* one who is in the habit of 165
- elg'is* one who does for others 166
- eltus* down river 23
- a* verbal suffix 1
- a* on rock 43
- a* tentative 141
- aanō* rope 190*a*
- a^aya* nominal 161
- ayu* instrument 174
- au* (for -*k'au*) between 8
- a^awil*, -*a^awil* across 25
- āp!* neck 65
- ap!* each other 156
- abō* under 29
- āmas* to cause 158
- ad* having 170
- ato* ear 58
- atus* down river 23
- ānem* obtained by 179
- ānem* nominal 193*b*
- āna* perhaps 106
- anō* instrument 175
- ās* place of 182
- asdē* meat of 191
- ats!ē* receptacle 184
- aq* crotch 71
- aq**a* towards, past 9
- aqō* extreme 13
- axa* down 19
- āla* (for -*k'!āla*) sound of 144
- āla* to persuade 144*a*
- alas* material for 187
- ālISEM* to die of 152
- *aLEla* (for -*g'aaleLa*) suddenly 96
- āla* continued position 92
- ē^a* nominal 161
- yag'a* returning 10*a*
- (*ε*)*yāla* to go to look for 142
- iu* (for -*g'iu*) forehead 57
- ip!* (for -*āp!*) neck 65
- ip!* (for -*ap!*) each other 156
- ēmas* classes of animals 194
- em's* near by 11
- id* (for -*x^aid*) to begin 90
- id* (for -*x^aid*) recent past 87
- id* having 170
- it* (for -*k'!it*) body 79
- ēdex^u* people 162*a*
- ina* nominal 194*b*
- ēnē^a* abstract noun 171
- ēnak^u* direction 183*a*
- inēt* obtained by 179*a*
- ēnox^u* skillful in, people 162
- ēs* in body 78
- ēs* beach, open place 45
- ēsō^a* remains of 188*a*
- ē'sta* (also -*sē'sta*) around 6
- ēq* in mind 81
- ēg'ē* back 69
- āqa* (for -*g'āqa*) side of 51
- ēxsd* to desire 139
- ila* (for -*g'ila*) to make 136
- i'lāla* about 5
- il* in house 46
- il* (for -*g'il*) reason 176
- ēl* astonishing! 128
- ēl* into house, into mouth 47
- ēlē'sela* ashore 47*a*
- il/xō* in throat 63*a*
- ilba* nose 60
- ō* (for -*gō*) meeting 142*c*

-*ā* (also -*wā*) in a wrong manner, off 124
 -*ō* small 114
 -*ō*- off, away from 37
 -*wuqā* out of a hole 37*b*
 -*wēls* out of house 37*b*
 -*wutts!**ōd* out of 37*b*
 -*wutt!**a* out of an enclosure 37*c*
 -*wuttā* out of canoe 37*c*
 -*wuttōs* down out of 37*c*
 -*wā* (also -*ā*) in a wrong manner, off 124
 -*wāla* (also -*āla*) stationary on water 41
 -*wis* and so 104
 -*wist!**a* very 117
 -*wul* (also -*ul*) remote past 86
 -*ō^eyo* middle 16
 -*ōmas* classes of animals 194
 -*ōd* to begin 2, 37*a*
 -*ōt* (for -*k!**ot*) opposite 12
 -*ōt* fellow 167
 -*ōs* cheek 56
 -*usta* up river 24
 -*usdēs* up from beach 22
 -*ustā* (for -*gustā*) up 20
 -*ōstq!**a* to use (so and so often) 143
 -*ōk^u* (also -*sōk^u*) person 82
 -*ōlem* nominal 193*c*
 -*āla* (also -*wāla*) stationary on water 41
 -*āla* (also -*sāla*) each other 157
 -*ō^el* ugly 109
 -*ul* remote past 86
 -*ōL* to obtain 140
 -*ōtēla* continued motion 93
 -*bēta* into a hole 28
 -*p!En* times 195
 -*ba* point 31
 -*p!a* to taste 150
 -*p!āla* to smell 150*a*
 -*p!attō* with eyes 155

-*bidō^e* small, singular 112
 -*bis* fond of, devoted to 163
 -*p!ēg'a* (for -*x'p!ēg'a*) thigh 73
 -*p!ēq* pole, stick 190
 -*bō* chest 68
 -*bōla* to pretend 125
 -*pōL* into a hole (Newettee dialect) 28*a*
 -*m* and 103
 -*mēnēx^u* small, plural 113
 -*mānō* head 190*b*
 -*mis* useless part 189
 -*mēs* and so 104
 -*mā* at once 118
 -*mūt* refuse 181
 -*māla* moving, walking 142*a*
 -*mp* relationship 168
 -*d* to begin 2
 -*dem* (for -*x'dem*) time of 185
 -*dems* place where something is done habitually 183
 -*den* finger width 85*a*
 -*t!a* (for -*xt!a*) out to sea 22*a*
 -*t!a* but 101
 -*da^ex^u* (for -*x'da^ex^u*) pronominal plural (see § 68)
 -*dē* (for -*x'dē*) transition from present to past 89
 -*tā^e* to do a thing while doing something else 97
 -*tō* (for -*s^etō*) eye, round opening 59
 -*nem* nominal 193*a*
 -*nākula* gradual motion, one after another 94
 -*naṣwa* sometimes 95
 -*nē^esL* oh, if! 130
 -*nēq^u* corner 18
 -*nō^e* too much, too often (see § 66)
 -*nō* side 17
 -*nus* side 17
 -*nuk^u* having 169
 -*nulem* temples 54*b*
 -*nulg'a* groins 36*a*

- nd* to begin 2
- ntedge* of a round object(?) 34
- ns* arriving unexpectedly 180
- nsa* under water 26
- ndzem* throat 64
- nts!ēs* down to beach 21
- nx* edge of a flat thing 33
- s* on ground 44
- s^e* (for -*x's^e*) across the middle 4
- sem* round surface 85
- saqō* penis 72
- siāp!* (for -*x'siāp!*) shoulder 66
- siū* (for -*x'siū*) mouth of river 50
- sēsta* (also -*ēsta*) around 6
- sīs* (for -*x'sīs*) foot 75
- sīla* (for -*x'sīla*) to take care of 137
- sā* (for -*xsā*) through 1
- sō^e* passive 159
- sōk^u* (also -*ōk^u*) person 82
- sāla* (also -*āla*) each other 157
- sāla* deserted 142*b*
- sta* water 39
- sdana* to die of 153
- stō* eye, round opening 59
- sgem* round surface 85
- sqwap* five 40
- sx'ä* tooth 62
- ts!E* with hands 154
- dzes*, -*ts!es* piece of 188
- ts!āna* (for -*x'ts!āna*) hand 67
- ts!aq* long 84
- dzaqwa* to speak 147
- dzē* large 110
- dzā* indeed 119
- dzō* on a flat thing 35
- ts!ō* in 27
- g^e* to eat 149*a*
- k'E* top of a square object 38
- g'a* (for *g'ig'a*) inside of a hollow object 36
- (*a*)*k'a* to happen 151
- g'aalela* suddenly 96
- k'!aēs* inside of body 78*a*
- k'au* between 8
- g'anem* perhaps 107
- k'as* really 108
- k'as'ō* beautiful 108*a*
- k'ālā* continued noise 144
- galil* in house 46
- g'a'l* to begin to make a noise 145
- giu* forehead 57
- git* body 79
- k'!in* body 80
- k'ina* accidentally 122
- k'inal* nicely 120
- g'ig'a* inside of a hollow object 36
- k'!ig'a'l* noise 145
- k'!ēs* in body 78*a*
- g'āga* side of 51
- k'āx'ē* knee 74
- g'ila* to make 136
- k'!ilqa* front of body 70
- g'ilxīlāla* following secretly 197
- g'il-* motion 197
- g'il* reason 176
- g'ittāla* stationary on surface of water 41
- k'āla* between 8
- k'!ōt* opposite 12
- g'ustā* up 20
- k^u* passive participle 172
- gem* face 54, round 85
- geml* mask 54*a*
- q!es* to eat 149
- q!egē^e* meat 77
- ga*, -*qa* among 7
- ga* woman 192
- q!a* to feel 148
- q!āmas* reason 177
- gamē^e* among others, excellent 7*a*
- q!anāk^u* quite unexpectedly 127

- gas* woman 192
- q'āla* entirely 99a
- q'āla^ama* to no purpose 123
- kwô* (for -*k'ε*) top of square object 38
- gô* to meet 142c
- qwap* (for -*squap*) fire 40
- qāla* among themselves 157
- x'* exhortative 131 (see § 66)
- xent* evidently 135
- xa* to say 146
- x'ä* (for -*sx'ä*) tooth 62
- x'īd* to begin 90
- x'īd* recent past 87
- xaa* also 98
- xô* neck 63
- xwa's* days (number of) 85b
- xôl* oh, wonder! 129
- x'p'ēg'a* thigh 73
- x'dem* time of 185
- x'da^ax'* pronominal plural (see § 68)
- xt!a* out to sea 22a
- x'dē* transition from present to past 89
- xtā* on top of a standing object 30
- x's^a* across the middle 4
- xs* in canoe 48
- x'sa* away from 10
- xsa* flat object 83
- x'sala* carelessly 121
- x'sā* still, entirely 99
- x'siāp!* shoulder 66
- x'siū* mouth of river 50
- x'sis* foot 75
- xsēg'a* in front of house 52
- x'sila* to take care of 137
- xsā* through 3
- xsā* behind, tail-end 14
- x'st!* as usual 126
- x'st!aak^a* seemingly 126
- x'ts!āna* hand 67
- x'la*, -*xlā* top of a round object, on head 32, 53
- x'la* bottom, stern 15
- x'lā* very 116
- xlē* miserable, pitiful, too bad that 115
- xlō* top of tree, hair of body 49, 76
- la* verbal and nominal, continuative 91
- l(a)* it is said 132
- lag'īl* in the mean time 100
- lax* uncertainty, in conditional and potential sentences 105
- īal* to be occupied with 138
- l* passive of verbs denoting sense impressions and emotions 160
- l* future 88
- len* cause of 178
- la* (for -*x'la*) top of a round object 32
- la* but 102
- lē* (for -*xlē*) miserable 115
- lē^a* moving on water 42

Modification of Stems (§§ 40-46)

§ 40. METHODS

Stems are modified by the phonetic influences of suffixes, by reduplication and change of vowels. The first of these phenomena was noted in § 18.

Reduplication and change of vowel indicate principally (1) an iterative, (2) distributive plurality, and (3) unreality. The manner

of reduplication differs according to the function it performs, but great irregularities are found in some of the reduplicated forms.

§ 41. ITERATIVE

Duplication of the whole stem is used to express the idea of occasional repetition of an action. The accent tends to be thrown back to the first syllable.

mē'xa to sleep

mē'xmēxa to sleep now and then

ha'nla to shoot

ha'n'hanla to shoot now and then

dze'lɣwa to run

dze'lɣ^udzelɣ^uwa to run now and then

Stems ending in vowels, and probably those ending in *m*, *n*, *l*, take in this form a suffix *-k* which is included in the duplication and becomes *x* before consonants.

tsä to draw water

tsē'x'tsēk'a to draw water now and then

la to go

lā'x'lak'a

tō to attack

tō'x^utōkwa

ts!ō to give

ts!ō'x^uts!ōkwa

xō to split

xō'x^uxōkwa

nō to aim

nō'x^unōkwa

tē'nō to pole

tēnu^xtē'nukwa

q!wa to stand spread out [PLURAL]

q!wā'x'qvak'a (= umbrella)

ha'm- to eat

ha'mx'hamk'a

k!umel- to burn

k!umē'lx'k!umēlk'a

§ 42. DISTRIBUTIVE PLURALITY

Distributive plurality is expressed by reduplication of the first few sounds of the word, the form of reduplication showing great variations, according to the phonetic character of the word. In some cases modifications of the vowel take the place of reduplication; but it would seem that most of these cases are due to secondary modification, perhaps to phonetic decay, of reduplicated forms. Probably in all forms of these reduplicated plurals there remains a hiatus between the reduplicated syllable and the stem.

(1) Reduplication of the first consonant with *e* vowel is used when the accent of the reduplicated word remains on the word itself, and does not move back to the reduplicated syllable. To this class

belong all words with monosyllabic stem and short vowel terminating in a single consonant.

<i>nā'qē</i> mind	<i>nēnā'qē</i> 152.31
<i>hā'nal!em</i> arrow	<i>hēhā'nal!em</i> 139.12 (compare <i>ha'nL!ēnox</i> § 41.3)
<i>ēnō'last!egēmē</i>	<i>ēnē'nō'last!egēmē</i> 176.14 (com- pare <i>ēnō'la</i> § 41.2)
<i>lām</i> post	<i>lēlām</i> 186.24
<i>q!ō'lats!ē</i> kettle	<i>q!ēq!ō'lats!ē</i> 20.10
<i>ā'lē</i> recent	<i>ēā'lē</i> 43.36
<i>xatsē'm</i> box	<i>xēxatsē'm</i>
<i>lē'la'</i> dead	<i>lē'lēla'</i> 157.21
<i>ēnemō'k</i> friend	<i>ēnē'ēnemō'k</i>
<i>q!ula'</i> alive	<i>q!wēq!ula'</i> 158.37
<i>gōk</i> house	<i>g'ig'ō'k</i>

(2) Reduplication of the first consonant followed by the first vowel, and shortening of the vowel of the first syllable of the unreduplicated word, takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, and the first vowel is long.

<i>ṛwā'k!una</i> canoe	<i>ṛwā'ṛwak!una</i> 222.21
<i>q!ā'k·ā</i> slave	<i>q!ā'q!ēk·ā</i> 209.43
<i>ts!ā'ēya</i> younger brother	<i>ts!ā'ts!a'ya</i> 47.2
<i>ēnō'la</i> elder brother	<i>ēnō'ēnēla</i> 174.20 (compare <i>ēnō'last!egēmē</i> § 41.1)
<i>pō'sdana</i> to die of hunger	<i>pō'pēssdana</i> 177.12

(3) Reduplication of the first syllable takes place when the accent is thrown back to the first syllable, when the first vowel is at the same time short, and when the first syllable of the stem has an *m*, *n*, or *l* following its vowel and as the first sound of a consonantic cluster.

<i>xu'mdē</i> otter	<i>xu'mxumdē</i>
<i>sēms</i> mouth	<i>sē'msēms</i>
<i>q!ē'mdēm</i> song	<i>q!ē'mq!ēmdēm</i> 194.37
<i>ha'nL!ēnox</i> archer	<i>ha'nhanL!ēnox</i> 155.37 (com- pare <i>hā'nal!em</i> § 41.1)
<i>ē'lkula</i> bloody	<i>ē'lē'lkula</i> 46.38
<i>g'inā'nēm</i> child (stem <i>g'inl-</i>)	<i>g'ī'ng'inā'nēm</i> 134.4

(4) A number of irregular forms are related to the last group. These contain words both with long and short initial vowel. They are characterized by the insertion of a consonant at the close of the reduplicated syllable, which may sometimes be explained as the terminal consonant of the stem modified by contact phenomenon, but

which is often due to other causes. There is a marked tendency to introduce *s*.

(a) With *s*:

<i>q!u'lyak</i> ^u grown up	<i>q!ulsq!u'lyak</i> ^u (stem probably <i>q!uls-</i>) 145.18
<i>g'í'lt/a</i> long	<i>g'í'lsqílt/a</i> 150.38
<i>ē'qa</i> witchcraft	<i>ēs'ē'qa</i>
<i>k'!ē'dēl</i> princess	<i>k'!ē'sk'!ēdēl</i> 230.3
<i>lē'xa</i> large round opening	<i>lē'slēxa</i> 199.28
<i>ēk</i> ^u good	<i>ē's'ēk</i> ^u 151.16
<i>lēk</i> ^u thick	<i>lē'slēk</i> ^u 27.15
<i>dā'la</i> to laugh	<i>dā'sdata</i> 244.25
<i>lā'tēnōx</i> ^u ghost	<i>lē'slā'tēnōx</i> ^u (also <i>lē'lā'tēnōx</i> ^u)
<i>lāx</i> ^u - to stand	<i>lās lā'la</i> legs 43.36

(b) With *l*:

<i>g'ō'kulōt</i> tribe	<i>g'ō'lg'okulōt</i> 135.43
^u <i>nēm</i> one	^u <i>nā'l'nēm</i>
<i>xāq</i> bone	<i>xā'lzaq</i> 324.22
<i>dēg'ega'</i> grave	<i>dē'ldēk'elē'ls</i> 323.27

(5) Words beginning with *m*, *n*, *l*, *l*, except those the first syllable of which closes with a consonant of the same group, which have their accent on the initial or on the reduplicated syllable, reduplicate by repeating the initial consonant and the following vowel, while the first vowel of the stem is elided and the initial consonant voiced. At the same time *l* in the weakened syllable is transformed into *el*.

<i>mā'x'ēnox</i> ^u killer-whale	<i>maē'mx'ēnox</i> ^u
<i>mē'gwat</i> seal	<i>mē'emgwat</i>
^u <i>mak'ā'la</i> island	^u <i>maē'mk'āla</i>
<i>nēg'ē'</i> mountain	<i>naē'ng'ē</i>
^u <i>nēx'unē'</i> blanket	^u <i>naē'nx'unē'</i>
<i>Lē'gwilda'x</i> ^u (name of a tribe)	<i>Lē'elgwilda'x</i> ^u (the clans of the <i>Lē'gwilda'x</i> ^u)
	<i>lē'elōt</i> crew
<i>lēk!wā'nē'</i> old woman	<i>lēē'lk!wanē'</i>

(6) A number of words reduplicate the first consonant with short vowel, but no definite rule can be given for the application of this mode of reduplication.

<i>dā'la</i> to laugh	<i>dēdā'lēlal</i> 231.23 (see 4 a)
<i>dzēts!ē'nd</i> to tear across	<i>dzedzēts!ē'nd</i> 240.3
<i>dā</i> to hold	<i>dēdā'sx'ā</i> 243.40
<i>sakwa'</i> to carve meat	<i>sēsax's'ē'nd</i> 23.9

<i>qut!a</i> full	<i>ququt!a'</i> 195.27 (but also <i>qēqō't!a</i> 235.27)
<i>geŋe'm</i> wife	<i>gegeŋe'm</i> 467.41
<i>adē'</i> my dear	<i>aadē'</i>

(7) The vowel *a* when initial, or when preceded by *h* or *y*, shows many peculiarities. When accented in the distributive plural, it takes the form *aē*.

<i>hap-</i> hair	<i>haē'p!ōma</i> skins, animals
<i>*yā'yaŋs!ē</i> canoe	<i>*yaē'yaŋs!ē</i> 136.5
<i>*yixu'ml</i> mask	<i>*yaē'xuml</i> 226.7

Here may be grouped also forms like—

<i>alk^u</i> attendant	<i>a'yilk^u</i> 136.15
<i>a'mlāla</i> to play	<i>aē'mlāla</i> 134.24

In the same way *ē* accented becomes *a'ya*:

<i>hē'la</i> youth	<i>ha'yā'la</i> 151.3
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A transformation of initial *a* into *ē* takes place in—

<i>abē'mp</i> mother	<i>ēbē'mp</i> 151.14
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The same, combined with change of *a* into *ē'*, is found in—

<i>a'yasō'</i> hand	<i>ē'ē'yasō'</i> 175.25
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Initial *ō* and *wa* take sometimes the forms *aō*; viz, *waō*.

<i>wa'ts!ē</i> dog	<i>waō'ts!ē</i>
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Among those forms in which reduplication gradually assumes the character of change of vowel, may be classed—

<i>wā'ldēm</i> word	<i>wō'ldēm</i>
<i>ts!ēdā'q</i> woman	<i>ts!ē'dāq</i> (but in the dialect of northern Vancouver island, regularly <i>ts!ēts!ēdā'q</i>)
<i>ts!ā'ts!ēdaqēm</i> girl	<i>ts!ā'ts!ēdāqēm</i> 48.21

Quite irregular, perhaps derived from a stem *wo-*, is—

<i>ōmp</i> father	<i>wīō'mp</i> father's generation
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§ 43. SUFFIXES REQUIRING REDUPLICATION OF THE STEM

A number of suffixes are used either regularly or frequently with reduplicated forms of the stem or with stems expanded in other ways. The general and underlying idea seems to be that of extent in time or in space by repetition. In these cases reduplication is generally by repetition of the first consonant with *ā* vowel; but in many cases the short stem vowel is expanded into *ā* or into other long vowels.

Suffixes treated in this manner are, for instance—

- ap*! each other (§ 35, no. 156)
- ā(la)* each other (§ 35, no. 157)
- āla* becoming more and more
- aaqa* motion in a certain direction
- x'sila* to occupy one's self with something
- ōt* fellow
- em* genuine
- alal* always acting like
- k'ina* accidental result of an action
- ns* obtained unexpectedly
- deqa* only by the performance of an action
- k'awē* among; probably meaning one among a number of objects, with emphasis of the relation to other surrounding objects.

(1) Stems with long vowel are reduplicated—

<i>sē'xwa</i> to paddle	<i>sā'sēxwap!</i> to paddle, racing against each other.
<i>q!wā'sa</i> to cry	<i>q!wā'q!usāla</i> to cry together 157.8
<i>ts!ā'ē</i> younger sister	<i>ts!ā'ts!a'yasāla</i> sisters together 55.13
<i>nō'mas</i> old	<i>nā'nōmasāla</i> getting old
<i>q!ē-</i> much	<i>q!ā'q!āla</i> getting more
<i>L!ā'sa</i> seaward	<i>L!āL!asaaqa</i> to carry seaward
<i>ēt-</i> again	<i>aē'daaqa</i> to return
<i>L!ō'p-</i> to roast	<i>L!ā'L!ōpsila</i> to take care of roasting
<i>nā'qē</i> mind	<i>nā'nāqēx'sila</i> to make up mind 184.2
<i>ō'ma</i> chieftain	<i>a'ō'malal</i> to dance the chieftainness dance
<i>qā'sa</i> to walk	<i>qā'qask'inala</i> to find accidentally by walking
	<i>qaqā'sdeqa</i> only by walking
<i>lāx-</i> to stand	<i>lā'LEXawē</i> one standing between

Here belongs also—

<i>yīxa'</i> fast	<i>yā'yīxap!</i> to speed, racing against each other
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(2) Stems with short vowel transform it into *ā*.

<i>mīx'a'</i> to strike	<i>mā'xap!</i> to strike each other
<i>wula'</i> to ask	<i>wā'lap!</i> to ask each other 162.6
<i>'nemō'k</i> friend	<i>'nā'mōk'āla</i> friends 147.20
<i>sek'a'</i> to spear	<i>sā'k'āla</i> to spear each other
<i>'neq-</i> straight	<i>'nā'qawē</i> right among
<i>'mek-</i> round thing is somewhere	<i>'mā'k'awē</i> round thing among

Here belongs also—

hō' lēla to listen

hā'walēlagāla to listen to each other 26.11

(3) There are, however, also reduplicated forms with short reduplicated syllable.

*'lāg** to wail, to cry

'lē'lgwalāla to cry together 244.36

la to go

lē'lgāla to go to each other (= to quarrel)

(4) Irregular reduplication or vowel modifications are not rare.

yā'q!ent!āla to speak

yē'q!entāla to speak together

wā'la sweetheart

wō'lāla sweetheart

ts!ē'qawinter dance

ts!ē'xts!ēxsila to use winter dance 16.12

*g'ōk** house

*g'ō'g'ak'awē** a house in middle of other things

g'ī'lt!a long

*g'ī'lg'atawē** a long thing in middle of other things

(5) Forms without reduplication occur also.

lē'nemap! to quarrel together 121.13

ha'nlap!a to shoot each other

*ē'k'agawē** good among others

(6) A peculiar form of reduplication is found with the suffix *-mūt* REFUSE (§ 36, no. 181). It expresses evidently the multiplicity of pieces left over. It would seem that we have here a reduplication with lengthened stem-vowel, or with *ē* and with softened initial consonant of the stem.

sō'pa to chop

sō'yapmūt chips (*y* for softened *s*)

sēkwa' to carve meat

*sē'yax*mūt* what is left over from carving (*y* for softened *s*)

k'ā'xwa to chip

k'ā'g'axmūt chips

xwā'la to cut salmon

xwā'xulmūt what is left over from cutting salmon

(7) The suffix *-ēqala* IN THE MIND (§ 23, no. 81) generally takes reduplication with *ē* vowel, which is quite analogous to the form of reduplication treated in § 42.1.

la to go

lē'laēqala to think of going

'nē'k' to say

'nē'nk'!ēqala to speak in one's mind (i. e., to think) 18.6

There are cases, however, in which this suffix appears without reduplication.

ēk'!ēqala to feel good 123.12

(8) The idea TO EAT may be expressed by verbs denoting TO CHEW, TO BREAK, TO SWALLOW, etc., with nominal object; by the suffixes *-q!es* and *-g* (see § 34, nos. 149, 149a) or by reduplication. The last method is most frequently used with words with monosyllabic stem. This form of reduplication differs from those previously described in that the first syllable retains the stem form almost unmodified, except by contact phenomena, while the second syllable has always an *a* vowel, accented and long, when the stem vowel is short, unaccented and short when the stem vowel is long. Stems ending in a consonantic cluster have also the second syllable unaccented. The syllable loses at the same time all those consonants of the terminal cluster that precede the last one.

(a) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and short vowel.

Stem	Noun	To eat—
<i>t!eq-</i>	<i>t!eqa'</i> dried berries	<i>t!ext!ā'q</i>
<i>bek^u-</i>	<i>begwā'nem</i> man	<i>bex^ubā'k^u</i>
<i>t!eq^u-</i>	<i>t!ex^usō's</i> cinquefoil	<i>t!ex^ut!ā'q^u</i>
<i>!eq-</i>	<i>!eq!este'n</i> seaweed (kelp)	<i>!extā'q</i>
<i>!ek^u-</i>	<i>!ex'se'm</i> clover	<i>!ex'!ā'k^u</i>
<i>met-</i>	<i>met!ā'nē</i> large clam	<i>metmā't</i>
<i>xet-</i>	<i>xete'm</i> (a plant)	<i>xetxā't</i>
<i>pet-</i>	<i>peta'</i> medicine.	<i>petpā't</i>
<i>nex^u-</i>	<i>nexusk'i'n</i> (a plant)	<i>nex^unā'x^u</i>
<i>met-</i>	<i>metē'k</i> steelhead salmon	<i>metmā't</i>
<i>al-</i>	<i>ale'la</i> dentalia	<i>al'āl</i>

(b) Monosyllabic stems with single terminal consonant and long vowel.

Stem	Noun	To eat—
<i>lās-</i>	<i>laē's</i> small mussel	<i>lā'sles</i>
<i>sās-</i>	<i>sā'tsem</i> springsalmon	<i>sā'sses</i> (not <i>sā'tses</i>)
<i>ts!āx^u-</i>	<i>ts!ā'we^s</i> beaver	<i>ts!ā'x^uts!ex^u</i>
<i>gwād-</i>	<i>gwā'dem</i> huckleberry	<i>gwā'dgud</i>
<i>L!ēx-</i>	<i>L!ē'xēn</i> sea-lion	<i>L!ē'xL!ax</i>
<i>ts!ēx^u-</i>	<i>ts!ē'x'inās</i> elderberry	<i>ts!ē'x'x!ax^u</i>
<i>t!ēs-</i>	<i>t!ē'sem</i> stone	<i>t!ē'st!as</i>
<i>gwēg^u-</i>	<i>gwa'yī'm</i> whale	<i>gwē'x'gwak^u</i>
<i>q!ēs-</i>	<i>q!ē'sēna</i> (a berry)	<i>q!ē'sq!as</i>
<i>'nō'x^u-</i>	<i>'nō'xwa</i> (a berry)	<i>'nō'x^una^u</i>
<i>lōl-</i>	<i>lā'lēnox^u</i> ghost	<i>lō'llal</i> to eat a corpse
<i>L!ōl-</i>	<i>L!ewu'l's</i> elk	<i>L!ō'llal</i>

Stem	Noun	To eat—	
<i>k'!ōt-</i> to stand on edge	<i>k'!ō'tēla</i> fish, salmon	<i>k'!ō'tk'!wat</i> to eat salmon	
<i>dzās-</i>	<i>dzā'lē</i> cockle	<i>dzā'sdzas</i>	
<i>xōl-</i>	<i>xō'lē'</i> large mussel	<i>xō'lxwal</i>	

(c) Stems ending in consonantic clusters.

Stem	Noun	To eat—
<i>xams-</i>	<i>xa'mā's</i> dry salmon	<i>xa'msxās</i>
<i>t!ēls</i>	<i>t!ēls</i> crabapple	<i>t!ē'lst!ās</i>
<i>tsēlx^u-</i>	(?)	<i>tsē'lx^utsāx^u</i>
<i>q!āns-</i>	<i>q!ā'nas</i> large chiton	<i>q!ē'nsq!ās</i>
<i>g'inl-</i>	<i>g'inā'nēm</i> child	<i>g'ī'nlg'āl</i>

UNREALITY (§§ 44-46)

§ 44. General Remarks

The concept that a word approaches the idea conveyed by its stem, without really being that idea, is often expressed by reduplication. Two principal forms may be distinguished: (1) the diminutive, and (2) the tentative.

§ 45. The Diminutive

The diminutive is formed by the suffix *-ēm*, which softens the terminal consonant (§ 29, no. 110a); and by reduplication with *ā* vowel. Generally the stem is reduplicated, but in cases of ambiguity the whole word may be reduplicated.

<i>g'ōk^u</i> house	<i>g'ā'g'ogum</i> little house
<i>lōs</i> tree	<i>lā'lōdzēm</i>
<i>gwēg-</i> whale	<i>gwā'gwēg'im</i>
<i>sē'x^u-</i> paddle	<i>sā'sewum</i>
<i>g'inl-</i> child	<i>g'ā'g'inlēm</i>
<i>bēk^u-</i> man	<i>bā'bagum</i> boy

Irregular is *sō'bayu* ADZE; *sāyōbēm*, which softens its initial *s* to *y* (see § 42).

The whole word is reduplicated, and takes the suffix *-ēm*, in—

<i>mē'gwat</i> seal	<i>mā'mēgwadēm</i>
<i>k'!ō'lōt</i> purpose	<i>k'!ā'k'!ōlō'dēm</i>
<i>ts!edā'q</i> woman	<i>ts!ā'ts!edāqēm</i>
<i>qē'was</i> deer	<i>qā'qēwadzēm</i>

The same forms with added *a* are used to express the idea of to PLAY WITH.

<i>sā'sewuma</i> to play paddling
<i>hā'naḷema</i> to play shooting

§ 46. The Tentative

The tentative is formed by the suffix *-a*, which hardens the terminal consonant of the stem (§ 33, no. 141); and by reduplication with a vowel. These forms are used both with nouns and verbs. With nouns they signify TO TRY TO GET.

<i>xunō'k*</i> child	<i>xwā'xunk'wa</i> to endeavor to get a child
<i>gwēg'-</i> whale	<i>gwāgwēk'!a</i> to endeavor to get a whale
<i>gek'-</i> wife	<i>gā'gek'!a</i> to woo
<i>laē'L</i> to enter	<i>lā'laēL!a</i> to endeavor to enter
<i>dō'kwa</i> to troll	<i>dā'dōk'wa</i> to endeavor to troll

The forms in *-yāla* TO GO TO LOOK FOR (§ 33, no. 142) are similar in form to the preceding.

<i>t!ēs-</i> stone	<i>t!ā't!ēs^εyāla</i> to go to look for stones
<i>gōk*</i> house	<i>gā'gōku^εyāla</i> to go to look for houses
<i>hanL-</i> to shoot	<i>hā'nhanL^εyāla</i> to go to look for a gun

Syntactic Relations (§§ 47-69)

§ 47. Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns

In the Kwakiutl sentence, predicate, subject, object, instrument, cause, and purpose are distinguished. Since pronominal representatives of all nouns that form part of the sentence are used for expressing their syntactic relations, the discussion of the syntactic structure of the sentence is essentially a discussion of the pronoun.

The following pronouns are distinguished:

Speaker	1st person.
Speaker and person or persons addressed . .	Inclusive.
Speaker and person or persons spoken of . .	Exclusive.
Person addressed	2d person.
Person spoken of	3d person.

The strong tendency of the Kwakiutl language to strict localization appears very clearly in the development of the third person, which is almost always combined with the demonstrative pronoun. Three positions are distinguished—that near the speaker, that near the person addressed, and that near the person spoken of; and each of these

is subdivided into two forms, according to visibility and invisibility. Therefore we must add to the five forms given before the following forms of the third person:

- Demonstrative of 1st person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 1st person, invisible.
- Demonstrative of 2d person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 2d person, invisible.
- Demonstrative of 3d person, visible.
- Demonstrative of 3d person, invisible.

On the whole, the syntactic functions of the pronominal elements which are added to the verb—as subject, object, instrumental, final, causal—are determined by certain syntactic elements that precede them. The subject has no specific character; the object has *-q*, the instrumental *-s*. The finalis is always characterized by *q*, the causal by *qa*-. The two last-named forms are evidently closely related. The objective character *-q* is found only in the third person and in its demonstrative development; and the instrumental is also regularly developed only in the third person. Subject, object, and instrumental coalesce with the verb to a unit, and appear in the order here given. For instance: HE STRIKES HIM WITH IT is expressed by the combination STRIKE—HE—HIM—WITH-IT, where the short dash indicates that the equivalent in Kwakiutl is a single element, while the long dash indicates phonetic coalescence.

When nouns with or without possessive pronouns are introduced in the sentence, they are placed after the syntactic and pronominal elements which indicate their functions. In these cases the phonetic coalescence of the syntactic and pronominal elements with the preceding part of the verbal expression persists, but the pronouns are phonetically separated from the following nouns. We find, for instance, the sentence THE MAN STRUCK THE BOY WITH THE STICK expressed by STRUCK—HE—THE MAN—HIM—THE BOY—WITH-IT—THE STICK. The separation between the pronoun and the following noun is justified only by the phonetic character of the sentence. In reality the whole seems to form one verbal expression. The pronoun and the following noun can not be separated by any other words. The pronoun may, however, close the sentence, and thus perform the function of a nominal demonstrative. In a few cases it may be separated from the verbal expression; namely, when a number of subjects, objects, or instruments are enumerated.

We may revert here once more to the lack of differentiation of verb and noun. In sentences like the one just described there is a perfect freedom in regard to the selection of subject and predicate. Instead of saying *CAME—HE—THE MAN*, the Kwakiutl may say as well *IT WAS—THE-MAN—IT—THE COMING* (257.20). The words *TO COME* and *MAN* may be used equally as nouns and as verbs, and by syntactic means either may be made subject or predicate.

Whenever the pronoun is followed by a noun or when used as a nominal demonstrative, its form is modified. When the noun contains a possessive pronoun, this pronoun is also incorporated in the modified pronominal form. We may therefore distinguish between purely pronominal and pronominal forms. It must be borne in mind that both are verbal in so far as they determine the function of the complements of the verb, and also because they are firmly united with the verb. The pronominal forms belong, of course, exclusively to the third person, and have demonstrative significance. While in the pronominal forms visibility and invisibility are distinguished, this division is not made in the pronominal forms. In the possessive pronominal forms the second and third persons are not clearly differentiated.

The demonstrative idea expressed in these verbal forms is supplemented by a parallel postnominal form, which is suffixed to the noun following the pronominal pronoun. These postnominal forms are closely related to the pronouns and pronominal forms, but show a certain amount of differentiation in the demonstrative of the second and third persons.

§ 48. Table of Pronouns

We may summarize these statements in the following tables:

I. VERBAL SUFFIXES

	PRONOMINAL.			PRONOMINAL.		
	Subject.	Object.	Instrumental.	Subject.	Object.	Instrumental.
1st person	- <i>EN</i> (<i>L</i>)	—	- <i>EN</i> (<i>L</i>)			
Inclusive	- <i>EN</i> <i>s</i>	—	- <i>EN</i> <i>s</i>			
Exclusive	- <i>ENUS</i> ^{us}	—	- <i>ENUS</i> ^{us}			
2d person	- <i>ES</i>	- <i>OL</i>	- <i>OS</i>	- <i>ē</i>	- <i>z</i>	- <i>s</i>
3d person	—	- <i>q</i>	- <i>s</i>			

II. DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

Demonstrative of—	VERBAL		POSTPRONOMINAL
	Pronominal.	Prenominal.	
1st person, visible	-k	-g'a	-k
1st person, invisible	-g'a		-g'a
2d person, visible	-dx	-dx	-dx
2d person, invisible	-dx		-dx, -ag'
3d person, visible	-xq	-x	-
3d person, invisible	-x		-a

§ 49. Compound Pronouns

From these fundamental series originate a great number of forms by composition and further modification. The pronominal demonstrative forms occur as subject, object, and instrumental, and are formed, on the whole, by adding the demonstrative suffix to the personal endings. In the objective series a number of secondary changes have taken place.

II (a). PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

Demonstrative of—	Subjective.	Objective.	Instrumental.
1st person, visible	-k	-g'ak	-ak
1st person, invisible	-g'a	-xg'a	-ag'a
2d person, visible	-dx	-g'a	-dx
2d person, invisible	-dx	-g'a!, -g'ox	-dx
3d person, visible	-xq	-g	-s
3d person, invisible	-x	-g'x	-ax

The demonstrative pronominal forms show an analogous development. In this case we find, furthermore, a double form, a vocalic, characterized by a terminal *-a*, and another one which is used preceding proper names, indefinite nouns, and possessive forms of the third person when the possessor is a person different from the subject of the sentence. For brevity's sake we will call this form the consonantic.

II (b). PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE SUFFIXES

Demonstrative of—	SUBJECTIVE.		OBJECTIVE.		INSTRUMENTAL.	
	Vocalic.	Consonantic.	Vocalic.	Consonantic.	Vocalic.	Consonantic.
1st person	-g'ada	-g'a	-xg'ada	-xg'a	-ag'ada	-ag'a
2d person	-dxda	-dx	-xōxda	-xōx	-ōxda	-ōx
3d person	-xda	-x	-xwa	-x	-ax	-s

In the Dzā'wadeēnox^u dialect, the forms *-xwa* and *-sa* do not seem to occur; and in place of *-xa* and *-sa*, we find *-xēda* and *-sēda*, which are analogous to *-ēda* of the subjective. In the Koskimo and Newetsee dialects, *-xa* and *-sa* are replaced by *-xē* and *-sē*.

The possessive suffixes are also formed from the fundamental series of forms.

III. POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

III (a). First Person, Inclusive, Exclusive, Second Person

Demonstrative of—	PRONOMINAL.		POSTNOMINAL.
	1st person, inclusive, exclusive.	2d person.	
1st person, visible	<i>-q'in, -q'ins,</i>	<i>-q'as</i>	<i>-q'</i>
1st person, invisible	<i>-q'inu'tu</i>	<i>-ōs, -xs</i>	<i>-q'a</i>
2d person, visible		<i>-ōis</i>	<i>-q'</i>
2d person, invisible	<i>-ən, -əns,</i>		<i>-q'!</i>
3d person, visible	<i>-ənu'tu</i>	<i>-ēs</i>	—
3d person, invisible			<i>-a</i>

With the endings of the pronominal instrumental of the various persons.

The three forms for the second person for the demonstrative of the second person seem to be used indiscriminately.

In place of the double use of pronominal and postnominal possessive forms, the pronominal or postnominal demonstrative possessives alone are also in use for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive.

III (b). Third Person

Demonstrative of—	POSSESSOR SUBJECT OF SENTENCE.		POSSESSOR NOT SUBJECT OF SENTENCE.	
	Prenominal.	Postnominal.	Prenominal.	Postnominal.
1st person, visible	<i>-q'as</i>	<i>-k'</i>	<i>-q'a</i>	<i>-q'as</i>
1st person, invisible		<i>-q'a</i>		<i>-q'aEs</i>
2d person, visible	<i>-ōs</i>	<i>-q'</i>	<i>-ōis</i>	<i>-is</i>
2d person, invisible		<i>-q'!</i>		<i>-q'!Es</i>
3d person, visible		<i>-</i>	<i>-ē</i>	<i>-s</i>
3d person, invisible	<i>-ēs</i>	<i>-a</i>		<i>as</i>

It will be noticed that in the third person, when the possessor and the subject of the sentence are the same person, the instrumental *-s* is added to the pronominal element, leaving the postnominal demonstrative to be added to the noun. When the possessor and the subject of the sentence are different persons, the instrumental *-s* is added to

the postnominal suffix, leaving the pronominal elements identical with the pronominal demonstratives.

The possessive pronominal forms for the objective and instrumental are formed from the forms given here in the same manner as the pronominal demonstratives from the corresponding table (II, § 48).

§ 50. Irregular Pronominal Forms

These endings give rise to all the syntactic forms expressing the relations of subject, object, instrumental (viz, genitive), and predicate. Evidently the history of the development of these forms is a long one. This is indicated by the irregularities described in § 49, and by others which appear as soon as these endings enter into combinations. The most important irregularities are as follows:

PRONOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

1. The first person, when followed by the objective or instrumental, takes the form *-enL*. This probably represents an older form of the first person. It is the ordinary form of the first person in the Koskimo dialect, where we find, for instance, *g'ā'xenL* I CAME. It will be noted (Table I, § 48) that the objective forms of the first person, and those of the inclusive and exclusive, have been lost. They persist in the Hē'ldzaq dialect of Milbank sound, where we find for these forms *-enLa*, corresponding to the *-enL* of the Koskimo. Examples of the form *-enL* will be found below, under 2.

2. The first person, the inclusive, and exclusive, when followed by the objective or instrumental of the third person, take a connective *-a-*; so that we find the forms *-enLaq* I—HIM, *-ensaq* WE[incl.] —HIM, *-enu^εxwaq* WE[excl.] —HIM; and *-enLas* I—WITH HIM, *-ensas* WE[incl.] —WITH HIM, *-enu^εxwas* WE[excl.] —WITH HIM.

hā'εmaswut!ēltsōx'denLas I was asked to eat with him 480.10
(*hā'εm-* to eat; *-s-* [?]; *-ot* companion; *-ēl* [?]; *-sō^ε* passive; *-x^{dē}* transition from present to past).

dō'qula^εmēsenLaxwa *Gwē'telax* and so I saw the Northerners 473.27 (*dō'qula* to see; *-εmēs* and so; *-xwa* obj. 2d pers. dem.; *Gwē'tela* northern tribes; *-x* 2d pers. dem.)

εnē'k'enLaxa *εne'mgēsē* I said to the *εne'mgēs* 473.26 (*εnē'k-* to say)
ławē'lgamēk'asenLas *lā'laēnox* I am the prince of the ghosts
X 131, note 3 (*ławē'lgamē^ε* prince; *-k'as* real; *lā'laēnox* ghosts)

bō'lxsda^εyīnLas *L'ē'selag'ī'la* I am the musk-bag of mink
CS 158.22 (*bōl-* musk-bag; *-xsd* hind end; *-ē^ε* nominal; *L'ē'sela* sun; *-gīla* to make)

3. The second person takes a connective *-ē-* before the objective and instrumental of the third person; so that we have *-sēq* THOU—HIM, and *-sēs* THOU—WITH HIM. With the instrumental of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, the second person forms *-sētsen*, *-sētsens*, *-sētsenu^εx^u*. Examples of this kind are very rare in our texts.

4. When a nominal subject is followed by an objective or instrumental, or when a nominal object is followed by an instrumental, it takes a connective *-a-* analogous to that following the first person (see under 2).

dō'x^uwale^llē Dzā'wadalalīsaxa e'lkwa Dzā'wadalalīs saw the blood 99.7 (*dōq^u-* to see; *-a^lela* see no. 96, p. 490; *elk^u* blood)

kwē's^εidē Q!^lā'nēqēlakwasa L!^lāq.^uut Q!^lā'nēqē^εlak^u spit out the alder bark 99.5 (*kwēs-* to spit; (*x*)^ε*id* to begin; *L!^lā'q^u-* red)

ε^une'x^usō^εlaē Q!^lā'mtalalās Q!^lā'nēqē^εlak^u it is said, Q!^lā'mtalal was told by Q!^lā'nēqē^εlak^u 100.19

ts!^lek!^lā'^lelaxēs lā'^εwunemas wā'^lldemas she reported to her husband (with) the word 135.28

gwē'x^εidēda begwā'nemax Lā'qulayūgwa the man woke Lā'qulayūgwa 251.4 (*gwēx^εid* to wake; *begwā'nem* man)

5. Verbs which have the future suffix *-l* (no. 88, p. 486) generally form the subjective by the suffix *-a*, which takes the place of *-ēda*. Evidently the process of contraction by which the objective *-xa* and the instrumental *-sa* have developed from the older *-xēda* and *-sēda* has affected in this case also the subjective. The second person future, when the verb has a pronominal ending, is generally *-lōl* instead of *-lōs*, which is used only as a possessive form.

gā'xla g'ī'ng'īnānemē the children will come X 17.8

la^εmōx q!^lāq!^lεxutō'x^εwīdla ts!^lō'ts!^lō^εmax the barnacles shall show their heads X 97.40

laε^εms ba^εne'nxēlōl you shall be the lowest X 91.5.

POSTNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVE AND POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

6. Nouns ending in *-a*, *-ē*, *-ä*, and *-d*, when followed by the connective *-a-* (rule 4), by the postnominal *-a* of the third person invisible, by *-ax*, *-aq!*, and *-q^u!* of the second person invisible, and by *-q^u* of the second person visible (Tables II, III, §§ 48, 49), take the endings *-ä*, *-äx*, *-äq!*, *-äq!^l-*, *-äq-*, in place of *-a*, *-ē*, *-ä*, *-d*, followed by the ordinary endings. In nouns ending in *-a*, the forms *-a^εya*, *-a^εyax*,

-a^ʔyaq!, -a^ʔyaq!^u, a^ʔyaq, are sometimes found instead of the forms in -ä-. The forms in -a^ʔya- seem to be preferred in the case of many proper names.

‘nē’x^ʔlaē Qwē’smōlidzē’mgāq said Qwē’smōlidzē’mga to him 116.1
nē’lasē’wē L!a’qwadzās wā’tlēmās L!a’qwadzē was told of his
word 116.21

lā’laē dō’x^ʔwalē’lē Lā’qulayūgwāxa g’ō’kwē then, it is said, Lā’qu-
layūgwa saw a house 251.8

‘nē’x^ʔlaē Ha’mdzidāxēs ō’mpē it is said Ha’mdzid said to his
father 55.19

7. Nouns ending in -ē^ʔ take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -a^ʔya, -a^ʔyax, -a^ʔyaq!, -a^ʔyaq!^u, a^ʔyaq^u.

g’i’g’iyama^ʔyaasa Bē’lṛula the chiefs of the Bella Coola 223.33
(g’i’game^ʔ chief)

8. Nouns ending in -ō take, in the cases enumerated under rule 6, the endings -ā, -āx, -āq!, -āq!^u, -āq^u.

laē’mḷa qō’t!ē ‘yā’^ʔyats!ās K!wā’qaxsānāxa qā’g’īkwē K!wā’qax-
sānō’s canoe was full of heads 153.33 (-ḷa but; qō’t!a full;
‘yā’^ʔyats!ē canoe; qā’g’īk^u head cut off)

9. Nouns ending in -a and -ō, when followed by the demonstrative second person visible, take the ending -x instead of -ēx.

laē’mxden lē’stalī’sēla lā’xēs ‘nā’lax I have been around this
our world 12.7 (-em and; -x^d past; -en I; la to go; -ē’s^ʔta
around; -la continuative; -is world; -la continuative; lā to go
[here prepositional]; -xēs our; ‘nā’la world)

wē’ga ‘wē’x^ʔīdṛwa ‘mē’mē’lxlōx go on, carry these mountain
goats 41.5 (wē’ga go on!; ‘wē’x^ʔīd to carry; ‘mē’lxlō moun-
tain goat)

ḷē’wō’xda halā’yux and this death-bringer 50.36 (ḷō^ʔ and; halā’y^u
death-bringer, means of killing)

10. Nouns ending in -a do not take the postnominal -ē of the third person (see § 56).

11. ḷō AND never takes the form in -ēda, except in the Dzā’-
wadēēnox^u dialect, but forms ḷē’wa even before common nouns
(see § 49, II).

ḷē’wa a^ʔyī’lkwasa g’i’gamē^ʔ and the attendants of the chief
159.22

ḷē’wa lā’k’!endē L!ēL!ä’sgēm and one hundred bear-skin blankets
223.37

ḷē’wa ‘nā’ṛwa ts!ē’lts!ek!wa and all the birds 295.2

12. The *-s* third person possessive, when followed by an objective or instrumental, takes a terminal *ē*.

t!E'm'yāsēxēs Ɂwā'k!una his means of sewing his canoe (see p. 555, note 62)

lā'laē dā'lē k!wey'i'masēxa 'wā'lasē g'i'ldasa then his crew took the large box 226.39 (*dā'la* to take, carry; *k!wey'i'm* crew; *'wālas* large; *g'i'ldas* box)

13. The objective *-q* and instrumentalis *-s*, when followed by the temporal subordinating elements, are followed by *-ē*. Examples will be found in §64 (p. 547).

§ 51. Sentences with Pronominal Subjects and Objects

In sentences with a single verb and with pronominal subject, object, and instrumental, the pronominal suffixes are attached to the verb in the order subject, object, instrument.

1. Intransitive sentences:

lā'dzāLEN indeed I shall go 146.7 (*la* to go; *-dzā* indeed [no. 119]; *-L* future [no. 88]; *-EN* I)

lā'mENS we do 179.35 (*la* to go; *-m* [no. 103]; *-ENS* [incl.])

gā'gak!anu'Ɂ we are trying to marry 225.43 (*gek*- wife [reduplication with *a* vowel and hardened terminal, tentative]; *-nu'Ɂ* [excl.])

hēm'enalaEMLES thou wilt always 182.41 (*hēm'enala* always; *-m* [no. 103]; *-L* future [no. 88]; *-ES* thou)

hōqawELS they go out 179.17 (*hōq-* to go [PLURAL]; *-wELS* out of house [nos. 37, 44])

g'ā'xg'a he [near 1st person invis.] comes

lā'mōx qōsL this [near 2d person vis.] will be thine 228.42 (*la* to go; *-m* [no. 103]; *-ōx* [dem. 2d person vis.]; *qōs* thine; *-L* future [no. 88])

g'ā'x'mō' this [near 2d person invis.] comes 370.24 (*g'āx* to come; *-m* [no. 103]; *-ō'* [dem. 2d person invis.])

hē'mēq that is it 60.6 (*hē* that; *-m* [no. 103]; *-ēq* [dem. 3d person vis.])

2. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal object:

gā'gak!inLōL I try to marry thee 97.4 (*gek*- wife [tentative § 46]; *enLōL* I — thee [§ 50.1])

L!elē'wa'yinLaq I forgot it 102.15 (§ 50.2)

wULē'nsaq we [incl.] ask him (§ 50.2)

wULā'nu'ɁwōL we [excl.] ask thee

In place of the object of the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, which are not in use in Kwakiutl, periphrastic expressions are used (see § 61).

3. Transitive sentences with a single verb and with pronominal instrumental:

lā'wad^{EN}lasik I have him for my husband 97.20 (*lāw*- husband; -*ad* having [no. 170]; -*ENlas* I — of him (§ 50. 2); -*k* [dem. 1st person vis.]

ā'yad^{EN}lōs I have you for my father (*ās*- father; -*ad* having [no. 170]; -*ENlōs* I of you [§ 50. 1])

lā'xulanux^sēts^{EN} thou lovest me (*lā'xula* love; -*nuk* having [no. 169]; -*sēts^{EN}* thou — of me [§ 50. 3])

4. Transitive sentences with a single verb and pronominal object and instrumental. These are rare, since periphrastic expressions are preferred (see § 61).

mix'ī^Nlōlas I strike thee with it (see § 50. 1)

§ 52. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs

When the verb is accompanied by a co-ordinate verb and in a few related cases the more general verb, which precedes the special verb, takes the personal endings of the intransitive verb; and when the special verb is transitive, the latter retains its objective or instrumental endings, which are suffixed to the stem.

g'ā^xm^{ENU}x^w lē'ēlalōL we came to invite thee 66.17 (*g'āx* to come; -*m* [no. 103]; -*ENUx^w* [excl.]; *lē'ēlāla* to invite; -*ōL* thee)

lā'la^xENS xwē'x^{it}sek should we shake with it 57.40 (*la* to go; -*la^x* uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]; -*ENS* we, *xwē'x^{id}* to begin to shake; -*sek* with this)

lā'LES nā'ēnax^mēLEq thou wilt answer him 264.28 (*la* to go; -*L* future [no. 88]; -*ES* thou; *nā'ēnax^mē* to answer; -*L* future [no. 88]; -*q* him)

xē'NLElEN mīx'ā'q I strike him too much (*xē'NLEla* very, too much; -*EN* I; *mīx'a'* to strike; -*q* him)

g'ā^xEMS wī'ēlaēLA you have all come in 131.22 (*g'āx* to come; -*m* [no. 103]; -*s* you; *wī'ēla* all; -*ēL* into house [§ 22, no. 47])

k'!ē'sEN hamx^ēī'da I did not eat 258.17 (*k'!ēs* not; -*EN* I; *hamx^ēī'd* to begin to eat)

Also—

qEN g'īwā'lōL that I may help thee (*qEN* that I; *g'īwā'la* to help; -*ōL* thee)

qEN lā'wadēsik that I marry this one (S 72.11)

§ 53. Sentences with Nominal Subject and Object

When the sentence has a nominal subject, object, or instrumental, these are placed following the pronominal forms which take the place of the pronominal forms. The noun itself takes the required post-nominal demonstrative ending.

1. Intransitive sentence with nominal subject.

‘nē’x’laē Ts!ē’ts!Esg’īnē Ts!ē’ts!Esg’īn said, it is said 31.9 (*‘nēk’* to say; *-la* it is said [§ 32, no. 132]; *-ē* [subj. dem. 3d person consonantic])

g’ā’x’laēda ma’lō’kwē two persons came, it is said 261.33 (*g’āx* to come; *-la* it is said [§ 32, no. 132]; *-ēda* [subj. dem. 3d person vocalic])

lā’lōxda ‘naE’nē’una’ēx these blankets will go (= be given) 213.11 (*la* to go; *-l* future [no. 88]; *-ōxda* [subj. dem. 2d person voc.]; *‘naE’u’nē’* blanket; *-ēx* [postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])

g’ā’x’mōx Wulā’sE’wēx Wulā’sō’ has come 161.27 (*g’āx* to come; *-m* [no. 103]; *-ōx* [subj. dem. 2d person cons.]; *-ēx* [postnom. dem. 2d person vis.])

hē’k’!ālag’ada x’isā’lax’dga these who have disappeared make a noise 85.31 (*hē* that; *-k’!āla* to sound [§ 34, no. 144]; *-g’ada* [subj. dem. 1st person voc.]; *x’is-* to disappear; *-āla* continuative [§ 26, no. 92]; *-x’dē* past [§ 25, no. 89]; *-ga* [postnom. dem. 1st person invis.])

2. Transitive sentences with nominal subject and pronominal object or instrumental.

nā’‘naz’ma’ē Xā’nāts!Emg’i’lakwaq Xā’nāts!Emg’i’lak’ replied to him 131.7 (*nā’‘naz’mē’* to reply; *-ē*, [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; *-q* [obj. 3d person, § 50.4])

bā’wē Qlā’nēqē’lakwas Qlā’nēqē’lak’ left him 169.28 (*bō* to leave; *-ē* [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; *-s* instr., § 50.4)

k’īl’ē’dēda bē’begwanemas the men became afraid of him 127.21 (*k’īl-* to be afraid; *-x’īd* [inchoative, no. 90]; *-ēda* [subj. dem. 3d person voc.]; *begwā’nem* man; *-s* [instr., § 50.4])

3. Transitive sentences with pronominal subject and nominal object or instrumental.

dā’x’īdEnlaxalExa’‘ē I took the basket (*da* to take; *-x’īd* [inchoative, no. 90]; *-nlaq* I—it [§ 50.2]; *-za* [obj. dem. 3d person voc.]; *lExa’‘ē* basket)

‘nē’x’sE’wunlasa begwā’nem I was told by the man (*‘nēk’* to say; *-sō* [passive, § 35, no. 159]; *-nlas* I—by it [§ 50.2]; *-sa* [instr. 3d person voc.]; *begwā’nem* man)

mīx’‘ī’dēxa begwā’nem he struck the man (*mīx-* to strike; *-x’īd* [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; *-ē* [§ 56]; *-za* [prenom. obj.])

4. Transitive sentences with nominal subject, object, and instrument.

xu'ngwadē Q!ē'xwaq!anākwās O'mag'ī'lisē Q!ē'xwaq!anak^a hād
Ō'mag'ī'lis for her child 133.11 (*xunk^a*- child; *-ad* having [no. 170]; *-ē* [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; *-as* [instr., § 50.4])

yō'sēda lē'lqwalala'yaza gwā'xnīsē the tribes ate the dog-salmon with spoons 133.34 (*yō'sa* to eat with spoons; *lē'lqwalalē* tribe; *gwā'xnīs* dog-salmon)

kwēx'idēda begwā'nemaxa q!ā'sūsa t!ē'lwagayō the man struck the sea-otter with the club (*kwēx-* to strike; *-x'id* [inchoative, § 26, no. 90]; *begwā'nem* man; *q!ā'sa* sea-otter; *t!ē'lwaga* to club; *-ayō* instrument [no. 174])

§ 54. Sentences Containing Co-ordinate Verbs and Nominal Subject or Object

When there are two co-ordinate verbs, the former takes the pronominal or nominal subject, while the latter takes the nominal object and instrumental.

lā'ēlaē K!wāqaxsānō wulē'lax 'nemō'gwisē then, it is said, K!wā'qaxsānō questioned 'nemō'gwis 153.39 (*la* to go; *-ēla* it is said; *-ē* [subj. dem. 3d person cons.]; *wulē'la* to question)

lā'LEN ax'ē'dLEX t!ē'sema I shall go and get a stone (*la* to go; *-L* future [no. 88]; *-EN* I; *ax'ē'd* to take; *-L* future [no. 88]; *-i* [cons. obj.]; *t!ē'sem* stone; *-a* [indef., see § 59.2])

lā'ēlaē q!a'msēda mā'k'ilāq than the one next to her was lazy 54.24

§ 55. Sentences Containing Possessive Elements

When the nominal subject, object, or instrumental contains possessive elements, these are expressed by means of prenominal and postnominal endings, which take the place of the simple demonstrative elements.

lā'lg'in k!ē's'ōx'dēk this my crest will go 209.31 (*la* to go; *-L* future [no. 88]; *-g'in* [prenom. subj., dem. 1st person, § 49]; *k!ē's'ō* crest; *-x'd* past [no. 89]; *-k* [postnominal dem. 1st person vis.])

wulē'laxēs abē'mpē he questioned his mother 141.37 (*wulē'la* to question; *-xēs* [pronom. obj., dem. 3d person subj. and possessor identical, § 49, III]; *abē'mp* mother; *-ē* [see § 49, III])

lā'was'ēdē nā'qā'yas his mind became wild 142.38 (*lā'was'ēd* to become wild; *-ē* [dem. 3d person indef.]; *nā'qē* mind; *-as* [nominal subj., dem. 3d person, subj. and possessor not the same person, § 49, III])

qe'lsaxen g'ō'kwē he painted my house (*qe'ls-* to paint; *-xen* [prenom. obj., § 49]; *g'ōk*^u house; *-ē* [see § 56])
yā'x'sa'mēs nā'qa'yōs your mind is bad 71.35 (*yā'x'sa'm* bad; *-ēs* [prenom. subj., § 49]; *nā'qē*^s mind; *-ōs* [postnom. possess. 2d person, dem., § 49])

The following examples illustrate possessive forms:

1st person, dem. 1st person, visible:

lae'ms a'xlexg'in lē'gemx'dík take my past name! 125.31
lō'gun g'ō'kulotg'in and my tribe 451.28

1st person, dem. 1st person, invisible:

'mā'sā'navisēg'in tek'!ē'gae'n? what may be the matter with my belly? 172.20

1st person, dem. 2d person, visible:

wē'g'a dō'qwalaxwa g'ō'kwaqen look at this my house! 409.38
lā'xen genē'maqen to my wife 410.33
lā'xen a'wī'ēnagwisēx to my country 259.30

1st person, dem. 3d person, visible:

k'!ē'sen wiō'lxen wā'ldēmē I did not obtain my wish 454.3

1st person, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā'xen g'ā'g'imāx'daen to my past loans 452.1
lā'xen g'ō'kwa to my house 409.12
gwā'gwa'yagasen gēwe'maen my wife's way of going 300.33

Exclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

hā'mēk'a'yā'lagemlaxsg'anu'x^u g'ī'gamēk the food-obtaining mask of our chief 35.38

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:

alē'wats!āxsenu'x^u g'ī'gama'ēx the hunting canoe of our chief
 U.S.N.M. 665.12

Exclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:

nā'qa'yaxsens 'nō'lāx the heart of our elder brother 325.11

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:

l!ā'sanā'yasenu'x^u g'ō'kwē outside of our house 120.31

Exclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā'xenu'x^u nō'sa a'wī'ēnagwisa to our country 259.41

Inclusive, dem. 1st person, visible:

dō'qwaq'ada wā'g'ins look at our river 147.37
lae'mk' 'wī'laēlg'ins 'nē'ēnemō'kwigäi' now all our friends are in the house 459.16

Inclusive, dem. 2d person, visible:

yʷsɛns gʷi'gamaʷɛx of our chief 453.11

Inclusive, dem. 2d person, invisible:

hā'g'a, aɬk'!ā'laxɛns g'ō'kulōtax go and ask our tribe 310.8

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, visible:

wā'ldɛmasɛns ʷnɛmō'kwē the word of our friend 461.40

Inclusive, dem. 3d person, invisible:

lā'xɛns a'wɪ'ʷnagwisaɛns to our country 261.12

k'!ō'tɛlag'asɛns wɪ'wōmpdāɛns this salmon of our ancestors
451.40

2d person, dem. 1st person, visible:

lā'xg'as gɛnɛ'mg'ōs to your wife 234.22

2d person, dem. 2d person, visible:

lāxs gō'gumaʷyaqōs to your face 306.20

lā'xōs a'wɪ'ʷnagwisaqōs to your country 259.39

2d person, dem. 2d person, invisible:

gā'gak'!ɪnlaxs k'!ē'dɛlaq!ōs I will woo your princess 119.22

2d person, dem. 3d person, visible:

ɛ'x'mis wā'ldɛmōs good is your word 259.35

2d person, dem. 3d person, invisible:

dō'qwalaxs aɬ'ɛ'xsɛsōʷlaōs see what is desired by you 409.29

lā'xɛs xunō'ɬʷlaōs to your future child 51.36

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:

—*dō'xʷwɪdxōs xunō'kwēx* (let her) see her child 134.16

—*lā'xōs yā'ʷyats!ɛx* in his canoe 230.18

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor subject of sentence:

dɛdā'ɬʷsāxɛs, lɛ'k'!wisɛ they held their bows 243.40

3d person, dem. 2d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:

laʷmɛ'sɛn gɛg'a'dɛsōɬda k'!ē'dɛlaxs and so I have married his princess 193.35 (—*ʷmɛs* and so; *gɛg'a'd* to have for wife; *k'!ē'dɛl* princess)

3d person, dem. 3d person, visible; possessor different from subject of sentence:

—*ā'xɛx yā'ʷnɛms* he took his game 294.27

—*lō'xumaxa lāx ō'ɬʷsɪdzaʷyas* they rolled down to its base 19.12

§ 56. *Irregular Forms*

While this system of forms is quite clear, there remain a number of irregularities in the third person which somewhat obscure its syntactical functions. This is particularly true of the forms without ending. It is difficult to decide whether they are true verbs. Similar difficulties arise in regard to the postnominal forms in *-a*, without ending, and in *-ē* (see § 48, II).

The postnominal *-ē* is used particularly with nouns terminating sentences. It is used with nouns in subjective, objective, and instrumental construction, and signifies a special emphasis laid on the noun, or the contrast between that particular thing and others; for instance, *mîx'î'dēxēs xunō'kwē* HE STRUCK HIS CHILD, because it is not expected that a man would strike his child. Examples from the texts are:

lā'laē yē'laqula'ē Wā'xwidē then Wā'xwid sang his sacred song
CS 90.6

—*axk'la'la xēs 'nē'xēmō'kwē* he called his friends 43.5

gā'x'laēda hō'x'hōkwē the hō'x'hōk" came 109.39

—*qā's'idē Nē'nēngasē* Grizzly-Bear-Woman went X 21.28

This suffix is postnominal, not verbal, as is proved by the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative:

gā'x'mōx Wulā'sē'wēx Wulā'sō' came 161.27

It does not indicate absence or presence, but is merely an emphatic demonstrative.

In other cases the verbal demonstrative of the third person *-ē'* is used in a similar position. On account of the weakness of the terminal glottal stops, it is difficult to distinguish this ending from *-ē*. Still, the analogous forms of the second person demonstrative prove its verbal character.

yū'mēs la bek'u'sōx this is the woodman 258.27

It seems, that when there are two forms, and the first takes a verbal demonstrative or a possessive, the terminal word is generally a noun.

yū'mōs wā'ldēmēx this is your word

When the sentence is opened by a verbal expression without demonstrative ending, the second term is a verb.

yū'mēs yē'la x'widayusēyōx this is his secret song

It is doubtful, in this case, whether the first word is a noun or a verb, and whether the second word should be considered a separate sentence.

§ 57. *Irregular Forms (continued)*

The same is true in all cases where the verb stands immediately before its object or instrument. In these cases, when it has no demonstrative, the objective *-x* and *-s* are suffixed to it.

la mîx'î'dxa bēgwā'nēm he struck the man

k'!ē'sōx mîx'î'd g'ā'xēn this one did not strike me

lōx lē'gades T!ē'sēmgi'tē this one had the name T!e'sēmgi't 225.18

The construction is similar to that in sentences in which nouns occur accompanied by qualifying terms.

mîx'î'dēda ēwā'lasē bēgwā'nēmxa g'īnā'nēm this large man struck the child (literally, this tall one struck, man the child). If the noun stands by itself, the *-a* preceding the object (§ 50.4) is retained.

mîx'î'dēda bēgwā'nēmxa g'īnānēm

Temporal suffixes are treated in the same manner.

ṣu'mtēlsēda ēwā'lasē g'ō'ṣ^usa bēgwā'nēm the large house of the man was burnt on the ground (*ṣumt-* to burn; *-ēls* on ground [§ 22, no. 44]; *-(x)dē* past; *g'ōk^u* house); (but *ṣu'mtēlē g'ō'ṣ^udāsa bēgwā'nēm* the house of the man was burnt on the ground [see § 50.6])

There is still another case in which a similar absence of demonstrative elements is observed. The verb may be separated from the rest of the sentence, and its place may be taken by auxiliary verbs or by verbalized nominal ideas. Then it is placed at the end of the sentence, and has either no ending, or, better, the ending *-a*.

la'ēm qā's'ida then he went

la'mōx qā's'ida then he went

lē'da bēgwā'nēm qā's'ida then the man went

In this position the verb can not take the ending *-ē*, although it may be made a noun by the appropriate prenominal demonstrative.

bēgwā'nēmēda qā's'idē the man went

§ 58. *Remarks on Irregular Forms*

It is impossible to give a satisfactory explanation for all the peculiar usages of these endings, although the rules for their use can be stated quite definitely. The endings *-ēda* and *-x*, which in Kwā'g'uł invariably have the function of determining subject and object, may have originally performed different functions. This is suggested by the following forms: The Dzā'wadeēnox^u forms *-sēda* and *-xēda* (see § 49), and the analogous forms *-xg'ada*, *-xōxda*, *-sg'ada*, *-sōxda*, of the

Wā'g'uł, show that the endings *-g'a*, *-ōx*, *-ē*, and *-da* are not necessarily subjective. There are also indications that originally *-da* was not so exclusively prenominal as we find it now. This is indicated particularly in its use with the independent demonstrative *g'a*, *yū*, *hē*, and the interrogative *wī* WHEN. These often take the ending *-da* either by itself or in connection with possessive pronouns: *g'a'da*, *yū'da*, *hē'da*, *wī'dē*; and *hē'den g'ōk* THAT IS MY HOUSE (see § 55). On the other hand, *-x* is used to introduce appositions and temporal determinations (see § 61). In the form *yīxa* it may take the place of the subject, a construction which is used frequently in the dialect of Newetsee: *g'ā'xē*, *yīxa begwā'nem* HE CAME, THAT MAN. In the Awī'k'!ēnox^u dialect of Rivers inlet it is suffixed in the same manner to the subject as well as to the object.

lā'lē yā'x'idēla g'ō'kulayaxai the people felt bad (*g'ō'kula* tribe; *-xai'* those)

On the other hand, it does not seem probable that this dialect should have retained older forms, since it shows considerable phonetic decay in other directions.

§ 59. *Vocalic and Consonantic Prenominal Forms*

It was mentioned in § 49 that the prenominal demonstrative occurs in two forms, as vocalic and consonantic. The latter is used in three cases:

1. Before proper names.

lā'laē yā'q'eg'a'lē Ts!āqama'ē then Ts!āqamē^ē spoke 193.26
a'yī'lkwās T!ē'semg'itē the attendants of T!ē'semg'it 222.30

2. When a noun is used (a) in a general sense, or (b) when the existence of an object is doubtful.

(a):

hē'em wā'ldems begwā'nem that is the word of mankind
g'ō'kwas g'ī'g'igama'ya a house fit for chiefs
la'men wulā'xg'a begwā'nemk I ask the men in present existence

(b):

ā'lāso'wē laē'sasa ts!ē'dāq mussels are searched for by the women
sek'ā'LENLax g'wō'yī'mlaxa I shall harpoon a whale, if there is one (*-lax* uncertainty [§ 28, no. 105]).

On the other hand, we have *la'men sek'ā'xa g'wō'yī'm* I HARPOONED A WHALE, because the whale, after having been harpooned, is definite.

In these cases we find generally the suffix *-a* for the third person demonstrative invisible, because the object is necessarily conceived in this position.

3. When the noun is followed by the possessive *-s* of the third person.

g'ā'xē lāx g'ō'kwāsen 'nemō'kwē he came to the house of my friend

§ 60. Objective and Instrumental

The use of the objective and instrumental with different verbs shows great irregularities. On the whole, the objective is used only when the action directly affects the object; while in other cases, where a direction toward an object is expressed, periphrastic forms are used. Whenever an action can be interpreted as performed with an instrument, the instrumental is used, for which the Kwā'g'u! has a great predilection. In many cases, however, both instrumental and objective may be used, according to the point of view taken. We find, for instance, the following instrumentals:

(*la'men*) *lē'qelas t!ēx'ī'la lāq* I name it "door" 9.14 (*lēq-* name; *-s* [instr.]; *t!ēx'ī'la* door; *lāq* going to it)

lē'gades Dā'bendē having the name of Dā'bendē 15.8

wē'g'a gwā's 'ētsēs g'āxilaōs mention your reason for coming 16.10
(*wē'g'a* go on; *gwā's 'id* to mention; *-sēs* your[instr.]; *g'āx* to come; *-g'īl* reason [no. 176, p. 508]; *-aōs* your)

sā'bentsōx he overdoes this 18.1

'yā'laqas g'īnā'nem he sent the child

lē ts!ās then he gave it 18.11

lae'm t!ē'qwaplentsa t!ē'sēmē he put on the fire the stones 20.8

wē'g'a, dē'nx'itsen q!ē'mdema go on! sing (with) my song 451.25

All passives are constructed with the instrumentalis.

qā's'idayusa alā'lēnox^w he was walked away with by the wolves

§ 61. Periphrastic Forms

Whenever the activity does not influence the object directly, but is rather directed toward the object, periphrastic forms, which may be termed "the locative," are used. These are formed with the verbs *la* TO GO, and *g'āx* TO COME, the former being used for the second and third persons; the latter, for the first person, inclusive, and exclusive, these verbs being treated as transitive verbs with objects.

la'ē lā'beta laq then he went in to it (*-beta* into [no. 28, p. 465])

lē'stalī'sela lā'xens 'nā'lax he went around our world 12.7

These periphrastic forms take the place of the object of the first person inclusive and exclusive (p. 536). They are also preferred whenever the verb has both pronominal object and instrumental. Then the periphrastic form generally takes the place of the object. The verbal character of these forms appears with great clearness when the verb is *la* TO GO, since in this case the verb is directly composed with the object, and thus replaces the locative, with which it is identical. The objective form is also used for all determinations of time.

hě gwē'g'ilaxa qā'qenulē he did so every night 249.24 (*hě* that; *gwē'g'ila* to do so; *-xa* [obj.]; *qā'nul* night)

§ 62. Causality

Causality is expressed by the element *qa*, which is treated as though it were a verbal stem that might be translated by TO BE THE CAUSE OF. This stem does not lose its terminal *a*. It takes pronominal, pronominal, and possessive forms, just like other verbs.

ā'laēl lē'ng'aa qā's lā'la it is said, he longed really the cause is his (= on account of his) sweetheart 23.12 (*ā'la* really; *-la* quotative; *lē'ng'aa* to long; *lā'la* sweetheart)

(la'men) lē'ng'aa qā's I long on account of you 25.1

qaēs wā'ldēmōs on account of your words 285.42

laē'm'laē 'yā'x'sēmē nā'qā'yas K!wēk!waxā'wā'ē qaēs 'nemō'k'wē then the mind of K!wēk!waxā'wā'ē was bad on account of his friend 291.34 (*la* auxiliary verb; *-em* and; *-la* it is said; *'yā'x'sēm* bad; *nā'qē* mind; *'nemō'k'* friend)

qag'in wā'ldēmīk on account of this my future word 115.31

qaō'xda mōts!aqēx on account of these four sticks 139.22.

§ 63. Finality

Closely related to the causalis is the expression for finality. This form seems to occur only in nominal construction analogous to the third person demonstrative of the possessive causalis, from which it differs in the same way as the forms for visibility differ from those for invisibility. The set of forms is—

1st person	<i>qen—a</i>
Inclusive	<i>qens—a</i>
Exclusive	<i>qenu'x—a</i>
2d person	<i>qā's—āōs</i>
3d person	<i>qa—as</i> (possessor different from subject)
3d person	<i>qā's— a</i> (possessor and subject the same)

It corresponds to a verbal stem *q* with the possessive forms for absence.

k'í'lwānemēnlaq qen qenē'ma I bought her to be my wife

This finalis is very frequently used with verbs, which, however, take certain suffixes. Most often they take the ending *-ē*, which seems to nominalize the verbal term. When, however, the verb has another pronominal suffix, as in the second person or with the object of the second person, it takes the suffix *-a* before the pronominal suffix. In the first person, exclusive, and inclusive, the pronoun may be repeated suffixed to the verb. In this case the idea of finality is often so weak that it is hardly more than a connective.

wā'dzāentsōs qen p'ux'ē'dē go on that I may taste 37.32 (*wā* go on; *-dzā* emphatic [no. 119, p. 494]; *p'ux'ē'd* to taste)

qan 'nē'k'ē and I say so 453.24

'yā'lagēmēnlas Gu'ldēmē qen g'ā'xē I have been sent by Woodpecker to come 302.24 (*'yā'laqa* to send; *-em* instrument [no. 173]; *-nlas* I by him; *Gu'ldēm* woodpecker; *g'āx* to come)

wē'g'a, . . . qens dō'qwalē'x q'ā'palā'sens 'nē'nēmō'kwēx go on, . . . that we may see the hitting of our friends 296.31 (*dō'qwāla* to be looking; *q'ap-* to hit; *-sens* of our; *'nēmōk'* friend; *-ēx* postnominal dem. 2d pers.)

. . . *qa's la'ōs ax'ē'd* that you go and take 465.34

. . . *qa's tap!ē'dayōs* that you eat (break the shells) 284.22

. . . *qen lē'xs'alēxens xunō'kwēx* that I advise our child 290.13

. . . *qen ē'k'āwēsg'ada 'nēx'unē'k'* and I stake this blanket 292.3
wē'g'a L!ō'p!ēdeq' qa's hamx'ī'daōsaq' go on, roast this and eat this 38.7 (*L!ōp-* to roast; *hamx'ī'd* to eat)

lē'ālaxēs g'ōkulōtē qa g'ā'xēs he called his tribe to come 23.2

ax'ē'dxēs q!ō'lats!ē qa's g'ā'xē he took his kettle and came 20.8

If the verb has the first form of the third person, and takes an object or instrumentalis, the final *-s* is followed by an *-ē*.

qa dē'nx'ūlēsēsa gā'gak'!ak'!ā'ēlayu q!ē'mdēma that they sing the wooing songs 82.3 (*dē'nx'ūd* to sing; *gak'-* wife [no. 141, p. 498]; *-k'!āla* noise [no. 144, p. 499]; *-ayu* instrument [no. 174, p. 507]; *q!ēmdēm* song)

Verbs with object of the second person take the ending *-aōL*, corresponding to *-aōs* in verbs with second person subject.

Monosyllabic verbs in *-a* take *-ā* in place of *-aē*, and *-ayōs* or *aōs* in place of *-aaōs*.

In the future the *-ē* precedes the future suffix, and the endings are the same as usual, *-ēL*, *-ēLōs*, *-ēLES*.

qen dō'x'walelaōl that I may see you 263.26
qa's lā'ōs nā'nakwa and go home 450.20
qen lā ē'tlēd that I go again 240.37
qa'slē lōs that you may go in the future 260.19

§ 64. Causal and Temporal Subordination

Causal and temporal subordination are expressed by forms related to the foregoing. They must also be considered nominal in their character. Here the relation between personal and demonstrative pronoun is very close, the noun which expresses the subordination always appearing with the possessive pronoun of the proper person combined with the demonstrative pronoun of the same person. Subordination is expressed by the suffix *-x*, which takes possessive endings combined with the proper demonstrative elements. This *-x* may be related to the objective.

	Temporal Subordination	Causal Subordination
1st person	<i>-xg'in-ēk'</i>	<i>qaxg'in-ēk'</i>
Inclusive	<i>-xg'ins-ēk'</i>	<i>qaxg'ins-ēk'</i>
Exclusive	<i>-xg'inu'x^u-ēk'</i>	<i>qaxg'inu'x^u-ēk'</i>
2d person	<i>-xs-aaqōs</i>	<i>qaxs-aaqōs</i>
3d person	<i>-xs-aē</i>	<i>qaxs-aē</i>

In place of the suffixed temporal forms, we find also *y'xg'in*, etc.

qā' laxs nē'k-aa'qōs indeed, when you said 16.11
dzā'qwas la'ē it was evening when he— 30.4
qaxg'in d'lēxdek lē'ng-aa for I really long 25.1
qaxs nē'k-aa'qōs for you said 16.13

When the verb is transitive, the subject is combined with the subordinating *-x*, while the object remains connected with the verb. The subject may, however, be repeated in the verb in the same way as in the possessive (§ 49).

qaxg'in wule'la'mēg'inlaq for I heard it 16.1 (*wule'la* to hear)
lō'xgun ts!ā'wēg-asa wā'ts!ēx lōl and that I gave you this dog
 39.9 (*lō* and; *ts!ō* to give; *wats!* dog)

The ending *-x* undergoes the same changes as those enumerated in § 50.4, 6.

Whenever these endings follow an objective or instrumental, they take a connective *-ē*.

lālāsēxs la'ē 24.1 (*lālās* his sweetheart)
dō'x'walelaqēxs wu'nqelaēda xup'a' he saw that the hole was deep
 11.1

It is worth remarking that in these cases there is no differentiation in the third person when the subject of principal and subordinate clauses differ and when they are identical.

laE'm k'!ēs q!ā'LElē Mā'xulayūgwāxs lE'ma'e lō'LE K'wā'kwax-sānāxa halā'yuwē then Mā'xulayūgwa did not know that K'wā'kwaxsānō had obtained the death-bringer 144.39 (*k'!ēs* not; *q!ā'LElē* to know; *lō'LE* to obtain; *halā'yu* means of death) *k'!ē'slat!a qā'la qā'saxs la'ē lā'gaa* he did not walk long when he arrived 27.2 (*qā'la* long; *qā'sa* to walk; *lā'gaa* to arrive)

The same forms also occur without the subordinating suffix *-x*. In these cases the possessive element is suffixed to the postnominal demonstrative.

1st person	<i>-ēg'in</i>
2d person	<i>-aqōs</i>
3d person	<i>-as</i>

k'!ē'saā'qōs gāxnaxwaxa 'nā'la you do not come in the daytime (*k'!ēs* not; *gāx* to come; *-naxwa* from time to time [§ 26, no. 95]; *'nā'la* day)

lā'a'lasē 'lā'qulayūgwa yā'q!eg'a'la then, it is said, Crying-Woman spoke 261.43

§ 65. Conditional

The conditional is formed from the same stem *qa* as the causal. It takes the ending *ō*. In this case the first person takes the same form *nL* which has been discussed in § 50. 1. The principal verb may also take the suffix *ō*, and is often accompanied by the suffix *-lax* (§ 28, no. 105), which expresses uncertainty.

Following are the conditional forms:

1st person	<i>qanLō</i>
Inclusive	<i>qansō</i>
Exclusive	<i>qanu'xō</i>
2d person	<i>qa'sō</i>
3d person, demonstrative, 1st person	<i>qag'ō</i>
3d person, demonstrative, 2d person	<i>qa'xō</i>
3d person, demonstrative, 3d person	<i>qō</i>

qa'sō hamx'ī'dxa hamg'ī'layula lōL if you eat the food that is given to you. 258.33 (*hamx'ī'd* to eat, *hamg'ī'la* to give food, *-ayu* passive [§ 36, no. 174], *lōL* to you)

qa'sō k'!ē'slax ha'mā'plaxōL if you should not eat 262.11 (*k'!ēs* not, *-lax* uncertainty, *ha'mā'p* to eat, *-lax* uncertainty, *ōL* you [§ 50.5])

§ 66. Imperative and Exhortative

The imperative of inchoative verbs is generally formed with the suffix *-ga*; that of continuative verbs, with *-la*.

dā'salg-a dive! 461.23

The defective forms *gē'la* COME! *hā'ga* GO! belong here. We find also the double form *gē'lag-a* COME!

Often the imperative is introduced by a form derived from the interjection *wē* GO ON! which takes the imperative ending *-ga* or (in the future) *-g'il*. In other cases the *wē* takes pronominal endings. In constructions with *wē'ga*, the intransitive verb takes the ending *-x*.

wē'ga 'nā'xumālax go on, cover your face! 185.35

wē'g'il la gwā'lalalax keep ready! 242.28

wā'entsōs qen wulā'ōl let me ask you (=you [exhortative] that I ask you) 145.22

Sometimes *hā'ga* and *gē'la* are used in the same manner as *wē'ga*.

hā'ga xwā'nal'idex go and get ready! 114.28

Exhortatives are formed with the suffix *-x*:

wē'x'ins wī'nax K. let us make war on K. 301.25

wē'gax'i lā'k!wēmasēs nā'qa'yōs strengthen your mind 13.8

gwā'lax'i hē'x'idaem ō'q!usēs nā'qa'yōsaq don't believe your own mind at once 269.3

Negative imperatives are always introduced by *gwā'la* DON'T! which is derived from *gwa* TO CEASE.

gwā'la 'nēk don't say so! 144.35

It is quite likely that the forms in *-ga* are related to the demonstrative endings, and that the imperative is less a modal form than an expression of the immediate nearness of action.

In many cases the imperative idea is expressed by the future, either alone or introduced by *wē'ga* and *gwā'la*. The transitive imperative seems to be expressed always by the future.

The ending *-nō'* forms a peculiar emphatic imperative:

gwa'nō' don't! 462.18

yā'l!ānō' take care!

Probably this suffix has the meaning ENTIRELY, ALTOGETHER, and is used as an imperative only secondarily. At least, the forms *lō'qwanō'*, *gā'xnō'*, were translated to me YOU SEE, COME! implying that the opposite ideas of not seeing, not coming, are entirely excluded.

§ 67. Interrogative

When interrogative pronouns—*ang^u*- WHO, *ma*- WHAT, *wi*- WHEN, *g'in*- HOW MANY—are contained in interrogative sentences, the ordinary verbal forms are used. When these are not interrogative pronouns, the verb takes the suffix *-a*.

ma'sas begwa'nem? what kind of a man are you? 147.24

ma'sos la'gala'saqos? what is standing behind you? 37.21

a'ngwax'las? what is on you (=is your name)? 67.31

wi'den wa'ts!ä? where is my dog? 44.24

widza's g'e'x'idē? where do you come from? 123.26

gay'nsela'ma'na? did I stay under water long? 34.19 (*ga*- long; *-ns* under water [§ 21, no. 26]; *-la* [contin.]; *-m* [connect., § 27, no. 103]; *-a* [interrog.]; *en* I; *-a* [interrog.])

k'led'sas ya'nemaa? have you no game? 45.27 (*k'led's* none; *-as* thou; *ya'nem* game; *-a* absent; *a* [interrog.])

p!ep!ä'sasa are you blind? 95.26

In interrogative sentences the voice sinks at the end of the sentence.

§ 68. Plural

When the sense requires clear expression of the pronominal plural, the suffix *-x'da'x^u* is used, which is treated like other suffixes beginning with *x*, and loses this sound after consonants.

This suffix must not be considered a pronominal ending. It is attached to interjections as well as to verbs.

ya'x'da'x^u (address of several people) 219.17

lä'x'da'x^ulaē they went, it is said 266.27

§ 69. Adverbs

From what has been said before, it appears that there are very few adverbs only in Kwakiutl. A great number of adverbial ideas are expressed by suffixes, while others are verbs. To this class belong, for instance:

ēs, *k'lēs* not

ä- really

hal- quickly

The only independent adverbs that do not take verbal forms, so far as they are known to me, are *elä'q* ALMOST, and the numeral adverbs formed with the suffix *-p!en*.

§ 70. VOCABULARY

Most of the Kwakiutl stems are monosyllabic, and consist either of a consonant, vowel, and consonant; or of a vowel preceded or followed by a consonant. Only a few stems consist of a short vowel followed by two consonants. Apparently there are some bisyllabic stems; for instance—

alē'x^w- to hunt sea-mammals

mēdē'lq- to boil

k'!ēlak- to strike

ā'lā to search

g'ilō' L- to steal

Owing to the great number of nominal suffixes, most nouns are derived from verbs, so that the number of primarily denominative stems is small. Examples of nominal stems derived from verbs or neutral stems have been given in § 36. A few others may be given here.

lō's tree (= standing on ground)

late'ml hat (= hanging face-cover)

qō's pond (= water in it on ground)

xu'lgwis shark (= rough body)

mēna'ts!ē drum (= striking receptacle)

meku'la moon (= round thing being)

wā'lasx'ê lynx (= big toothed)

lā'wayu salmon weir (= means of standing)

Furthermore, many local suffixes form nouns by being attached to the nominal stem *ō*- SOMETHING, and a few related stems. We find, for instance, *ō'bādē* CHEST, *ō'x^wsīdzē* FOOT OF MOUNTAIN, *ō'nēgwīl* CORNER. Before vowels, the stem *ō*- becomes *a^w*-; for instance, in *ā'wexsdē* MOUTH OF A VESSEL.

A number of nouns are found, however, which are neither descriptive nor immediately reducible to the series of local suffixes. Among parts of the body we find some that do not occur as suffixes.

ē'ldz- flesh

ēlk^w- blood

hap- hair of body

sē'y- hair of head

xaq bone

l!ēs- skin

k'!il- tongue

gēl- rib

yōm- thumb

k'!ēd- third finger

sēlt!- fourth finger

aēn- eyebrows

xawē'q skull

na'x^w vulva

ts!ē'y- intestines

Other names of parts of the body occur in two forms—as independent words and as suffixes.

	Independent	Suffix
head	<i>x'ōms</i>	- <i>xlā</i>
mouth	<i>sem</i>	- <i>xsta</i>
ear	<i>p!esp!ē'yā'</i>	- <i>atō</i>
eye	<i>gabēlō'xstā'</i>	- <i>ēsto</i>
face	<i>gō'gumē</i>	- <i>gem</i>
nose	<i>x'ī'ndzas</i>	- <i>ūba</i>
tooth	<i>g'ī'g'a</i>	- <i>sx'ä</i>
belly	<i>tek'!ē'</i>	- <i>ēs</i>
hand	<i>a'yasō'</i>	- <i>x'tsāna</i>
foot	<i>g'ō'gwō'yā</i>	- <i>x'sīs</i>

A few other nouns which appear among the suffixes also exist as independent nominal stems.

	Independent	Suffix
fire	<i>leq'-</i>	- <i>sqwap</i>
water	<i>'wap-</i>	- <i>ēsta</i>
one side	<i>ap-</i>	- <i>k'!ōt</i>

The classification of verbs according to form of object is well developed. Since there are but few classificatory endings, and since their use is primarily restricted to numerals, we find many different stems used for this purpose.

A list of stems will be found in my book "Kwakiutl Texts" (Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, vol. III).

TEXT

G·ō'kula'laē ¹	Ts!ē'lqwalōlela ²	lā'xa ³	ē'k·lē ⁴	a'wī'nagwisa. ⁵		
Lived it is said	Heat	at the	above	world.		
G·ā'x'em'laē ⁶	Ts!ē'lqwalōlela ²	LE'wis ⁷	sā'semē, ⁸	yīx ⁹	Sē'paxaēs ¹⁰	
Came referred to it is said	Heat	and his	children,	that	Shining-down	
Lō ¹¹	Yā'q!entema'yaxa ¹²	ts!edā'q	Lō ⁶	G·ē'xdēn	LE'wa ¹³	ā'lē ¹⁴
and	First-Speaker the	woman	and	G·ē'xdēn	and the	last
xunō'x'sē ¹⁵	Dā'doqwanagēsela. ¹⁶	K·lē's'laē ¹⁷	g·ā'xē ¹⁸	gene'mas ¹⁹		
child his	Seeing-from-Corner-to-Corner.	Not it is said	came	wife of		
Ts!ē'lqwalōlela,	yīx ⁹	Llē'selaga ²⁰	qa	hē'ēnē'mas ²¹	qā'samasē ²²	
Heat,	that	Sun-Woman	for	that one being she	go-making she	
Llē'selagaxa ²³	Llē'sela.	Hē'elatlā ²⁴	ē'neqā'xa ²⁵	Ō'manis		
Sun-Woman the	sun.	That it is said, however,	straight-down	Omanis		
yīx ⁹	Ts!ē'lqwalōlela	LE'wis ⁷	sā'sem.	Hē'x'idaem'la'wis ²⁶		
that	Heat	and his	children.	That began referred to it is said		

¹ g·ōk= HOUSE; -ala with the special meaning INHABITANT (§ 26, no. 91); -l IT IS SAID, with demonstrative -ē; -laē (§ 32, no. 132).

² ts!elq= HOT; -ala (§ 26, no. 91); -lēla (§ 26, no. 93).

³ lā TO GO; -za pronominal vocalic objective (§§ 49, 50); the whole word serves as the vocalic locative (§ 61).

⁴ ēk= HIGH, ABOVE; -ē 3d person demonstrative (§§ 48, 56, 57).

⁵ -is BEACH (§ 22, no. 45). This word is derived from the stem 6- SOMETHING, and the suffix -ēnak= (no. 183 a). The terminal -a indicates that it is one of many countries (§ 59).

⁶ g·āx TO COME; -em connective (§ 27, no. 103); -laē (see note 1).

⁷ lō AND, with possessive 3d person, thing possessed belonging to subject (§§ 49, III b, 55).

⁸ sē'sem CHILDREN [PLURAL] (singular sēnd'k=, stem sēnk=); -ē dem. (§ 56).

⁹ yīx THAT, consonantic form preceding proper name (§ 59), objective form for apposition (§ 58).

¹⁰ sēp= TO SHINE, RAY; -axa DOWN (§ 21, no. 19); -ē ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45).

¹¹ lō AND, consonantic before proper name (§ 59).

¹² yā'q!ēnē TO TALK; -em FACE (§ 23, no. 54); -ē nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 161). This takes the form -ēpa before objective -x (§ 50.6); -za objective form introducing apposition, vocalic form before common noun.

¹³ lē'wa AND, vocalic form before common noun (§ 50.11).

¹⁴ ālē RECENT; -ē demonstrative (see note 4).

¹⁵ xunō'k=, stem xunk= CHILD (see note 8); -s HIS, placed after the noun, since the subject of the sentence ts!ē'wa d'lē xunō'k= is d'lē, while the possessor is Heat (see § 49, III, b); -ē pronominal indefinite before proper nouns (§§ 49, 59).

¹⁶ dā'qwa TO SEE; dā'doq'wa TO ENDEAVOR TO SEE. The rest of the name is not quite clear.

¹⁷ k·lēs NOT; -laē (see 1). This is a verbal form.

¹⁸ g·āx TO COME; there is no -m here, because this is a new idea that is introduced into the tale; -ē consonantic, pronominal (§§ 49, 59).

¹⁹ gene'm=, stem gēg= WIFE; -nem (§ 36, no. 193 a); -s ind. possessive before proper name (§ 59).

²⁰ l!ē= HEAT; L!ē'sela SUN; -qa WOMAN (§ 36, no. 192).

²¹ qā ON ACCOUNT OF; hē THAT ONE; -ēnē abstract noun, QUALITY OF; -m (§ 27, no. 103); -s possessive third person.

²² qā= TO WALK; -amas TO CAUSE (§ 35, no. 158); -ē cons. demonstrative (§§ 49, 59).

²³ -za definite object (§ 49).

²⁴ hē THAT; -la IT IS SAID (§ 32, no. 132); -l/a HOWEVER (§ 27, no. 101).

²⁵ ē'neq= STRAIGHT (i. e., to come straight down); hē is here subject; -za indicates the apposition explaining the hē THAT.

²⁶ hē THAT; -x'ēd inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -em connective (§ 27, no. 103); after the inchoative this suffix requires always a connective -a; -la (see note 1); -em-wis AND SO (§ 27, no. 104).

G'ē'xden G'ēxden	lā' ² went	qā's'id ²⁸ walk-began	lā'xa' ³ to the	Wāk'lēgēsīa. ²⁹ Bent-Bay its name.	Lā'laē ³⁰ Then it is said
dō'x'walelaxa ³¹ he discovered the	'neqā'ts!aqē ³² ten long	ḡwā'kluna ³³ canoes	mexē's ³⁴ hollow things on beach	lāq. ³⁵ at it.	Lā'laē ³⁰ Then it is said
'w'un'wig'aq. ³⁶ he hid back of them,	laē'm'lā wis ³⁷ then referred to it is said and so he went	lā'x ³⁸ at	ā'la'yasa ³⁹ landward of the	ḡwā'ḡwak'luna. ⁴⁰ canoes.	
Lā'laē ³⁰ Then it is said	G'ē'xden G'ē'xden	dex'wultlā'lis ⁴¹ jumped out of woods on beach	lāq. ³⁵ to them.	Lā'laē ³⁰ Then it is said	yā'q'leg'a'lēda ⁴² speak began the
'nemō'kwē ⁴³ one person	begwā'nema: ⁴⁴ man:	" 'mā'sōs ⁴⁵ 'yā'lag'ilisēx, ⁴⁶ G'ē'xden! " What your work moving on beach here, G'ē'xden?"			
'nē'x'sō'laē ⁴⁷ was told it is said	G'ē'xden. G'ē'xden.	Lā'laē ³⁰ Then it is said	nā'nax'ma'ya: ⁴⁸ he replied:	" Lā'logwasde'yin ⁴⁹ " I am trying to get a magical treasure	
lōl." ⁵⁰ from you."	Lā'laē ³⁰ Then it is said	wulē' ⁵¹ asked	G'ē'xdenaxa ⁵² G'ē'xden the	begwā'nemē: ⁵³ man:	
" 'maē'noxwas?" ⁵⁴ " What tribe are you?"	Lā'laē ³⁰ Then it is said	nā'nax'ma'ēda ⁵⁵ replied the	begwā'nemaq: ⁵⁶ man to him:		

²⁷ *lā* WENT, signifies here a new action: THEN.

²⁸ *qā*- TO WALK; -*'id* inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).

²⁹ *wā'k'-'* BENT; -*g*- SIDE (§ 22, no. 51); -*ts* ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45); -*r* *la* ON (=named) (§ 21, no. 32 b).

³⁰ *lā* (see note 27); -*laē* (see note 1).

³¹ *dōq*- TO SEE; -*alela* TO ACCOMPLISH (§ 26, no. 96); -*za* vocative pronominal object (see note 23).

³² *'neq*- TEN (=straight); -*ts!aq* LONG OBJECT (§ 24, no. 84); -*ē* demonstrative (see note 4).

³³ Stem *ḡwak*-.

³⁴ *mex*- HOLLOW THINGS ARE SOMEWHERE [PLURAL TO *han*]; -*ts* ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45).

³⁵ Locative (see note 3); -*q* object 3d person (§ 49).

³⁶ *'wun*- TO HIDE; *w* for -*ō* OFF (§ 21, no. 37). -*g* *ē* BARK (§ 23, no. 69); the reason for the introduction of *w* before -*g* *ē* is not clear; -*q* object 3d person (§ 49).

³⁷ *lā* (see note 27); -*em-wis* AND SO (§ 27, no. 104); -*la* (see note 1). Here *lā* is used as the verb TO GO.

³⁸ *lāx* consonantic form of locative (see note 3) before a form with genitive ending (§ 59).

³⁹ *āla*- LANDWARD; -*sa* nominal ending (§ 36, no. 161); -*sa* vocative genitive (§ 49).

⁴⁰ Reduplication for plural (§ 41).

⁴¹ *dex*- TO JUMP; -*ōll'a* OUT OF WOODS (§ 21, no. 37, c); -*lis* ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45; § 37, no. 197).

⁴² *yāq'eni*- TO TALK; -*g'ēl* TO BEGIN TO MAKE NOISE (§ 34, no. 145); this combination seems irregular; *ēda* vocative subjective (§ 49).

⁴³ *'nem* ONE; -*ōk*- PERSON; -*ē* demonstrative.

⁴⁴ Stem *bek*- MAN; -*ānem* (§ 36, no. 193, b); -*a* (see note 5).

⁴⁵ *'mā*s WHAT; -*ōs* THY (pronominal possessive).

⁴⁶ *'ya*- TO BE OCCUPIED [cf. *'yā'yals'ē* canoe (=receptacle) for occupation]; *'yā'la* TO BE IN A STATE OF OCCUPATION; -*g'ills* MOVING ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45; § 37, no. 197); -*ēx* postnominal demonstrative 2d person (§ 48, II).

⁴⁷ *'nēk*- TO SAY; -*ōō* passive (§ 35, no. 159); -*laē* (see note 1).

⁴⁸ Stem perhaps *nag*- TO IMITATE.

⁴⁹ *lōg*- SOMETHING MAGICAL, PRECIOUS; *lā'lōk'wa* TO ENDEAVOR TO GET SOMETHING PRECIOUS (§ 46); the softening suffix -*sdzy* is not known from any other combination; -*en* I, subject.

⁵⁰ Locative, 2d person object (§ 48, I; § 61).

⁵¹ *wul*- TO QUESTION; -*ē* pronominal before proper name.

⁵² -*axa*, the first -*a* connects the subject with the pronominal object -*za* (§ 50.4).

⁵³ Stem *bek*- MAN (see note 44); -*ē* demonstrative.

⁵⁴ *'ma*- WHAT; -*ēnox* here, TRIBE (§ 36, no. 162); -*as* 2d person.

⁵⁵ See note 48; -*ēda* definite pronominal (§ 49).

⁵⁶ See note 44; -*aq* pronominal object, 3d person (§ 50.4).

"Māx'ēnoxunu'x ^u . ⁵⁷ Hō'x'widōx ⁵⁸ alē'wats'lāxsenu'x ^u . ⁵⁹ g'igama'ēx." ⁶⁰					
"We are killer-whales.		It split this		this hunting canoe of our chief here."	
Lā'ēlāe ³⁰	wulā'sa'wē ⁶¹	G'ē'xdēn	lāx ³⁸	t'lē'm'yāsēxēs ⁶³	xwā'k'lunāxs ⁶³
Then it is said	was asked	G'ē'xdēn	about	his material for sewing	his canoe when it
hō'x'widaē. ⁶⁴	Lā'ēlāe ³⁰	nē'lasa ⁶⁵	dewē'x. ⁶⁶	"Hā'g'a ⁶⁷	ax'ē'dēx ⁶⁸
was broken.	Then it is said	he told of the	cedar-withes.	"Go	get the
dewē'xa." ⁶⁹	nē'x'sō'ēlāe ⁷⁰	G'ē'xdēn.	Lā'ēlāe ³⁰	qā's'ida. ⁷¹	K'lē's'lat'la ⁷²
cedar-withes."	was told it is said	G'ē'xdēn.	Then it is said	he started.	Not it is said, however,
gā'laxs ⁷³	g'ā'xāē ⁷⁴	dā'laxa ⁷⁵	dewē'x ⁷⁶	qa's ⁷⁷	ts'lēwē'ē's ⁷⁸ lā'xa ³
long when	he came	carried the	cedar-withes	that he gave (with) it	to the
begwā'nem.	Lā'ēlāēda ⁷⁹	begwā'nem	aa'its'lālaxa ⁸⁰	dewē'x. ⁶⁶	
man.	Then it is said the	man	tried to break to pieces the	cedar-withes.	
"mā'sē ⁸¹	xa'nlēlag'ihā'sik ⁸²	te'lqwa? ⁸³	Lā'ēlāēda ⁷⁹	begwā'nem	
"What is the	reason of this	weak?"	Then it is said the	man	
yā'laqasa ⁸⁴	nemō'kwē ⁸⁵	begwā'nem	qa ⁸¹	lē's ax'ē'dēx ⁶⁸	se'lībēsa. ⁸⁵
sent (with) the	one person	man	that he go	take the	twisted-on-beach.

⁵⁷ mdx- TO PURSUE SECRETLY; -ēnox= nomen actoris (§ 36, no. 162); mō'x'ēnox= KILLER-WHALE; -ēnu'x exclusive.

⁵⁸ hōx- TO SPLIT; -x'id inchoative; -ēx prenominal consonantic demonstrative 2d person.

⁵⁹ alēx- TO HUNT SEA-MAMMALS; -ats'ē RECEPTACLE (§ 36, no. 184); alē'wats'ē HUNTING-CANOE; -x postnominal demonstrative 2d person; -ēnu'x prenominal possessive exclusive.

⁶⁰ g-i CHIEF; g'ipamē CHIEF, perhaps chief among others (§ 21, no. 7a); -ēx postnominal demonstrative 2d person.

⁶¹ wul- TO QUESTION; -sō' passive (§ 35, no. 159); -ē'wē prenominal indefinite.

⁶² t'lēm- TO SEW WOOD WITH CEDAR-WITHES; t'lē'm'yā' (for t'lē'm'yā' SEWING-INSTRUMENT [§ 4]; -s HIS; -ē (§ 50.12); -ē's prenominal possessive 3d person.

⁶³ See note 33; -xs (§ 64).

⁶⁴ See note 58; -sē (§ 64).

⁶⁵ nēl- TO TELL; -sa (instrumental, § 60) ABOUT.

⁶⁶ dewē'x CEDAR-WITHES, CEDAR-TWIGS.

⁶⁷ hā occurs only in imperative forms; -g'a imperative ending (§ 66).

⁶⁸ ax- TO DO, TO TAKE; -x'id inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -x prenominal consonantic object.

⁶⁹ -a invisible and indefinite (§ 59.2).

⁷⁰ nēk- TO SAY; -sō' passive (§ 35, no. 159); -lāē (see note 1).

⁷¹ qā- TO WALK; -x'id inchoative (§ 26, no. 90); -a terminal (§ 57).

⁷² See 17; -t/a, HOWEVER (§ 27, no. 101).

⁷³ qē- LONG; qā'le from qē and -le (§ 26, no. 92); -xs (§ 64).

⁷⁴ See note 64.

⁷⁵ da TO TAKE; -le (§ 26, no. 91); -xa prenominal vocalic object.

⁷⁶ See note 69; here without indefinite -a, because he carries the material, so that it is now definite.

⁷⁷ § 63, subject of the subordinate clause agrees with the principal clause, therefore -s after the qa.

⁷⁸ ts/ē TO GIVE; -ē after qa; -s instrumental.

⁷⁹ See note 30; -ēda vocalic prenominal subject.

⁸⁰ al- TO BREAK, TO CRACK; -x-ts across; -a to endeavor with reduplication and hardened consonant (see p. 498); -xa vocalic prenominal object.

⁸¹ mā WHAT; -s possessive; -ē demonstrative.

⁸² xa'nēl- VERY; -le (§ 26, no. 91); -g'id REASON (§ 36, no. 176); -a interrogative; -s possessive; -k postnominal demonstrative 1st person.

⁸³ t'lq- WEAK.

⁸⁴ yā'laq- TO SEND, always with instrumentals.

⁸⁵ se'līp- TO TWIST; -ēs ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45).

Lā'laēda ⁷⁹	begwā'nem	dze'lɣ'wida. ⁸⁶	K'les'latla ⁷³	gā'xaxs ⁷³	g'ā'xā ⁷⁴
Then it is said the	man	began to run.	Not it is said, however,	long when	he came
dā'laxa ⁷⁵	se'lbēs. ⁸⁵	Lā'laēda begwā'nem	tle'mx'ɣidxa ⁸⁷	xwā'k'luna ⁸⁸	
carried the	twisted-on- beach.	Then it is said the	man	began to sew the	canoe.
Lā'laē ³⁰	dzi'x'semtsa ⁸⁸	gwelē'k'ē ⁸⁹	lā'xēs ⁹⁰	tlema'ē. ⁹¹	Lae'm ⁹²
Then it is said	he rubbed on its face with the	gum	on his	sewing.	Then
gwā'la. ⁹³	Lā'laē ³⁰	g'i'gama'yasa ⁹⁴	mā'x'ēnox ⁹⁵	yix ⁹	Hē'li'lalag'ilis. ⁹⁶
it was finished.	Then it is said	the chief of the	killer-whales,	that	Moving-all-over- the World.
hē'em ⁹⁶	lē'gēmsa ⁹⁷	g'i'gama'yasa ⁹⁴	maa'mx'ēnox ⁹⁸	"Lā'mōx ⁹⁹	
that was	the name of the	chief of the	killer-whales:	"It here	
lā'LEN ¹⁰⁰	xuē'lbalax ¹⁰¹	mā'stō ¹⁰²	lā'xōx ¹⁰³	G'ē'xden qa ¹⁰⁴	sek'ɣ'lasōxa ¹⁰⁵
will go my	quartz- pointed	harpoon	to this	G'ē'xden that	he spear with this the
gwō'ɣ'im; ¹⁰⁶	hē'fimis ¹⁰⁷	lē'LEGEMS ¹⁰⁸	ME'nłōse'las, ¹⁰⁹	lō'ē ¹¹	ME'nmen- Feeling-
whale;	that (and so it is)	the names of	Place-of-getting- Satiated,	and	
lēqalas, ¹¹⁰	LE'wis ⁷	g'ō'x'laōs ¹¹¹	mā'xexsēg'laLēs ¹¹²	g'ō'x'laōs ¹¹¹	
Satiated,	and (your)	house (your)	killer-whale on front will be (your)	house your.	
Lā'LE ¹¹³	mā'x'ēnox ⁹⁵	lē's ¹¹⁴	lō'qulilaōs; ¹¹⁵	hē'fimis ¹⁰⁷	halā'yu ¹¹⁶
Then	killer-whale will be your	future dish in house your;	that and so it is	killing instrument	and
q'ulā'ēsta ¹¹⁷	LE'wa ¹¹⁸	xuē'lx'ē ¹¹⁹	xudā'yu ¹²⁰	qa's	SEX'x'ā'Lōs. ¹²¹
life water	and the	quartz- toothed	knife	for your	butcher-knife."

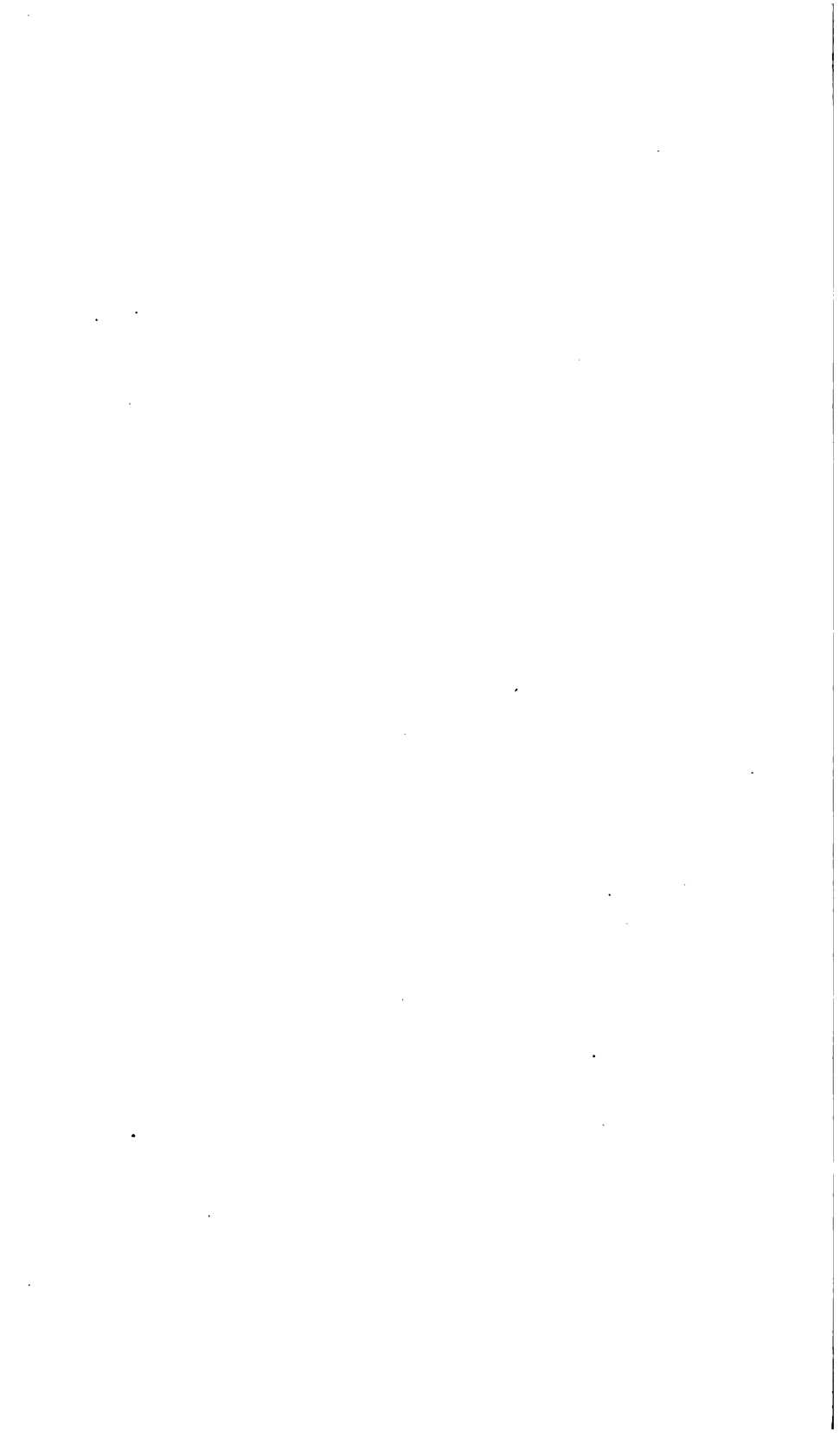
⁸⁶ dze'lɣ- TO RUN; -ɣ'ɣ Inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).⁷⁴ t'EM- TO SEW BOARDS; -ɣ'ɣ Inchoative (§ 26, no. 90).⁸⁸ dēk- TO RUB; -gēmd FACE (§ 23, no. 54; also § 24, no. 85; § 20, no. 2); -sa prenominal intransitive vocative.⁸⁹ gwē'lē'k- GUM.⁹⁰ See note 3; -xēs objective possessive 3d person; owner and subject same person.⁹¹ t'EM- TO SEW BOARDS; -ē (§ 36, no. 161); -ē demonstrative.⁹² la, see note 30; -em (§ 27, no. 103).⁹³ gwa- STOP; -la continuative (§ 26, no. 92).⁹⁴ g'i'gama' CHIEF (see note 60); -sa possessive prenominal vocative.⁹⁵ Hē- RIGHT; -lāla ABOUT (§ 21, no. 5); -ēs ON BEACH (§ 22, no. 45); -g'ilis IN WORLD (§ 38, no. 197).⁹⁶ hē THAT (see note 24); -em (§ 27, no. 103).⁹⁷ lēp- NAME; -em nominal suffix (§ 36, no. 193); -sa definite possessive (§§ 49, 59).⁹⁸ Reduplicated plural (§ 42.5).⁹⁹ Prenominal 2d person visible.¹⁰⁰ L- future; -EN I.¹⁰¹ xuē'l quartz; -ba point (§ 21, no. 31); -la nominal; -x postnominal, 2d person, visible.¹⁰² harpoon.¹⁰³ Periphrastic, 2d person visible, consonantic (§§ 48, 59).¹⁰⁴ The subject changes, hence the -s follows the verb.¹⁰⁵ sek- TO SPEAK; -la continuative; -sōx with this, 2d person, visible (§§ 48, 59); -ra object.¹⁰⁶ Stem gwēk-.¹⁰⁷ -m -wis (§ 28, no. 104).¹⁰⁸ lēp- NAME; -em nominal suffix; reduplicated plural.¹⁰⁹ men- SATIATED; -ōsēla (?); -as PLACE OF-.¹¹⁰ men- SATIATED; -ēqala TO FEEL LIKE- (§ 23, no. 81).¹¹¹ g'ōku HOUSE; -L future; -aōs THY, invisible 2d person possessive (§ 48).¹¹² -xēg'a FRONT OF HOUSE (§ 23, no. 52); -L future; -ēs 2d person, prenominal possessive (§ 48).¹¹³ -L future; -ē demonstrative.¹¹⁴ -L future; -ēs 2d person, prenominal possessive.¹¹⁵ lō'qul- DISH; -lī IN HOUSE; -aōs (see note 111).¹¹⁶ hal- TO KILL (Hē'ldza'qu dialect); -ayu INSTRUMENT.¹¹⁷ q'ula LIFE; -ēsta WATER (§ 22, no. 39).¹¹⁸ See note 13.¹¹⁹ -srd TOOTH (see p. 478, no. 62).¹²⁰ xul- TO CUT BLUBBER; -ayu INSTRUMENT.¹²¹ sek- TO CARVE; -srd TOOTH; -L future; -ōs THY, postnominal.

Lā'ē¹³⁰laē³⁰	LEX'ē'dēda¹²³	maa'mx'ēnox⁹⁸	G'ā'x'ēlaē⁶	G'ē'xdēn,		
Then it is said	started the	killer-whale.	He came it is said	G'ē'xdēn,		
nā'ē¹²³nak¹²³	lā'xēs⁸⁰	g'ōk¹	Lae'm⁹²	sek'a'xa¹²⁴	gwō'ēy'm¹⁰⁶	LE'wa¹¹⁸
going home	to his	house.	Then	he speared whole	whale	and the
q'ā'sa;¹²⁵	lā'g'iltse¹²⁶	g'ī'gamēx'ēda.¹²⁷				
sea-otter;	that was his reason	chief he became.				

¹²³ LEX- TO START BY CANOE; -x'ēda TO BEGIN.¹²⁴ nā'ē'nak is here independent of G'ē'xdēn and begins a new clause.¹²⁵ sek- TO HARPOON; -za pronominal object.¹²⁶ q/ā- SEA-OTTER.¹²⁷ la TO GO; -g'īl REASON; -ē (after l it becomes -ēē) OF HIS.¹²⁸ g'ī'gamēx CHIEF; -x'ēda TO BECOME.

[Translation.]

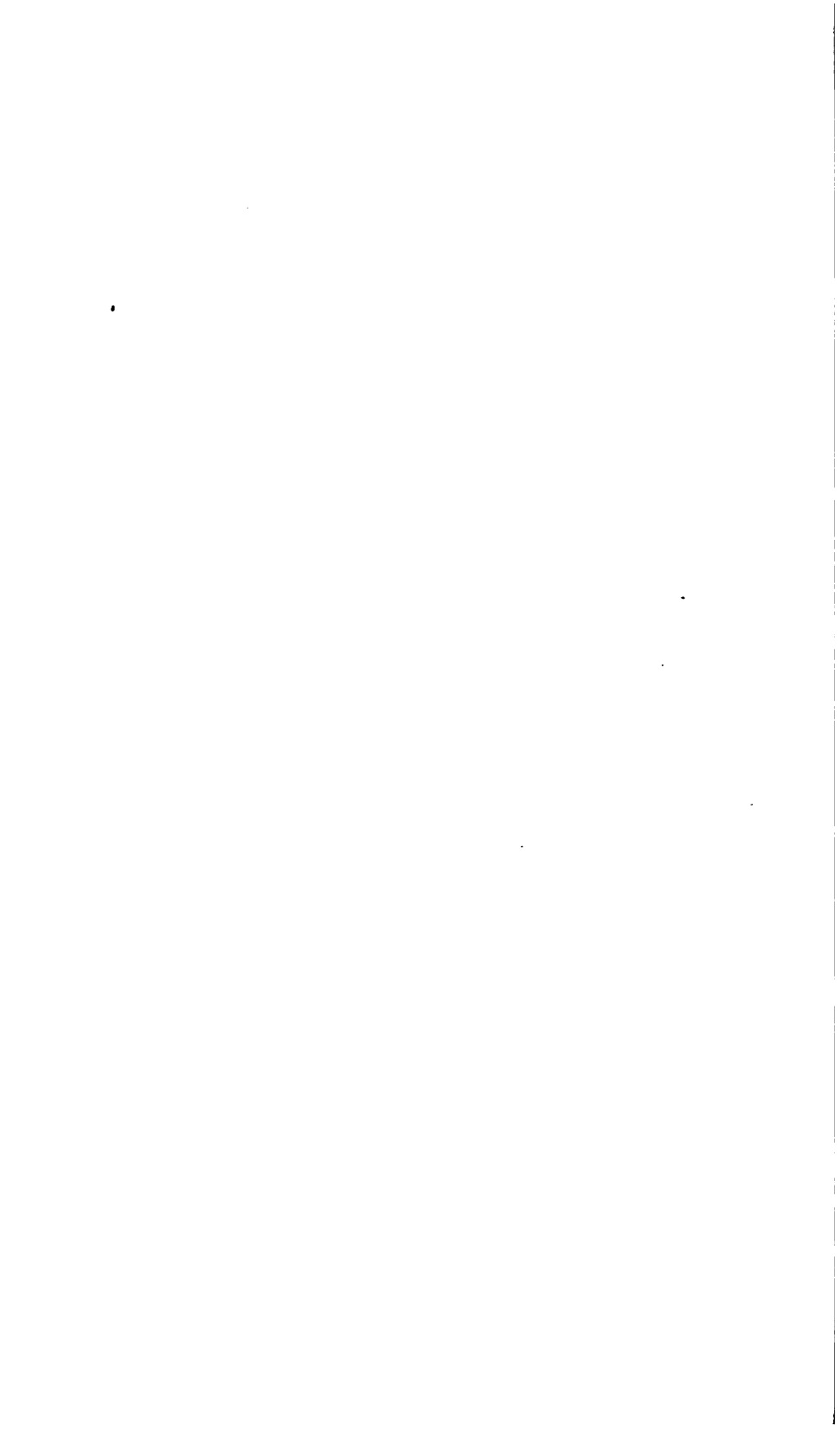
Heat lived in the upper world. Heat came with his children,—Shining-Down and First-Speaker, a woman, and G'ē'xdēn, and his youngest child, Seen-from-Corner-to-Corner. The wife of Heat, Sun-Woman, did not come, for she is the one who makes the sun go. Heat and his children came straight down to Ōmanis. At once G'ē'xdēn went to Bent Bay. There he discovered ten canoes on the beach. He hid behind them landward from the canoes. Then G'ē'xdēn jumped out of the woods. Then one person spoke. "What are you doing on the beach, G'ē'xdēn?" Thus G'ē'xdēn was told. Then he replied, "I am trying to get a magical treasure from you." Then G'ē'xdēn asked the man, "To what tribe do you belong?" The man answered him, "We are Killer-Whales. The hunting-canoe of our chief is split." Then G'ē'xdēn was asked what he used to sew his canoe with when it was broken. He mentioned cedar-withes. "Go and get cedar-withes!" G'ē'xdēn was told. He started, and it was not long before he came, carrying cedar-withes, which he gave to the man. Then the man tore to pieces the cedar-withes. "Why are they so weak?" Then the man sent a person to go and get "twisted on beach." The man ran away; and it was not long before he came, carrying "twisted on beach." Then the man sewed the canoe. He rubbed the outside of his sewing with gum. Then it was finished. Then the chief of the Killer-Whales, Moving-All-Over-the-World,—that was the name of the chief of the Killer-Whales,—(said), "This, my quartz-pointed harpoon, will go to G'ē'xdēn; and the names Place-of-getting-Satiated and Feeling-Satiated, and your house with a killer-whale (painting) on the front, will be your house; and your dish will be a killer-whale dish; and the death-bringer and the water of life and the quartz-edged knife, which is to be your butcher-knife (shall be yours)." Then the Killer-Whale started. G'ē'xdēn came and returned to his house. Then he speared whales and sea-otters. Therefore he became a chief.



CHINOOK

BY

FRANZ BOAS



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CHINOOK

By FRANZ BOAS

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND HISTORY

The Chinookan stock embraces a number of closely related dialects which were spoken along both banks of Columbia river from the Cascades to the sea, and some distance up the Willamette valley. The Chinook were neighbors of tribes belonging to many linguistic stocks. In Shoalwater bay and on the lower course of Columbia river, along its northern bank as far as the Cascade range, they came into contact with tribes of the coast division of the Salishan family. On the upper course of Willapa river they were contiguous to a small Athapascan tribe; farther to the east they were surrounded by Sahaptin tribes; in the Willamette valley they bordered on the Molala and Kalapuya. On the southern bank of Columbia river, opposite Cowlitz river, lived another Athapascan tribe whose neighbors they were; while south of the mouth of Columbia river they bordered on the Tillamuk, an isolated branch of the Coast Salish.

The language was spoken in two principal dialects, Upper Chinook and Lower Chinook. The former was spoken on the upper course of Columbia river, as far west as Gray's Harbor on the north bank and a little above Astoria on the south bank of the river. It was subdivided into a number of slightly different dialects. The principal representatives are Kathlamet and Clackamas which were spoken on the lower course of the Columbia river and in the Willamette valley, and Wasco and Wishram which were spoken in the region of The Dalles. The Lower Chinook includes the Clatsop dialect on the south bank of the river (from Astoria downward) and the Chinook proper of the north bank from Grays harbor down, and on Shoalwater bay. The last-named dialect is discussed here.

The name Chinook (*Ts'ínu'k*) is the one by which the tribe was known to their northern neighbors, the Chehalis.

The grammar of the Chinook language has been discussed by Horatio Hale,¹ Friederich Müller,² Franz Boas,³ John R. Swanton,⁴ and Edward Sapir.⁵

Unless otherwise stated, references in the following sketch refer to page and line in Franz Boas, *Chinook Texts*.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-13)

§ 2. Vowels

The phonetic system of Chinook is characterized by a superabundance of consonants and consonant-clusters combined with great variability of vowels. Since practically all our information on the Lower Chinook has been derived from one single individual, the last survivor capable of giving intelligent information, there remain many uncertainties in regard to the system of sounds. My informant was in the habit of changing the position of the lips very slightly only. There was, particularly, no strong forward movement of the lips in the vowel *u* and the semivowel *w*. This tendency has been observed in many Indian languages and was probably characteristic of all Chinook speakers. For this reason the *u* and *o* sounds are very slightly differentiated. Obscure vowels are frequent and seem to be related to all long and short vowels.

The system of vowels and semivowels may be written as follows:

Diphthong	Semi-vowel	Vowels							Semi-vowel	Diphthong
					<i>E</i>					
	<i>w</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>ê</i>	(<i>ɛ</i>)	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i>	
<i>au</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	(<i>ô</i>)	<i>a</i>	<i>ê</i>	(<i>e</i>)	<i>i</i>		<i>ai</i>
		<i>û</i>	<i>ô</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>ē</i>	(<i>i</i>)		

While the *o* and *u* sounds are indistinct, owing to the similarity of lip-positions, the *e* and *i* sounds seemingly alternate in accordance with the character of the adjoining sounds. They assume a decided *i* tinge by contact with a following *a*, or when following an anterior palatal. There is no strong retraction of the lips, but a considerable

¹ Wilkes Expedition, *Ethnography and Philology*, 562-564. See also *Transactions of the American Ethnological Society*, II, cxlii-cxxxviii; Hale's *Indians of Northwest America and Vocabularies of North America*; with an Introduction by Albert Gallatin.

² *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, II, 254-256. Vienna, 1882.

³ Notes on the Chinook Language, *American Anthropologist*, 55-63, 1893; *Chinook Texts*, *Bulletin 20 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1894; *Kathlamet Texts*, *Bulletin 26 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1901; *The Vocabulary of the Chinook Language*, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., VI, 118-147, 1904.

⁴ *Morphology of the Chinook Verb*, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., II, 199-237, 1900.

⁵ Preliminary Report on the Language and Mythology of the Upper Chinook, *American Anthropologist*, n. s., IX, 533-544; *Wishram Texts*, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 1900.

linguo-palatal constriction. In the short vowel the *i* character is rather accentuated. In the long vowel the *e* character predominates, unless contact and contrast phenomena emphasize the *i* character. *ô* seems to occur only with *k* sounds and is probably due to an assimilation of short *a*. *â* is rare and seems to occur only in onomatopoeic words. *ê* and *ä* are also of peculiar character. *ä* seems to be always either a rhetorical broadening of *ê* (as in *ä'ka* for *ê'ka*), or an onomatopoeic element which is frequent as terminal sound in interjections. The *a* series is related to the *o* and *u* series in so far as *a* may be transformed into *o* or *u*, while *e* and *i* can never be thus transformed. We will designate the *o* and *u* sounds as *u*-series and the *e* and *i* sounds as *i*-series. The only diphthongs that occur are *au* and *ai*. Doubled vowels, unless separated by a consonantic glottal stop, do not seem to occur. Short *i* and *u* when preceding vowels have always consonantic values.

§ 3. Consonants

The consonants consist of labials, dentals, and a very full series of palatals. There are also a number of *l* sounds. I did not succeed, however, in distinguishing these satisfactorily. There is also much confusion regarding surds and sonants, not only because the sonant has greater stress than our sonant, but also on account of the occurrence of a labial sound with semiclosure of the nose and weak lip-closure, which is therefore intermediate between *b*, *m*, and *w*, with prevalent *m* character. Between vowels the sound approaches a *b*. The occurrence of *d* is also doubtful. Each stop occurs as fortis and surd.

The series of consonants may be represented as follows:

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Semi-nasal	Nasal	Lateral	Semi-vowels
Glottal . . .	<i>ʔ</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Velar . . .	<i>(gʔ)</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q!</i>	<i>x</i>	—	—	—	
Palatal . . .	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k!</i>	<i>ç</i>	—	—	—	
Anterior palatal } 	<i>(gʔ)</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k!</i>	<i>x</i>	—	—	—	
Alveolar . . .	<i>(dʔ)</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t!</i>	<i>s, c</i>	—	<i>n</i>	<i>(l)</i>	<i>(y)</i>
Dento - alve- olar affrica- tive }	—	<i>ts, tc</i>	<i>ts!, tc!</i>	—	—	—	—	
Labial . . .	—	<i>p</i>	<i>p!</i>	—	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	—	<i>(w)</i>
Lateral . . .	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ!</i>	<i>ʔ, ʔ</i>	—	—	—	

The alveolar *s*, *c*, and the affricative *ts*, *tc*, are pronounced with open teeth. The two *m*'s are not distinguished, since the former occurs only before vowels. It is doubtful if they represent two really distinct sounds.

The glottal stop and the velar surd are closely related, the former often taking the place of the latter. An omission of a *q* after a stop transforms the latter into a fortis. I have placed *l* and *n* in the same line, on account of their frequent alternation. Since the glottal stop, velars, palatals, and anterior palatals have certain peculiarities in common, we will designate them as *k* sounds. The consonants of the anterior palatal series have a decided affricative character, which is least prominent in the fortis. The medial palatal *k* and the velar *q* appear also as affricatives. In these cases the continued sound appears so long, that I have written them as *kx* and *qx*.

The language admits of extensive consonantic clusters, and I have not been able to discover any sequence of consonants that is inadmissible except that clusters consisting of a stop followed by *m* and *n* seem to be avoided.

§ 4. Phonetic Laws

Nevertheless we find complex phonetic laws. These may be classed in nine groups:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (1) Effects of accent. | (5) Vowel changes. |
| (2) Laws of vocalic harmony. | (6) Metathesis. |
| (3) Laws of consonantic assimilation. | (7) Dieresis. |
| | (8) Contraction. |
| (4) Vocalization of consonants. | (9) Weakening and strengthening of consonants. |

Only the first two of these laws are purely phonetic, while the others are restricted to certain grammatical forms. Groups 2-5 are changes due to contact phenomena.

Effects of Accent (§§ 5, 6)

The accent affects the character of the vowel upon which it falls and modifies consonants in so far as certain consonants or consonantic clusters are not tolerated when they precede the accent. On the whole, these changes are confined to the Lower Chinook, but they occur also in part in the western dialects of the Upper Chinook.

§ 5. Vocalic Changes

1. Vocalic changes consist in the introduction of an *ε* in an accented consonantic cluster which consists of a combination of stems. The *ε* is inserted after the accented consonantic stem. The same change occurs in Kathlamet, while it is absent in Wishram.

a-tcε'-l-a-x he made it (*a-* aorist; *tc-* he; *L-* it; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

a-gε'-l-a-x she made it (*a-* aorist; *g-* she; *L-* it; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

tε'-kεmôn ashes (*t-* plural gender)

2a. Accented short *u*, when followed by *m*, *n*, or *l* which are followed by vowels, becomes *uā'*.

iā'gunat his salmon

iguā'nat salmon

tq!ulipxunā'yu youths

iq!uā'lipx youth

2b. Accented *ε* and short *a*, when followed by *m*, *n*, or *l* which are followed by vowels, become *ā*. The short vowels *i* and *u*, when followed by vowels, have consonantic values and affect preceding *ε* and *a* in the same manner.

icā'yim grizzly-bear

icāyā'mukc grizzly-bears

xā'penic giving herself in payment to shaman

pā'nic to give in payment to shaman

aqtā'witx he gives them to them 249.13

Accented *i* followed by an *a* or *u* vowel becomes *āy*.

atciā'x he is accustomed to make him

atcā'yax he makes him

mLopiā'lx you will gather it

agiupā'yax she gathered him

Here belong also the terminal changes of *ē* in plural forms:

ī'ck!alē clam basket

lck!alā'yuks clam baskets

ōcuē'ē frog

tcueā'yuks frogs

Compare with this the following cases, where *n* and *l* belong to consonantic clusters:

nēxe'l'ōkō he awoke

mē'nx'i a little while

In one case *ε* accented changes to *ā* before *x*:

lā'lεx bird

tlalā'rukx birds

All these changes given under 2 are confined to Lower Chinook. They do not occur in Kathlamet and Wishram.

§ 6. Consonantic Changes

Consonantic changes due to accent are as follows:

(1) A *k* following the accented syllable tends to become the affricative *kx*.

kā'tsek middle
igē'lxtcutk flint

ō'kxōtsək middle daughter
oyā'kxīlxtcutk his flint arrow-point

(2) When the vowel following the cluster *lx* is accented, the *x* is dropped.

ē'lxam town
atciō'lxam he said to him
ukō'lxlul mouse

ilē'ē country
tcilā'ma he will say to him
ukolō'lukx mice

(3) In words in which a *q* follows the accented syllable it changes to *q̣* when the accent shifts to a syllable following the *q*. When the *q* follows the surds *p* and *t*, these are changed to the corresponding fortis:

lā'qauwīlqt its blood
ē'qēL creek
wyā'qaleptckix his fire
lā'qana its beavers

L^{q̣}ā'wīlqt blood
t!ā'LEma creeks
ō^{q̣}ō'leptckix fire
ē^{q̣}ē'na beaver

This change takes place also when the accent remains on the syllable preceding the *q*, when the vowel following the *q* is short.

ō'qōL fish-weir

ōyā'^{q̣}aL his fish-weir

These changes mark a phonetic differentiation of Upper and Lower Chinook. In Upper Chinook the *q* is preserved almost throughout; while in Lower Chinook it tends to be replaced by the glottal stop *q̣*,—when following *p* and *t* by the corresponding fortis,—whenever the accents stand after *q*, or when it is followed by a short syllable, or when it is terminal.

Kathlamet

Chinook

wā'yaq

ō'ya^{q̣}

his mother

Liā'paqa

Liā'pa^{q̣}a

his nape

iseme'lq

isā'mel^{q̣}

nose-ornament

ēqē'paqte

ē^{q̣}ē'paqte

beam

tiā'qoit

tiā^{q̣}wit

his legs

tqu'lē

t!ōL

house

The process of modification is, however, incomplete, since we find a number of Chinook words that retain the *q*.

ēqtq head

ai'aq quick

ē'celqcelq porcupine

ltcuq water

Here may also be mentioned the loss of terminal *x* and *x'*, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, in many Lower Chinook forms.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
<i>imō'lekumax</i>	<i>imō'lekuma</i>	elks
<i>tqā'LEmax</i>	<i>t!ā'LEma</i>	creeks
<i>mā'LNix'</i>	<i>mā'LNē</i>	seaward

Other characteristic changes are from Upper Chinook *t* to Lower Chinook *s*, as in—

Kathlamet	Chinook	
<i>tqā'totinikc</i>	<i>tqā'sosinikc</i>	boys
<i>anix'ENEMō'txēm</i>	<i>anix'ENEMō'sx'EM</i>	I fooled him

and from Upper Chinook *s* to Lower Chinook *tct*.

Kathlamet	Chinook	
<i>ē'mas</i>	<i>ē'matct</i>	shame
<i>anō'suwulxt</i>	<i>anō'tctuwulxt</i>	I went up on the water

§ 7. Laws of Vocalic Harmony

When a *u* vowel precedes a *k* sound, and the *k* sound is either followed by a vowel or is a prefix, it must be followed by a vowel of the *u*-series. The following special cases may be distinguished:

(1) An obscure vowel following the *k* sound is transformed into short *u*.

<i>ō'pL'ike</i> bow	<i>ōgu'pL'ikē</i> my bow (with prefix -gɛ- my [§ 18])
---------------------	---

(2) *a* following a *k* sound is transformed into *o* or *u*.

<i>ik!ā'ckc</i> boy	<i>ōk!ō'ckc</i> girl
<i>ikanī'm</i> canoe	<i>ōkunī'm</i> canoes

(3) An *e* sound following a *k* sound requires a *u* before the *e* sound.

<i>aLgē'pxatē</i> alder country	<i>oguē'pxatē'</i> alder-bark tree
<i>L'ā'gīl</i> a woman	<i>ō'ō'gūil</i> the woman

(4) If the *k* sound is a prefix, it is considered as a phonetic unit and an *o* is inserted following the *k* sound, even if it is followed by a consonant.

<i>nā'xLxa</i> she begins to burn	<i>nō'xōLxa</i> they begin to burn
<i>ē'ktcxam</i> he sang	<i>ō'kōtcxam</i> they sang

The following examples show that the rule does not hold good in consonantic clusters that form a stem.

<i>atcō'ktcktamit</i> he roasts her	<i>ōqct</i> louse
(stem -ktckt)	

§ 8. Consonantic Assimilation

It is doubtful whether there is a single case of consonantic assimilation that is purely phonetic, not dependent on the grammatical value of the consonants involved. For instance, the assimilation of *l* by preceding and following *n*, observed in *nō'pōnem* IT GETS DARK (from *ō'pōl* NIGHT), finds no strict analogies in other similar sound groups. An assimilation of *l* by preceding *n* is found whenever the *l* is a frequentative suffix (§ 31).

aksō'pena he jumps

aksō'penan he jumps about
(instead of *aksō'penal*)

What is apparently an assimilation of *l* by preceding *n* is also found in cases of insertion which occur with the suffix *-l* (see § 31.8).

§ 9. Vocalization of Consonants

1 *l* and *n* show a peculiar behavior when occurring in the prefixes *-gel-*, *-xel-*, and *-^εel-*; or the corresponding *-gen-* and *-xen* (§ 25). Whenever these prefixes are preceded by *o*, the *l* and *n* become *ē*, so that the prefixes assume the forms *-(o)goē-*, *(o)xoē-*, *-(o)^εwē*.

agige'lxēm she called him

nōgoēxē'ma I shall call them

axenō'tēn he helped sing

nōxoēxō'tēn they helped sing

In other cases the combinations *kul* and *kōl* are admissible, as in

ōkō'lzul mouse

ōkulā'm surf

2. The intransitive *t* of the third person plural (§ 21) becomes *c* before all *k* sounds, and also before adverbial *l* and *n* (§ 25).

§ 10. Vowel Changes

The verbal prefix *-ō-* (§ 26), when accented and preceding a *k* sound or a *w*, becomes *a*.

aniō'cgam I took him

aniā'wa^ε I killed him

This change does not take place in Upper Chinook.

igiō'waq (Kathlamet), *agiā'wa^ε* (Chinook) she killed him

Unaccented *o* does not change in this position.

ā'noxtk I steal her

ayowā'x'it he is pursued 261.1

§ 11. Metathesis

Metathesis seems to be confined to cases in which two suffixes are thoroughly amalgamated; for instance, *-ako* and *-l* combined form *-alukl* (§ 30).

§§ 8-11

§ 12. Dieresis and Contraction

1. Dieresis is confined to the formation of a few verbal plurals, in which the vowel is expanded by insertion of the syllable *-yu*. Presumably the expansion is related to the dieresis of accented *i* (see § 5). It seems, however, quite possible that this is really a suffix *-yu* indicating the distributive. (See § 38.6.)

Singular

*-x^hōt**-xelatch*

Plural

-x^hōyut to bathe*-xelāyutck* to rise

2. A short *a*, when preceding or following *ā* and *ū*, is contracted with these vowels, which remain unchanged. In the same way *i* is contracted with *a* following *i* or *ē*.

ōc she is (instead of *a-ōc*)*atciungō'mit* he causes him to run (instead of *atciungō'-amit*)*ē'l̥xam* country (instead of*i-ē'l̥xam*)

§ 13. Weakening and Strengthening of Consonants

A modification of significance is brought about by a modification of consonants.¹ This phenomenon was discovered by Dr. Edward Sapir in Upper Chinook, but it occurred undoubtedly also in Lower Chinook. The relation of consonants in Upper Chinook is as follows:

b, p hardened become *p!**d, t* hardened become *t!**g, k* hardened become *k!**q, q* hardened become *k!**p, p!* softened become *b**t, t!* softened become *d**k, k!* softened become *g**q, q!* softened become *g*

Similar relations are found between the sibilants:

tc! hardened becomes *ts!**tc* hardened becomes *ts**c* hardened becomes *s, ts**ts* hardened becomes *ts!**s* softened becomes *c**ts* softened becomes *tc**ts!* softened becomes *tc!*

The hardened *x* becomes *x*. (Cf. § 53.)

§ 14. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

According to their grammatical forms, Chinook words may be grouped in two large classes—syntactic words and particles. While the former, except in exclamations, always contain pronominal and other elements that define their function in the sentence, the latter occur as independent and isolated words. The elements of the syn-

¹ See Edward Sapir, l. c., 537.

tactic words are often phonetically weak, and consist sometimes of single consonants, of consonantic clusters, of single vowels, or of weak monosyllables. In combination these may form polysyllabic words. The particles are necessarily of such phonetic character that they can stand by themselves. For these reasons, both classes of words appear as fixed phonetic and formal units, so that in Chinook there can be no doubt as to the limits of words.

The grammatical processes applied with these two classes of words differ. Some of the particles may be duplicated, while duplication and reduplication never occur in syntactic words. Particles when transformed into syntactic words may, however, retain their duplications. Syntactic words are modified by means of prefixes and suffixes and by modification of the stem, which, however, is probably always of phonetic origin. Prefixes are much more numerous than suffixes, but are phonetically weaker, rarely consisting of more than a single sound. They appear in considerable numbers in single words. Six prefixes in one word are not by any means unusual. The number of suffixes that may appear in combination is more limited. They are phonetically stronger. More than two or three suffixes are rarely found in one word.

Word-composition is not infrequent. However, some of the elements which enter into composition rarely appear alone, or rather, combined with syntactic elements only. They represent principally a definite group of local ideas, and therefore give the impression of being affixes rather than independent stems. These words are, for instance, motion into, out of, up, down (see § 27). Setting aside compound words of this class, composition of independent stems, or rather of stems which are used with syntactic elements only, is infrequent. Nouns are, however, largely of complex origin, and in many of them stems and affixes may be recognized, although the significance of these elements is not known to us.

The position of the word is quite free, while the order of the constituent elements of syntactic words is rigidly fixed.

§ 15. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

In discussing the ideas expressed by means of grammatical forms, it seems best to begin with syntactic words. All syntactic relations of these are expressed by pronominal and adverbial prefixes. Syn-

tactic words may be divided into three classes that receive different treatment—transitive verbs, intransitive verbs, and nouns. All of these have in common that they must contain pronominal elements, which in the first class are subjective and objective, while in the other two classes they are objective (from the Indo-European point of view, subjective). The noun is therefore closely associated with the intransitive verb, although it is not identical with it. It retains, to a certain extent, a predicative character, but is in form partly differentiated from the intransitive verb.

The differentiation of transitive and intransitive is contained in the pronominal elements. The subject of the transitive differs in some cases from that of the intransitive, which is in form identical with the objective form of the transitive.

The relations of nouns are expressed by possessive pronouns, which seem to be remotely related to the subjective transitive pronouns. Owing to the predicative character of the noun, the possessive form has partly the meaning HAVING.

Both intransitive and transitive verbs may contain indirect pronominal objects. These are expressed by objective pronouns. Their particular relation to the verb is defined by elements indicating the ideas of FOR, TO, WITH, etc. The possessive relations of subject and object—i. e., the possession of one of the objects by the subject, or of the indirect object by the direct object, and vice versa—are also expressed.

All the syntactic relations between the verb and the nouns of the sentence must be expressed by means of pronominal and adverbial elements incorporated in the verb, so that the verb is the skeleton of the sentence, while the nouns or noun-groups held together by possessive pronouns are mere appositions. Certain locative affixes which express the syntactic relations of nouns occur in the dialect of the Cascades; but these seem to have been borrowed from the Sahaptin.

The function of each pronominal element is clearly defined, partly by the differentiation of forms in the transitive and intransitive verbs, partly by the order in which they appear and by the adverbial elements mentioned before.

In the pronoun, singular, dual, and plural are distinguished. There is an inclusive and an exclusive in dual and plural, the exclusive being related to the first person. The second persons dual and

plural are related to the second person singular. The third person singular has three genders—masculine, feminine, and neuter—and a single form each for dual and plural. These forms are not only true sex and number forms, but agree also with a generic classification of nouns which is based on sex and number.

The nominal stem itself has no characteristic of gender, which is expressed solely in the pronoun. The sex and number origin of the genders is clear, but in the present status of the language the genders are as irregularly distributed as those of Indo-European languages. These genders are expressed in the incorporated pronominal representative of the noun, and since there is generally sufficient variety in the genders of the nouns of the sentences, clearness is preserved even when the order of the nouns in apposition is quite free.

Besides the sex and number classes we find a classification in human beings on the one hand and other beings and objects on the other. These are expressed in the numeral, the demonstrative, and in plural forms of nouns.

It was stated before, that, in the pronoun, duality and plurality are distinguished. In the noun, a true plural, not pronominal in character, is found only in some words. These were evidently originally the class of human beings, although at present the use of this nominal plural is also irregular. Furthermore, a true distributive is found, which, however, has also become irregular in many cases. Its original significance is discernible in numeral adverbs (§ 38). A distributive is also found in a small number of verbal stems.

There are few nominal affixes of clear meaning, and very few that serve to derive nouns from verbal stems. There are only two important classes of verbal nouns which correspond to the relative sentence THE ONE WHO— and to the past-passive relative sentence WHAT IS —ED; of these two the latter coincides with ordinary nouns, while the former constitutes a separate class. Still another class contains local nouns, WHERE— (§ 40).

Demonstrative pronouns form a class by themselves. They contain the personal pronouns of the third person, but also purely demonstrative elements which indicate position in relation to the three persons, and, in Lower Chinook, present and past tense, or visibility and invisibility.

Only a few modifications of the verb are expressed by incorporated elements. These are the temporal ideas—in Lower Chinook those of

future and perfect and of the indefinite aoristic time, to which are added in Upper Chinook several other past tenses. In some cases these temporal elements express rather ideas that may be termed transitional and continuative. There is a series of semitemporal suffixes expressing the inchoative and varieties of frequentatives; and also a number of directive prefixes, which seem to express the direction of the action in relation to the speaker.

All other ideas are expressed by particles. A somewhat abnormal position among these is occupied by the numerals from 2 to 9 and by a very few adjectives. These numerals are nouns when they are used as ordinals; when used as adjectives, they are generally particles; when referring to human beings, they are nouns of peculiar form (§ 51).

Most remarkable among the particles is a long series of words, many of which are onomatopoeic and which are mostly used to express verbal ideas. In this case the verbal relation is expressed by an auxiliary verb which signifies TO DO, TO MAKE, or TO BE. These words exhibit a gradation from purely interjectional terms to true adverbial or, more generally, attributive forms. They are analogous to our English forms like BANG WENT THE GUN, or DING DONG MADE THE BELLS, and merge into forms like HE WAS TIRED. If we imagine the word TIRED pronounced with imitative gestures and expression, it attains the value that these particles have in Chinook. The number of these words is considerable, and they take the place of many verbs. Most of them can be used only with verbs like TO DO and TO GO. Other adverbs differ from this class in that they are used with other verbs as well. There is no clear distinction between these adverbs and conjunctions.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 16-56)

Syntactic Words (§§ 16-45)

§16. *Structure of Syntactic Words*

All syntactic words contain pronominal elements which give them a predicative character. A few seem to contain only the pronominal element and the stem, but by far the greater number contain other elements besides. Most words of this class are built up by composition of a long series of elements, all of which are phonetically too

weak to stand alone. The most complex of these words contain all the elements of the sentence. Their order is as follows:

(1) Modal element (transitional, participial).

(2) Pronominal elements.

(a) Subject.

(b) First object.

(c) Second object.

(3) Following one of these may stand an element expressing the possessive relation between the subject and the objects.

(4) Adverbial prefixes.

(5) Direction of verbal action.

(6) Verbal stem, single or compound.

(7) Adverbial suffixes.

These elements are, of course, hardly ever all represented in one word. Following are a few characteristic examples of these words:

a-m-l-a-x-cg-ā'm-x thou wert in the habit of taking it from her

a- aorist (1, see § 17)

m- thou, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

l- it, object (2*b*, see § 18)

a- her, second object (2*c*, see § 18)

-x- indicates that IT belongs to HER (3, see § 24)

Elements 4 and 5 are not represented.

-cg- stem TO TAKE (6)

-am completive (7*a*, see § 29)

-x usitative (7*b*, see § 32)

tc-t-a-l-ō'-t-a he will give them to her

tc- he, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

t- them, object (2*b*, see § 18)

a- her, second object (2*c*, see § 18)

l- to (4, see § 25)

-o- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-ot- stem TO GIVE (6)

-a future (7, see § 32)

Elements 1 and 3 are not represented.

There are, of course, transitive verbs with but one object. In most intransitive verbs all the elements relating to the object disappear and the form of the word becomes comparatively simple.

l-ō-c it is

l it, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

-ō- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-c stem TO BE, singular (6)

Complex intransitive forms are, however, not rare.

tE-n-xE-l-ā'-x-ō they will be on me

t(E)- they, subject (2*a*, see § 18)

n- me, indirect object (2*c*, see § 18)

-x(E)- indicates that **THEY** belong to **ME** (3, see § 24)

-l- to (4, see § 25)

-ā- direction from speaker (5, see § 26)

-x stem **TO DO**, **TO BE** (6)

-ō future (7, see § 32)

Nouns are similar to simple intransitive verbs, but they have (or had) nominal (modal) prefixes. They have no directive elements. They may take possessive forms which do not appear in the verb. The order of elements in the noun is the following:

(1*) Nominal (modal) element.

(2*) Pronominal elements.

(*a**) Subjective.

(*b**) Possessive.

(3*) Nominal stem, single or compound.

(4*) Suffixes:

W-ā'-lemlem Rotten-wood (a place name)

w- nominal prefix (1*)

a- subjective feminine (2 *a**)

-lemlem stem **ROTTEN WOOD** (3*)

ē'-mē-qtq thy head

ē- subjective masculine (2 *a**)

-mē- possessive second person (2 *b**)

-qtq- stem **HEAD** (3*)

In the following sections these component elements will be taken up in order.

§ 17. Modal Elements

1. *a-*. This prefix indicates a transitional stage, a change from one state into another. Therefore it may be translated in intransitive verbs by **TO BECOME**. In transitive verbs it is always used when there is no other element affixed which expresses ideas contradictory to the transitional, like the perfect, future, or nominal ideas. In the transitive verb it appears, therefore, on the whole as an aoristic tense. The action passing from the subject to a definite object is in Chinook always considered as transitional (transitive), since it implies a change of condition of object and subject. In the Kathlamet dialect of the Upper Chinook the corresponding prefix is *i-*.

Whenever the *a-* stands before a vocalic element, its place is taken by *n-*. The masculine *i-* preceding a vowel has consonantic character, and retains, therefore, the *a-*. In Kathlamet *n-* is used under the same conditions; but, besides, a form occurs beginning with *i-*, which is followed by a *-g-*.

Intransitive, before consonant:

a-L-E'-k'im it said (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *-k'im* to say)

a-n-ō'-tṣ-uit I began to stand (*a-* transitional; *n-* I; *-ō-* directive; *-tṣ* to stand; *-uit* to be in a position)

Intransitive, before vowel:

n-ē'-k'im he said (*n-* transitional; *ē-* he; *-k'im* to say)

n-ō'-x-o-x they became (*n-* transitional; *ō-* they; *-x* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)

Transitive:

a-tcē'-t-a-x he did them (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *t-* them; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

The following examples are taken from the Kathlamet dialect:

Intransitive, before consonant:

i-L-E'-k'im it said; Kathlamet texts 99.4 (analysis as before)

i-m-ṣa-t-k'loā-mam you came home *ibid.* 132.15 (*m* -thou; *-ṣ* (*a-*) reflexive; *-t-* coming; *-k'loa* to go home; *-(m)am* to arrive)

Intransitive, before vowel:

i-g-ē'-ṣ-k'loa he went home *ibid.* 169.6 (*-ē-* he; *-ṣ-* reflexive)

i-g-ā-ṣ-k'loa she went home *ibid.* 191.8

Transitive:

i-q-i-ō'-lṣam somebody told him *ibid.* 169.7 (*-q* somebody; *i-* him; *-ō* directive; *-lṣam* to tell)

i-gē'-t-u-x she acted on them *ibid.* 217.16 (*gē-* she; *t-* them; *-u-* directive; *-x* to do)

2. *ni-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet.

It takes the form *nig-* before vowels, like the preceding. It occurs in transitive and intransitive verbs. It expresses a somewhat indefinite time past, and is used in speaking of events that happened less than a year or so ago, yet more than a couple of days ago. (E. Sapir.)

ni-y-u'ya he went (*ni-* past; *-y-* he; *-uya* to go)

nig-u'ya she went (the same before vocalic element; *-a-* she. being contracted with *-u-* into *-u*)

ni-tc-i-gil-kel he saw him (*ni-* past; *-tc-* he; *-i-* him; *gil-* verbal prefix; *-kel* to see)

3. **a-**. This prefix is confined to the intransitive verbs of the Upper Chinook (Kathlamet), and indicates the future. When followed by a vowel, it takes the form *al-*.

a-m-ō'-kL-a thou wilt carry her (*a-* future; *m-* thou; *ō-* contracted for *a-* her and *ō-* directive; *-kL* stem TO CARRY; *-a* future)

Before vowel:

al-ō'-mE-qt-a she will die (*al-* future; *ō-* contracted for *a-* she and *ō-* directive; *-mEqt* stem TO DIE; *-a* future)

In the dialects east of the Kathlamet it is used also with transitive verbs (Sapir).

a-tc-i-gE'l-kEL-a he will see her (*a-* future; *-tc-* he; *-i-* him; *-gEL-* verbal prefix; *-kEL* to see; *-a* future)

4. **ga-**, before vowels *gal-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It expresses time long past, and is always used in the recital of myths (Sapir).

ga-y-u'ya he went (see analysis under 2)

gal-u'ya she went (see analysis under 2)

ga-tc-i-gE'l-kEL he saw him (see analysis under 2)

n- may be used in place of this prefix.

5. **na-**, before vowels *nal-*. This prefix is confined to the dialects east of the Kathlamet. It refers to recent time exclusive of to-day, more specifically to yesterday. Its use is analogous to that of the preceding. (E. Sapir.)

6. **k-, g-**. This prefix has nominal significance, and designates THE ONE WHO IS, DOES, OR HAS.

k-tgE'-ka-l those who fly (*k-* nominal; *-tgE* they; *-ka* to fly; *-l* always)

k-ck-t-a-xō'-il those two who always make them; (*ck-* they two [transitive subject]; *-t-* them; *-a-* directive before *-x-*; *-xō-il* to work always)

This prefix is used most frequently with nouns in possessive form, designating THE ONE WHO HAS.

g-i-tā'-ki-kEL-al those who have the power of seeing (*i-* masculine, *-tā-* their; *-ki-* indicates that there is no object; *-kEL* to see; *-al* always)

g-i-lā'-ma^e the one who is shot (*i-* masculine; *-lā-* its; *-ma^e* the condition of being shot)

k-lā'qēwam the one who has shamanistic power (*-lā-* its; *-qēwam* shaman's song)

7. *w-*. This seems to have been at one time the prefix which characterized nouns. It is no longer in general use, but persists in a few terms like *wē'wulē* INTERIOR OF HOUSE, *wē'koa* DAY (Kathlamet), *wēlx* COUNTRY (Kathlamet), and in geographical names like *WapLō'tci* SALAL-BERRIES ON STUMP. It is always followed by the masculine or feminine intransitive pronoun. Its former general use may be inferred from the pronominal form *ō-* of all feminine nouns, which is probably a contraction of *w-* and the ordinary intransitive feminine pronoun *a-*. In Upper Chinook the forms *wi-* and *wa-* are preserved before short words. There is no trace of the former existence of this prefix before the pronominal forms of neuter, dual, and plural, all of which are consonantic, while masculine and feminine are both vocalic (*ē-* and *a-*). It seems probable that its use, like that of *n-*, was confined to vocalic pronouns (§ 17.1).
8. *na-*. This is a nominal prefix indicating locality. It occurs principally in place names, *Nakōt!ā't* (see § 40).

§ 18. Pronominal Elements

It has been stated that the pronominal elements in the verb are subject, first object, second object. The whole series occurs in some transitive verbs only. In form, the subject of the transitive verb is somewhat differentiated from the other forms, while the objective pronouns coincide with the subjects of the intransitive, and are closely related to the personal pronouns which appear attached to nouns.

The possessive has a series of peculiar forms. In the noun the order is personal pronoun, possessive pronoun. Thus the pronouns may be divided into three large groups, which may be called transitive, intransitive, and possessive.

TABLE OF PRONOUNS

	Transitive	Intransitive	Possessive
1st person	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>-tcē- -gē-</i>
Exclusive dual	<i>nt-</i>	<i>nt-</i>	<i>-nt-</i>
Exclusive plural	<i>ntc-</i>	<i>ntc-</i>	<i>-ntc-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>tx-</i>	<i>tx-</i>	<i>-tx-</i>
Inclusive plural	<i>lx-</i>	<i>lx-</i>	<i>-lx-</i>
2d person singular	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>-m-</i>
2d person dual	<i>mt-</i>	<i>mt-</i>	<i>-mt-</i>
2d person plural	<i>mc-</i>	<i>mc-</i>	<i>-mc-</i>

	Transitive	Intransitive	Possessive
3d person singular, masculine . . .	<i>tc-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-i-</i>
3d person singular, feminine . . .	<i>g-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-tca- -ga-</i>
3d person singular, neuter . . .	<i>L-</i>	<i>L-</i>	<i>-L-</i>
3d person dual	<i>c-</i>	<i>c- ct-</i>	<i>-ct-</i>
3d person plural	<i>t-</i>	<i>t- (ō-, n-, a-)</i>	<i>-t- -g-</i>
Indefinite	<i>q-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>

It will be seen from this list that most of the forms in the three series are identical. A differentiation exists in the first person and in the third person singular (masculine and feminine). In all these forms the exclusive appears as the dual and plural of the first person, while the inclusive seems to be characterized by the terminal *-x*. *n-* may be interpreted as the first person, *m-* as the second person, *t-* as the characteristic of the dual, and *c* as that of the plural of these persons.

The third person plural exhibits a number of irregularities which will be discussed in § 21.

§ 19. The Post-Pronominal *g*

In a number of cases these pronouns are followed by the sound *g*, which, judging from its irregular occurrence in the present form of the language, may have had a wider application in former times.

(1) The transitive subject (except the first and second persons singular, the third person singular masculine and feminine, and the indefinite *q*) is followed by *g* or *k*, which give to the preceding pronoun its transitive value.

a-L-k-L-ā'-wa^s it killed it (*a-* transitional; *L-* neuter subject; *-k-* prefix giving the preceding *L-* its transitive character; *-L-* neuter object; *-a-* directive; *-wa^s* stem TO KILL)

a-t-k-L-ō'-cg-am they took it (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *-k-* [as above]; *L-* neuter object; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion)

a-n-L-ō'-cg-am I took it (same as last, but with *n-* I as subject, which does not take the following *-k-*)

When followed by a vowel (including *ε*), the *-k-* sound is more like a sonant, and has been written *-g-*. When the subject pronoun is accented, the *ε*, which carries the accent, follows the *g*, so that the transitive pronoun and the *-g-* form a unit.

a-L-g-i-ō'-cg-am it took him (same as above, but with *L-* IT as subject, followed by *-g-* instead of *-k-* before *i-*, which is masculine object)

a-tg-ε'-t-a-x they do them.

(2) The intransitive subject third person plural is followed by *g* in two cases.

(a) When the subject *t* would normally precede the directive element *-ō-* (§ 26.1), this element is omitted, and instead the *t* is followed by *g*.

a-y-ō'-ḡunē he drifted 24.15 (*a-* transitional; *y-* for *i-* before *ō* HE; *-ō-* directive; *-ḡenē* stem TO DRIFT)

a-t-gḡ'-ḡenē they drift 38.10 (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *-g-* inserted after subject; *-ḡ-* carries accent [§ 5.1]; *-ḡenē* stem TO DRIFT)

(b) When the subject *t* is changed to *ō* before *k* stems (§ 9.2; § 21), the *g* follows it when the *k* sound is a stop. It seems, however, more likely that originally this element had *ā* following the *g*.

n-ē'-k'im he said 107.2 (*n-* transitional before vowel [§ 17.1]; *ē-* he; *-k'im-* stem TO SAY)

n-ō-gō'-koim they say 266.5 (*n-* as above; *-o-* third person plural before *k* sound; *-g-* following third person plural before *k* stop; *ō* inserted according to phonetic law [§ 7.4]; *-koim*, *-k'im* stem TO SAY; *o* inserted according to § 7.3)

(3) The possessive pronoun of the third person plural in neuter and plural nouns has the form *-g-*, which probably stands for *tg-*, the *t* being elided between the neuter prefix *l* and the plural prefix *t* respectively, and the *g*. Thus we have

t-g-ā'-qtq-a-kc their heads 165.9 (*t-* plural; *-g-* for *tg-* their; *-ā-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-qtq* stem HEAD; *-a-* connective vowel depending upon terminal consonant of stem; *-kc* plural suffix [§ 38.1])

l-g-ā'-xauyam-t-ikc their poverty 13.18 (*l-* neuter; *-g-* for *tg-* their; *-ā-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-xauyam* poverty; *-t-ikc* plural with connective sound [§ 38.1])

It appears that the *g* occurs most frequently following the third person plural. It seems probable that in these cases, at least, it is derived from the same source. Whether the *g* after the transitive pronoun is of the same origin, is less certain, although it seems likely. This *g* never occurs after objects. The rules given above have the effect that the *g* can not occur in intransitive verbs which contain a reflexive element and in intransitive verbs with indirect objects. It is possible that this may be explained as due to the fact that *all* intransitive pronouns in these cases are really objective. The *g* never appears after the personal pronouns prefixed to the noun.

§ 20. *The Third Person Dual*

The third person dual has two forms, *c-* and *ct-*. *ct-* is used—

(1) As intransitive subject preceding a vowel, except *ε* and its representatives.

Examples of the use of *ct-*:

a-ct-ō'-y-am they two arrive (*a-* transitional; *ct-* third person dual; *-ō-* directive; *-i* stem TO GO; *-am* to complete motion)

ct-ā'qoaiL they two are large

Examples of the use of *c-*:

c-xēlā'itx they two remained

a-ce'x-a-x they two became (*a-* transitional; *-c* dual; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive before *-x*; *x* to be)

(2) As object of the transitive, when the accent is on the **nominal** subject.

Examples of the use of *ct-*:

a-tce'-ct-u-k^uL he carried their two selves 26.20 (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he [transitive]; *-ε* carries accent; *ct-* them [dual]; *-u-* directive; *-k^uL* stem TO CARRY)

a-lge'-ct-a-x it did them two (*a-* transitional; *lge-* neuter subject; *-ct-* they two)

Examples of the use of *c-*:

a-k-c-ō'lε-am she said to these two (*a-* transitional; *k-* she; *c-* they two; *-ōlε* to say; *-am* completive)

(3) In all possessive forms.

LE'-ct-a-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3 (*L-* neuter pronoun; *-ε* carries accent; *ct-* their [dual]; *-a-* vowel following possessive [§ 23]; *-qcō* stem HAIR)

§ 21. *The Third Person Plural*

It has been mentioned before that the third person plural before **single** *k* sounds, and before adverbial *l* and *n* (§ 25), is *ō-* instead of *t-*. This change occurs both when the pronoun is intransitive subject and when it is first or second object. The transitive subject is **always** *tq-*, *tk-* (see § 19).

Plural *t-*:

a-t-ē'-x-a-x they came to be on him (*a-* transitional; *t-* they; *ē-* him; *-x* indicates that THEY belonged to HIM; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)

a-tc-ε'-t-a-x he did them (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *ε-* carries accent; *-t* them; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

Plural *ō*-:

n-ō'-x-o-x they became (*n*- transitional before vowel; *-ō* they before *k* sound; *-x* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO BE)
a-c-g-ō'-xuina they placed them in the ground (*a*- transitional; *c-* they two; *-g-* marks preceding *c-* as transitive subject; *-ō*- them [before *k* sound]; *-xēna* stem TO STAND [plural])
a-q-t-ā'-w-i-tx somebody gave them to them (*a*- transitional; *q-* indefinite; *t-* them; *-ā'-* inserted in accented syllable before semivowel *w* [§ 5.2*b*]; *-w-* stands for *-ō-* [between two vowels], them; *-i-* stands for *-l-* after preceding *o* [see § 9]; *-tx* stem TO GIVE AWAY)

Before *k* stops, a *-g* is inserted after the subject third person plural, as described in § 19.2*b*.

In a few nouns the third person plural is *n* instead of *t*; for instance: -

natē'tanuē Indians
nauā'ik net

Numerals take *a-* instead of *t-* for indicating the plural of human beings (see § 51).

§ 22. *Pronouns of the Transitive Verb*

The first person and the exclusive subject do not occur with a second person object. In place of these combinations we have the forms *yam-*, *yamt-*, *yamc-*, for the combinations I—THEE, I—YOUR TWO SELVES, I—YOU; and *qam-*, *qamt-*, *qamc-*, for the corresponding forms with dual and plural exclusive subject. The inclusive subject can not occur with second person objects, since this would be a reflexive form (see § 24). In transitive verbs with two objects the same irregularities occur when either the first or second object is second person while the first person is subject. In case the second object is second person, the forms begin with the first object.

t-am-l-ō't-a I shall give them to thee (*t-* them; *-am* I — thee; *-l-* to; *-ōt* to give; *-a* future)

The indefinite subject *q-* is peculiar to the transitive.

§ 23. *Possessive Pronoun*

All possessive pronouns are followed by *-a-*, except the first and second persons. The first person is always followed by *e*, which, after the *-tc-* of the masculine, takes an *i* tinge, while after the *o-* of the feminine it becomes *u* (§ 7.1). The second person is followed by §§ 22, 23

ē. When the accent falls on the possessive pronoun, the *a* is lengthened. If the accent precedes the possessive pronoun, the *a* remains short. In this case the consonantic pronouns introduce an *ε* before the possessive (§ 5.1). When followed by *m* and *y*, this *ε* is lengthened to *ā* in accordance with the phonetic rules given in § 5.2b. The *g* of the first person and of the third person feminine, when following the accent, becomes *kε* in accordance with the general tendency to make a *k* following an accent affricative (§ 6.1).

The possessive pronoun exhibits a peculiar modification in the first person and in the third person singular feminine. Masculine nouns have in both cases *-tc-*, while all the other genders have *-g-*.

For the insertion of *-g-* in the third person plural possessive of neuter and plural nouns, see § 19.3.

Examples of possessive forms with accent on possessive pronoun:

i-tcε'-ts!εmεnō my wooden spoon 115.18

ō-gu'-xamukc my dog 16.11

L-gε'-qacqac my grandfather 211.1

s-gε'-xanim my (dual) toy canoe 115.21

t-gε'-xawōk my guardian spirits 211.4

i-mē'-xal thy name 72.26

ō-mē'-putc thy anus 114.1

L-mē'-tata-iks thy uncles 10.12

c-mē'-ktcxiict thy nostrils 113.20

tε-mē!-xēqlax thy hunter's protectors 234.10

i-ā'-ok his blanket 74.14

u-yā'-tcinkikala his head wife 74.16

L-iā'-nemckc his wives 74.16

c-iā'-kulq!ast his squinting (on both eyes) 139.5

t-iā'-xalaitane-ma his arrows 10.16

i-tcā'-yul!L her pride 74.11

u-gō'-cgan her bucket 115.11

L-gā'-cganε-ma her buckets 115.12

c-gā'-xa her two children 14.4

t-gā'-po'tē her arms 115.24

i-lā'-gula their camp 73.15

u-lā'-xk!un their eldest sister 73.15

Lā'wux their younger brother 74.15

c-lā'-amtkct its double spit 93.10

Lā'-ulēma their houses 227.23

t-lā'-xilkuē their bushes in canoe 47.10

i-ntā'-xanim our two selves' (excl.) canoe 163.4

Lε-ntā'-mama our two selves' (excl.) father

i-txā'-kikala our two selves' (incl.) husband 76.12

- ō-txā'-lak* our two selves' (incl.) aunt 116.11
L-txā'-xk'un-ikc our two selves' (incl.) elder brothers 11.19
c-txā'-ṣamuks our two selves' (incl.) dogs 16.9
txā'-cōlal our two selves' (incl.) relatives 224.12
i-mtā'-k!ē-tēnax what you two have killed 163.6
ō-mtā'-ṣamuke your two selves' bitch 16.12
LE-mtā'-naa your two selves' mother 13.24
i-ctā'-mōlak their two selves' elk 115.25
ō-stā'-ṣamuks their two selves' dog 16.10
L-ctā'-amtkct its double spit 96.22
ctā'-xōs their two selves' eyes 129.28
t-ctā'-ṣti their two selves' smoke 75.22
i-ntcā'-lṣam our (excl.) town 234.11
ō-ntcā'-hat!au our (excl.) virgin 150.21
L-ntcā'-xgacgac our (excl.) grandfather 22.20
i-lxā'-ṣak!ēmana our (incl.) chief 224.25
o-lxā'-qṣalptkix' our (incl.) fire 73.21
cī-lxā'-ṣak!ēmana our (incl.) two chiefs 37.10
i-mcā'-ṣak!ēmana your chief 50.3
ō-mcā'-pōtcxan your sister-in-law 224.26
LE-mcā'-cguic your mat 173.23
te-mcā'-nemckc your husbands 138.6
i-tā'-lan their rope 227.15
u-tā'-ṣanīm their canoe 163.16
lgā'-ṣauyamtikc their poverty 13.18
igā'-wun-aks their bellies 14.21

Examples of possessive forms with accent preceding the possessive pronoun:

- ē'-tca-mxtc* my heart 12.26
LE'-kṣE-ps my foot 41.20
SE'-k-xēst my arrogance
TE'-kṣu-ql my house 24.4
ē'-mī-la thy body
sā'-mē-xēst thy arrogance
tā'-mē-ps thy foot
ā'ya-qcō his skin 115.24
L-ā'ya-qtq his head 73.13
c-ā'ya-qtq his two heads 14.11
t-ā'ya-ql his house 15.12
ē'-tca-qtq its head 223.8
SE'-kṣa-xēst her arrogance
TE'-kṣa-ql her house 89.7
ē'-la-tc!a its sickness 196.6
ō'-la-qst its louse 10.21
LE'-la-ps its foot 191.20

- tE'-la-ps* its feet 137.16
ē'-nta-m our two selves' (excl.) father 29.16
tE'-nta-q!pas our two selves' (excl.) targets 30.12
ē'-txa-m our two selves' (incl.) father 29.11
tE'-txa-ps our two selves' (incl.) feet
tE'-mta-ps your two selves' feet
ē'-cta-tc!a their two selves' sickness 193.18
LE'-cta-qcō their two selves' hair 77.3
tE'-cta-qL their two selves' house 193.4
tE'-ntca-qL our (excl.) house 129.26
tE'-lxa-qL our (incl.) house 225.25

§ 24. Elements Expressing the Possessive Relation Between Subject and Object

When there is a possessive relation between the subject and one of the objects, the element *-x-* is inserted.

(1) After the first object of the transitive verb, it indicates that the object belongs to the subject.

a-g-a-x-ō'-pc-am she hid her own 216.5 (*a-* transitional; *g-* she; *a-* her; *-x-* indicates that the object is possessed by the subject; *-ō-* directive; *-pc* stem TO HIDE; *-am* completion)

(2) After the second object of the transitive, it indicates that the first object belongs to the second.

a-m-L-ā'-x-cg-am you take it (hers) from her 185.16 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *L-* it; *a-* her; *-x-* indicates that IT belongs to HER; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion)

(3) After the intransitive subject, it has the force of a reflexive transitive verb; i. e., it indicates sameness of subject and object.

n-ē'-x-a-x he does himself; i. e., he becomes (*n-* transitional before vocalic pronoun [§ 17.1]; *ē-* he; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

a-m-x-ā'-n-el-qu' L-itck you expressed yourself to me; i. e., you told me 97.10 (*a-* transitional; *m-* thou; *-x-* reflexive; connective *ε* with secondary accent becomes *ā-* before *n* [§ 5. 2b]; *n-* me; *-l-* to; *-guL* stem TO TALK; *-tck* inchoative)

(4) After the object of a verb with intransitive subject, it has the force of a transitive reflexive in which subject and second subject are identical.

n-ē'-L-x-a-x he does it in reference to himself; i. e., he becomes from it 244.16 (same analysis as above under 3, with the object *L-* IT inserted)

§ 25. Adverbial Prefixes

A number of adverbial ideas—particularly those defining the relation of the verb to the object, and corresponding to some of our prepositions—are expressed by prefixes which follow the pronouns. The adverbial character of these elements appears in forms like—

a-q-ē-l-gi-tk somebody placed him near by (*a-* transitional; *q-* some one; *ē-* him; *-l-* to; *-gi-* eliminates one object [§ 26.4]; *-tk* stem TO PLACE)

The verbal idea is to place near, and the form is purely transitive. The same construction appears clearly in—

a-L-g-i-gē'l-tcxem it sings for him 260.17 (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *-g-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *i-* him; *-gēl-* on account of; *-tcxem* TO SING SHAMAN'S SONG)

These examples show that the prefixes do not belong to the objects, but that they qualify the verb. Following is a list of these prefixes:

1. *-l-* TO, FOR.

L-ā'-l-ō-c it was to (in) her 71.6 (*L-* it; *a-* her; *-l-* to; *-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

a-c-k-l-ē'-l-ō-kL they two carried it to him 29.9 (*a-* transitional; *c-* they two; *-k-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *L-* it; *ē-* him; *-l-* to; *-ō-* directive; *-kL* stem TO CARRY)

The third person plural of the pronoun, when preceding this *-l-*, has the form *ō* (§ 21). In this case the *-l-* changes to *-ē-* (§ 9.1), and the *ō* is then weakened to *w*.

a-q-t-a-w-ē'-m-aku-x they distributed them to (among) them 246.10 (*a-* transitional; *q-* somebody; *t-* them; (*-a-*) probably connective; *-w-* for *ō-* them; *-ē-* for *-l-* after *o*; *-m* stem TO HAND [?]; *-ako* about; *-x* usitative)

2. *-n-* IN, INTO.

a-tc-a-LE-n-gā'n-ait he threw her into it 173.6 (*a-* transitional; *tc-* he; *a-* her; *L-* it; *-n-* into; *-gen* stem TO PLACE changed to *gān* on account of accent [§ 5. 2b]; *-ait* to be in position)

s-ā'-n-pō-t she closed her eyes 47.18 (*s-* they two; *ā-* her; *-n-* in; *-pō* stem TO CLOSE; *-t* perfect)

3. *-k-* ON.

a-L-g-ō'-tx she stands on it 191.20 (*a-* she; *L-* it; *-g-* on; *-ō-* directive; *-tx* stem TO STAND)

a-LE'-n-ka-t-ka it comes flying above me (*a-* transitional; *L(s)-* it; *n-* me; *-k(a)-* on; *-t-* coming; *-ka* stem TO FLY)

m-a-n-k-ō'-tx-umit-a you will make her stand on me 24.13 (*m*-thou; *a*- her; *n*- me; *-k-* on; *-ō-* directive; *-tx* stem TO STAND; *-(u)mit* to cause [§ 29]; *-a* future)

4. *-gEl-* ON ACCOUNT OF.

a-L-g-i-gē'l-tcem-x it sings on account of him 260.17 (*a*- transitional; *L-* it; *-g-* post-pronominal [§ 19.1]; *i-* him; *-gEl-* on account of; *-tcem* stem TO SING SHAMAN'S SONG; *-x* usitative [§ 32.11])

mc-g-a-n-gēl-ō'-tg-a ye shall keep her for me (*mc-* ye; *-g-* [§ 19.1]; *a-* her; *n-* me; *-gEl-* on account of; *-ō-* directive; *-tg* stem TO PUT; *-a* future)

4a. *-xEl-* reflexive form of *-gEl-* ON ACCOUNT OF. In many cases the translation FOR, ON ACCOUNT OF, does not fit in this case, although the etymological relation is clear.

n-ā'-L-xEl-a-x she makes it for herself 267.2 (*n-* transitional before vowel; *a-* she; *L-* it; *-xEl-* on account of; *-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO, TO MAKE)

a-L-a-xē'l-tciam it combed her for itself; i. e., she combed herself 13.2 (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *a-* her; *-xEl-* on account of; *-tciam* stem COMBING)

5. *-gEm-* WITH, NEAR.

a-q-L-gem-ō'-tx-uit somebody stands near it 238.4 (*a-* transitional; *q-* some one, transitive subject; *L-* it; *-gem-* near; *-ō-* directive; *-tx* stem TO STAND; *-(u)it* to be in a state [§ 29])

a-L-x-L-gē'm-^ēapko-x it steamed itself near it (*a-* transitional; *L-* it; *-x-* reflexive; *L-* it; *-gem-* near; *-^ēapko* stem TO STEAM; *-x* usitative)

5a. *-xEm-* reflexive form of *-gem-* WITH, NEAR.

n-i-n-xem-tcē'na he lays me near himself; i. e., I lay him near me (*n-* transitional before vowel; *i-* he; *n-* me; *-xem-* near; *-tcē'na* stem TO LAY)

c-xem-l-ā'it they two stood near each other 228.25 (*c-* they two; *-xem-* near; *-l-* stem TO MOVE [?]; *-a-it* to be in a position)

6. *-x-* ON THE GROUND.

ē'-x-ō-c he is on the ground 39.18 (*ē-* he; *-x-* on ground; *-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

7. *-^ēEl-*. No translation can be given for this element, which appears in a position analogous to the other adverbs in a few verbal stems.

-^ēEl-kEl to see

-^ēEl-gē'l-ako to uncover

-^ēEl-tatkc to leave

§ 26. Directional Prefixes

I use this term for a group of prefixes which are difficult to classify. One of them designates undoubtedly the direction toward the speaker, another one negates the direction toward an object, and a third one seems to imply direction from the actor. For this reason I have applied the term "directional prefixes," although its propriety is not quite certain.

1. *-ō-*, a very frequent verbal prefix which seems to indicate motion away from the actor, although this significance does not readily apply in all cases. This prefix occurs with most verbs and immediately precedes the stem.

a-tc-i-ō'-cg-am he takes him 135.9 (*-ō-* directive; *-cg* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completive)

i-ō'-c he is (*-ō-* directive; *-c* stem TO BE)

When the stem begins with a velar, a glottal stop, or a *w*, the *-ō-* changes to *-a-*, but, when not accented, it remains *-o-* before stems beginning with *w*.

a-tc-i-ā'-wa^ε he killed him 23.20 (*-a-* directive; *-wa^ε* stem TO KILL)
tcE-n-u-wu'l^ε-aya he will eat me 212.15

a-tcE'-t-a-x he did them 9.5 (*-a-* directive; *-x* stem TO DO)

a-tc-ā'y-a-qc he bit him 9.9 (*-a-* directive; *-qc* stem TO BITE)

a-q-i-a-^εō'nim some one laughs at him 184.3 (*-a-* directive; *-^εōnim* stem TO LAUGH)

This change is evidently secondary, and an older form—in which *ō* was used in all cases, as we find it now in Upper Chinook—must have existed. This is proved by the persistence of *o* in place of all *a* vowels that occur after this stem, even when the directive *o* is changed into *a*.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 69.25 (terminal *-ō* for future *-a*, as would be required by the laws of vocalic harmony if the directive *-a-* before the stem *-x* had remained *-ō-*)

a-tc-t-ā'-x-ōm he reached them 191.12 (terminal *-ōm* for *-am*)

This explanation does not account for a form like *naiga't!ōm* SHE REACHES HIM, in which the change from *am* to *-ōm* follows the fortis which stands for *tq*. (See § 29.4.)

The directional *-ō-* is never used with imperatives. As stated in § 22, the imperative of the transitive verb has also no subject.

Intransitive imperatives:

mE'-tx-uit stand up! 211.21 (*m-* thou; ~~*tx*~~ to stand; *-uit* suffix [§ 29.1])

mE'-x-a-x do! 15.25 (*m-* thou; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do)

mE'-lx-a go to the beach 175.16 (*m-* thou; *-lx* to the beach; *-a* future)

Transitive imperatives:

ē'-cg-am take him! 43.8 (*ē-* him; *-cg-* to take; *-am* completion)

ā'-latck lift her! 15.7 (*a-* her; *-latck* to lift)

ā'-t-kl-a carry her here! 15.24 (*a-* her; *-t-* here [§ 26.2]; *-kl* to carry; *-a* future)

se'-pēna jump! 16.3 (*se-* THEM TWO, namely, the legs; *-pēna* to jump)

2. *-t-* designates direction toward the speaker.

a-k-l-E'-t-kl-am she brought it 124.24 (*-t-* toward speaker; *-kl* stem TO BRING; *-am* completion)

a-LE'-t-ga it comes flying 139.1 (*-t-* toward speaker; *-ga* to fly)

a-LE'-n-ka-t-ga it comes flying over me (*-k-* on)

3. *-t-* potentiality, i. e., the power to perform an act moving away from the actor, without actual motion away. This prefix is identical with the preceding, but, according to its sense, it never occurs with the transitional.

tc-LE-t-x he can do it 61.8 (*-t-* potential; *-x* stem TO DO)

q-te'-t-pialx-ax somebody can gather them 94.15 (*-t-* potential; *-pialx* stem TO GATHER; *-x* usitative)

4. *-ki-* negates direction toward an object, and thus eliminates one of the two objects of transitive verbs with two objects, and transforms transitive verbs into intransitives.

a-q-i-L-gem-ō'-kte-x somebody pays him to it 261.23 (*-gem-* with, near; *-ō-* directive; *-kte* thing; *-x* usitative)

a-tc-a-gem-ki'-ktē he paid her 161.9 (*-gem-* with; *-ki-* eliminates first object; *-kte* thing)

a-L-k-L-ō-kct it looked at it 256.8 (*-ō-* directive; *-kct* stem TO LOOK)

a-LE'-ki-kct it looked 218.9 (*-ki-* eliminates object; *-kct* stem TO LOOK)

The interpretation of these forms is not quite satisfactory. The element *-t* occurs also as the stem TO COME, and the forms *ā'nō*, *ā'lō* I, IT WENT, suggest that *-ō* may be a stem of motion. If this is the case, the first and third prefixes of this class might rather form compound stems with a great variety of other stems. The potential *-t-*

and the intransitive *-ki-*, on the other hand, do not seem to occur as stems that can be used with pronominal elements alone.

Attention may be called here to the analogy between the prefixes *-gel-* and *-gem* and their reflexives *-xel-* and *-xem-* (§ 25) and the two forms *-ki-* and *-x-*. However, since *-ki-* never occurs with following directive *-ō-* or *-a-*, while *-x-* appears frequently combined with it, this analogy may be due to a mere coincidence.

It would seem that the directive *-ō-* is always retained after *l-*, and sometimes after *-gel-*, *-gem-*, *-xel-*, *-xem-*, but that it never occurs with other adverbial elements.

§ 27. Verbal Stems

The verbal stems are either simple or compound. It was stated in the preceding section that what we called the prefixes *-t-* and *-ō-* may be stems expressing TO COME and TO GO. There are a number of verbal stems which appear with great frequency in composition, and almost always as second elements of verbal compounds. All of these express local ideas. They are:

- (1) *-pa* motion out of.
- (2) *-p!* motion into.
- (3) *-wulxt* motion up.
- (4) *-tcu* motion down.
- (5) *-lx* motion from cover to open.
- (6) *-ptck* motion from open to cover.

We find, for instance—

n-ē'-t-p! he comes in 211.18 (*-t* toward speaker; *-p!* motion into)

a-l-ō'-pa he goes out 46.8 (*-ō-* directive; *-pa* motion out of)

a-k-l-ō'-kct-ptck she carries it up from the beach 163.11 (*-kct-* to carry; *-ptck* motion from open to cover, especially up from beach)

a-n-ō'-tct-wulxt I travel up in canoe (*-tct* motion on water; *-wulxt* motion upward)

There are a few cases in which these verbs appear in first position in the compound verb.

n-ē'-lx-lait he goes to the beach and stays there (*-lx* motion from cover to open, especially from land to sea; *-lait* to stay)

Compounds of nouns and verbs are much rarer.

a-tc-a-i-ne-mō'k!-°oya-kō he makes her (the breath) in his throat be between; i. e., he chokes him (*-n-* in; *-mōk-* throat; *-°oya* to be between; *-akō* around)

Here belong also the compounds with *t!ō* WELL

ē-t!ō'-cg-am hold him well! 44.15 (*-t!ō-* well; *-cg* to take, hold; *-am* completion)

The idea AROUND (*-akō*) does not seem to occur independently, and is therefore treated in the next section.

Suffixes (§§ 28-33)

§ 28. GENERAL REMARKS

According to their significance and position, the verbal suffixes may be classified in five groups:

First, generic suffixes:

1. *-a-it* to be in a position.
2. *-amit* to cause.
3. *-x'it* to be made to.
4. *-am* to complete a motion, to go to.

Second, local suffixes:

5. *-ako* around.

Third, semi-temporal suffixes:

6. *-tck* to begin.
7. *-l* repetition, so far as characteristic of an action.
8. *-L* continued repetition.
9. *-em* repetition at distinct times.
10. *-a-itx* habitually.

Fourth, temporal and semi-temporal suffixes, always following the preceding group:

11. *-x* customary.
12. *-t* perfect.
13. *-a* future.

Fifth, terminal suffixes:

14. *-ē* successful completion.

On the whole, the suffixes appear in the order here given, although sometimes a different order seems to be found. In the following list the combinations of suffixes so far as found are given.

§ 29. GENERIC SUFFIXES

1. *-a-it* TO BE IN A POSITION. Followed by *-amit* (2), *-x'it* (3), *-tck* (6), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-y-ō'-L-a-it he sits, he is 212.16 (*-ō* directive; *-L* stem TO SIT)
a-k-L-a-qā'n-a-it she laid it 44.9 (*-a* directive before *q*; stem *-qen* [accented before vowel becomes *-qā'n*] LONG THING LIES)

After *k* sounds with *u* tinge, this ending is *-uit*; after a terminal *o*, it seems to be *-it*.

from stem <i>-tɬ^u</i> to stand	<i>mɛ'-tɬ-uit</i> stand!
from stem <i>-ck^u</i> hot	<i>a-l-ō'-ck-uit</i> it is hot 174.13
from stem <i>-x</i> to do	<i>lx-a-x-ō'-it-a</i> we shall do 136.14

2. *-amit* TO CAUSE. Preceded by *-a-it* (1); followed by *-ako* (5), *-i* (7), *-em* (9), and all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-l-g-ō-l-ā'-it-amit it causes her to sit 249.3 (combined with *-a-it*)
a-tc-ō'-kciikt-amit he roasted her 94.4

After a terminal *o*, the two vowels *o* and *a* are contracted to *ō*.

a-tc-i-u-ngō'-mit he causes him to run (= he carries him away)

3. *-x'it*, with intransitive verbs, TO BE CAUSED; with transitive verbs, this suffix forms a passive. Preceded by *-a-it* (1), *-tck* (6); followed by all the suffixes of the fourth group.

a-l-u-wā'-x'it it is caused to be pursued
a-n-o-gun-ā'-it-x'it I was caused to lie down 45.5
a-y-ō-lā'-tcku-x'it he was made to begin to rise 137.5

4. *-am* TO COMPLETE A MOTION, TO GO TO. Followed by all the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

a-tc-i'-t-kL-am he came to take him 26.6
n-i-xa-t-ngō'-p!-am he arrives inside running

When the directive *-o-* is changed to an *-a-* before *k* sound, and when, in accordance with the law of harmony, the *a* in *am* would have to be changed into *-ō-*, this change is made, even though the *a* before the *k* sound is substituted for the *-ō-*.

a-tc-t-a'-x-ōm he did them reaching (he reached them)
a-q-l-g-a'-ε-ōm some one met it 117.24

This *-ō-* is retained even where the *-t-* is substituted for *-o-*.

n-a-i-ga'-t!-ōm she reached him (for *naiga'tqam*)

After *l*, *n*, *a*, *ē*, *i*, *ō*, *ū* this ending takes the form *-mam*.

lgā'lemam go and take it 25.26
ēɬtkinɛmam go and search for him 25.14
nxōquilē'mama I shall go to shoot birds
algōquixē'mam they invited them 98.19
aqaxiktcgō'mam one gives her in marriage 250.19

The form *ayō'yam* HE ARRIVES, from *ā'yō* HE GOES, forms an apparent exception to this rule. Presumably the verb TO GO contains a stem *-y-* which is suppressed in some forms.

§ 30. LOCAL SUFFIXES

5. **-ako** AROUND. Preceded by *-amit* (2); followed by *-x* (11), *-it* (1).

With *-l* it amalgamates by metathesis (see § 31.8).

m-i-t-el-m-ā'kō you distribute him among them 154.4

n-ē'-x-l-akō he goes around him 88.24

n-ē-x-k!ē'ni-akō he wraps it around himself 138.9

The significance of this suffix is often only inadequately rendered by the word AROUND.

a-n-ē'-x-k-akō I get the better of him

a-q-i-^εel-gē'l-akō cover is taken off 329.6

n-i-ṣē'qaw-akō he dreams 22.11

Preceded by *-amit*:

a-q-i-xL-ā'mit-akō some one was made to be around him

Followed by *-it*:

a-L-awē-ā'y-aku-it he inclosed them

§ 31. SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

6. **-tck** TO BEGIN. Preceded by *-a-it* (1), *-ako* (5); followed by *-am* (4) and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

n-ā'-wi-tck she dances (*ā'-wi-l* she dances always)

n-kLē'wa-tck I begin to paddle (*n-kLē'wa-l* I am paddling)

7. **-l** repetition, as characteristic of an action. Followed by *-mam* (4), *-em* (9), *-a-itx* (10), and the suffixes of the fourth and fifth groups.

a-g-i-ō'-l-el she shook him 72.24

n-ē'-k-Lxē-l he crawled about 95.14

a-tg-i-o-mel-ā'l-emam-x they went to buy him 260.15 (*-āl* on account of accent preceding *l*)

These forms are used very often with verbal nouns:

ē-ctxu-l what is carried on back

ē'-tcx_{EM}-al what is boiled 185.7

k-tgē'-ka-l those who fly 60.5

After *n* as terminal sound of the stem, the *l* of this suffix becomes *n* (see § 8).

8. **-L** continued repetition. This suffix exhibits a number of curious traits in the manner in which it enters into combination with words. It is only rarely suffixed without causing changes in the preceding elements of the word. Often after *t*, *m*, *x*, *u*, it appears in the form *-niL*.

k-c-īl-a'-^ε-ōm-niL always arriving

a-cg-i-ā'-qc-im-niL they two took him here and there

lk-c-il-pē'xu-niL she blows it up 238.16

lg-ē'-ctxo-niL he will carry him on his back 110.9

k-lk-t-ō-lā't-niL one who always shoots (disease) 200.16

a-tc-L-el-ē'm-niL he always gives food to him 22.12

In certain cases, perhaps by assimilation or metathesis, an *-l-* appears inserted in the syllable preceding the suffix *-L*.

a-tc-L-ō'-tipa he dips it up

n-L-ō-tē'lipL I dip it up often

a-g-i-ō'-lapa she digs it out

a-k-L-ō-lā'lepL she digs it often

a-yā'm-xg-akō I am before

a-yam-xg-ā'lukL I am always be-

you

fore you

a-lk-t-ā'-wul^ε it eats them

i-k!ē'-wul^εlqL food

45.27

Following an *m* or *n* the inserted sound is generally *n*.

a-lk-c-i-k-lkā'n-akō it steps

a-lk-c-i-k-lkā'nanukLx she

across

steps across 264.14

9. **-Em** distribution at distinct times, probably related to *-ma* (see § 38.2). Preceded by *-amit* (2), *-l* (8); followed usually by *-r* (11).

a-tc-L-kxōtē'qo-im-x he always stood on them severally 98.6

a-lg-i-o-pcō'tet-em-x he hides it everywhere 199.18

a-L-x-ā'-x-um-x they always did here and there 228.8

10. **-a-itx** HABITUALLY. Always terminal; often preceded by *-em* (9), and *-L* (8).

a-L-x-ē'ō'tōL-a-itx she always bathes 256.14 (probably with *-L* [8])

a-y-ō'-tx-uit-a-itx he always stood 109.2

a-lk-L-ō-lā'lepL-a-itx they are in the habit of digging continually 74.18

§ 32. TEMPORAL AND SEMI-TEMPORAL SUFFIXES

11. **-x** CUSTOMARY. Preceded by all prefixes except *-ē* (14).

a-lk-t-ō'-k^uL-x it is customary that they carry them 267.16

a-L-x-ē'ō't-am-x it is customary that she goes bathing 245.11

12. **-t** PERFECT. Preceded by all suffixes; followed by *-ē*.

tg-i-ā'-wa-t they have followed him 139.2

tc-i-ge'n-xaō-t-ē he has taken care of him 133.20

13. **-a** FUTURE. Preceded by all suffixes. This suffix draws the accent toward the end of the word.

n-i-o-cg-ā'm-a I shall take him

q-o-piā'Lx-a some one will catch her 15.19

In those cases in which the suffix *-am* takes the form *-ōm* (see p. 605), namely, after *k* sounds, which would normally require *o*

in harmony with the directive *-o-* that has changed to *-a-*, the future is *-o*.

tc-i-n-l-ā'-x-ō he will make him for me 70.6

After stems ending in a vowel the future is generally *-ya*.

m-ṣa-t-gō'-ya you will come back 212.2

yam-xōnenemā'-ya I shall show you 234.11

In Kathlamet the future has also a prefix, *a-* or *al-* (see § 17.3).

§ 33. TERMINAL SUFFIX

14. *-ē* SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION. This suffix is always terminal. Its significance is not quite certain.

n-i-gō'-ptcḡ-am-ē finally he came up to the woods 166.8

It occurs very often with the meaning ACROSS.

a-tc-ā'-k-xonē he carried her across on his shoulder 27.8

mc-i-gō'tct-am-a-ē you will get across 51.6

The Noun (§§ 34-43)

§ 34. GENDER

The pronominal parts of the noun have been discussed in § 18. It is necessary to discuss here the gender of nouns.

Nouns may be masculine, feminine, neuter, dual, or plural. It would seem that originally these forms were used with terms having natural gender, with sexless objects, and objects naturally dual and plural. At present the use of these elements has come to be exceedingly irregular, and it is almost impossible to lay down definite rules regarding their use.

In the following a summary of the use of gender and number will be given.

(1) Masculine and feminine respectively are terms designating men and women.

In all these terms the idea of indefiniteness of the individual, corresponding to the indefinite article in English, may be expressed by the neuter; like *ikā'nax* THE CHIEF, *lkā'nax* A CHIEF.

Masculine

i'kala man

*ik!āsk*s boy

iq!oa'lipx youth

ē'pL^εau widower

iq!ēyō'qxut old man

ēla'ētix male slave

Feminine

ō^εō'kuil woman

*ōk!ōsk*s girl

ōxō't!au virgin

ō'pL^εau widow

ōq!oeyō'qxut old woman

ōla'ētix female slave

(2) Large animals are masculine, as:

badger -*penpen* (-*p!ē'cxac*,
Kathlamet) L; feminine
SKUNK
bear, black -*i'tsxut* (-*sqē'ntxoā*,
Kathlamet)
bear, cinnamon -*t!ek*
bear, grizzly -*cā'yim*
beaver -*ēna*, -*qoa-inē'nē*
(-*qā'nuk*, Kathlamet)
bird (sp. ?) -*tcu'yam*
bird (sp. ?) -*pō'ēpoē*
bird -*qsō'tlōlōt*
bullfrog -*q!oatē'xēxē*
deer -*mā'cēn* (-*lā'lax*, Kathla-
met)
coyote -*t!ā'lapas*
rat -*qā'lapas* (Kathlamet)
buffalo -*tō'iha*
crane -*qoā'sqoas*
crow (mythical name) -*laq!ō'*
duck (sp. ?) -*wē'guic*
eagle, bald-headed -*ninē'xō*
elk -*mō'lak*
a small fish -*qalē'xlēx*
fish-hawk -*'ltcap*
grass-frog -*q!enō'nēqēn*
gull -*qonē'qonē*
hawk -*t!ē't!ē*
heron -*q!oa'sk!oaī*, -*qulqul*
horse -*kē'utan*
humming-bird -*'tsentsen*
blue jay -*qē'cqēc*
kingfisher -*pō'tselal*
lizard (?) -*kinē'pet*
mallard-duck (male) -*cimē'wat*

mink -*'galēlx*, -*pō'sta* (-*kō'sa-
it*, Kathlamet)
mountain-goat -*ci'rx*
mussel, small -*iguē' (matk)*
mussel, large -*niā' (matk)*
otter -*nanā'muks*
owl -*qōē'lqōēl*
oyster -*Lō'xlox*
panther -*k!oa'yawc*
pike -*'qogo*
porcupine -*celqelq*
rabbit -*skē'epxoā* (-*kanaxmē'-
nēm*, Kathlamet)
raccoon -*q!oala's* (-*latā't*,
Kathlamet)
raven -*koalē'xoā*
salmon, fall -*qelēma*
salmon, spring -*gu'nat*
salmon, steel-head -*goanē'r*
sea-lion -*gē'pix'L*
sea-otter -*lā'kē*
shag -*'paowē*
shark -*k!ā'yicx*
skate -*aiā'iu*
snake -*tciau*
sperm whale -*'mok'txi*
squirrel -*k!ā'uten*
sturgeon -*nā'qōn*
sturgeon, green -*kalē'nax*
swan -*qelō'q*
turtle -*'Laxoā*
whale -*'kolē*
lynx -*puk*
wolf -*lē'q!am*
woodpecker -*qstō'konkon*

(3) Small animals are feminine, as:

beetle -*'bic*
bird (sp. ?) -*pē'qciuc*
bird (sp. ?) -*tc!ē'nakoāēkoāē*
sea-bird (sp. ?) -*Lqekc*
sea-bird (sp. ?) -*cxulē'x*
chicken-hawk -*'npitc*

chipmunk -*'tsikin* (-*gusgu's*,
Kathlamet)
mud clam -*'i'ē*
fresh-water clam -*'sala*
cormorant -*'waniō*
crane -*q!ucpalē'*

crow -*k'unō* (-*t!ā'ntsa*, Kathlamet)
 killer-whale -*galā'mat*
 dogfish (see shark) -*q!oā'icx*
 eagle -*tc!aktc!ā'k*
 fawn of deer -*q!ē'xcap*
 fish (sp. ?) -*nā'wan*
 fish (sp. ?) -*k!otaqē'*
 fish (sp. ?) -*'Lēlō*
 flounder -*'pkicx*
 frog -*cuē'eē*
 halibut -*ltc!alō'c* (said to be borrowed from Quinault)
 louse -*'qct*
 maggot -*'moa*
 mallard-duck (female) -*goē'x-goēx*
 mole -*cē'ntan*
 mosquito -*'p!onats!ekts!Ek*
 mouse -*kō'l̥xul* (-*cō*, Kathlamet)
 newt -*qosā'na*, -*latsē'menmen*
 screech-owl -*'cxux*

pheasant (?) -*nī'ctxuic*
 pigeon -*qamen*
 porgy -*qalxt!ē'mx*
 porpoise -*kō'tckōtc*
 robin -*tsiā'stias*
 salmon, calico -*'laatex*
 salmon, silver-side -*'qawen*
 salmon, blue-back -*tsoyeha*
 seal -*'lxaiu* (-*qē'sgoax*, Kathlamet)
 sea-lion, young -*'xoē*
 skunk -*penpen* (masculine BADGER)
 snail -*ts!emē'nzan*
 snail -*ts!emō'ikxan*
 snail -*L!ē'xtan*
 snipe -*ē'rsa*
 teal-duck -*munts!ē'kts!ēk*
 trout -*p!ā'lō'*
 trout (?) -*q!ē'xonē*
 woodpecker (female) -*'kxulpa*
 woodpecker (male) -*ntciawī'ct*
 wasp -*'pa*

(4) Very few animals are neuter, as:

bird -*lā'lax* (-*p!ē'cp!ec*, Kathlamet)
 dog -*kē'wisx* (-*k!u'k!ut*, Kathlamet)

shellfish (sp. ?) -*k!iLa'ta*
 crab -*qalxē'la* (= one who crawls much)

(5) Almost all nouns expressing qualities are masculine, as:

-*nu'kstx* smallness
 -*'(k!e)sīL* sharpness
 -*'xalx'tē* flatness
 -*'pik* heavy weight
 -*'ts!axan* large belly
 -*'wa* expense
 -*'q!atxal* badness
 -*'q!ē'latcx'ēna* meanness
 -*lq!ē'latcx'ita* quiet
 -*'yul!l* pride
 -*'k!oac*(*ē'ōmit*) fear
 -*kā'kxul* homesickness (subject of transitive verb)
 -*kanā'tē* life
 -*tsā'tsa* cold

-*'lkuilē* similarity
 -*'tukLtx* good luck
 -*'tc!a* sickness
 -*'p!onenkan* blindness
 -*'kunanem* diligence
 -*(ki)ma'tet(amit)* shame
 -*'L!kin* bow legs
 -*'Lk!ōp* being squeezed out (= one-eyed)
 -*qē'wam* sleepiness (subject of transitive verb, and possessive)
 -*'tc!pux* round head (= forehead)
 -*'p!aqa* flat head

- <i>'mɛnukt</i> blackened face	- <i>'t!ōxakamit</i> (= good mind: cleverness)
- <i>'(ki)matck</i> spots, painted face	- <i>L!mē'nɔt</i> lie of a male (subject of transitive verb)
- <i>'tckc</i> stench	- <i>gō' Lgēlē</i> lie of a female (subject of transitive verb)
- <i>'q!ɛs</i> sweet smell	- <i>'ma^ɛ</i> act of hitting (= to hit)
- <i>'ts!ēmɛn</i> sweetness	- <i>'kakamit</i> mind (= to think)
- <i>'L!L</i> bitterness	- <i>'qalqt</i> a wail (= to wail)
- <i>'Lēlam</i> ten	- <i>'kuɔ</i> smell (= to smell)
- <i>'k!amōnak</i> hundred	
- <i>'t!ōwil</i> experience (from <i>t!ō</i> good)	
- <i>'(ke)t!ōi</i> } skill	
- <i>'t!ōxōtskin</i> }	

The following are exceptions:

	Feminine	
- <i>ɔti</i> smokiness (= cataract of eye)	- <i>'m^ɛō</i> what is chewed	
- <i>'lō</i> hunger (subject of transitive verb)	- <i>'qōtck</i> cold in head	
	Neuter	
- <i>ɔax</i> sadness	- <i>'xauyam</i> what excites sympathy	
- <i>'patseu</i> red head		
	Plural	
- <i>'k^uLil</i> custom	-(<i>ki</i>) <i>pā'lau</i> witchcraft	
- <i>'kⁱLau</i> taboo	- <i>'katakox</i> cleverness	

(6) The verbal noun corresponding to the past-passive participle is generally masculine, as:

- <i>'Lxalemax</i> what is eaten	- <i>'k!ē'wulal</i> what has been picked
- <i>'tcɛmal</i> what is boiled	- <i>'xōtckin</i> work
- <i>'ctrul</i> what is carried	

Exceptions to this rule are—

- <i>ō'mɛl</i> purchase money	<i>liā'pōna</i> what has been brought to him
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(7) Nouns formed from particles are generally masculine, as:

- <i>yul!l</i> pride (from <i>yūL!l</i>)	- <i>giLq!up</i> cut (from <i>Lq!up</i>)
- <i>k!ē'wax</i> flower (from <i>wax</i>)	- <i>gē' L!mɛnL!mɛn</i> syphilis (from <i>L!mɛn</i> rotten)
- <i>waxō'mi</i> copper (from <i>wax</i>)	
- <i>k!wac^ɛō'mi</i> fear (from <i>k!wac</i>)	

(8) No rules can be given for the gender of other nouns.

Masculine are, for instance:

- <i>mā'ma</i> pewter wort	- <i>qtcō</i> hair, skin with hair
- <i>L^ɛa</i> body	- <i>qōt</i> eye
- <i>qtq</i> head	- <i>katcɔ</i> nose

-*cqL* mouth, beak, bill
 -*mist* beak
 -*tuk* neck
 -*mxtc* heart
 -*to* breast
 -*wan* belly
 -*itcx* tail
 -*pote* arm
 -*pā'tpat* net
 -*'tceltcel* brass buttons
 -*kupku'p* short dentalia
 -*qā'lzal* gambling-disks
 -*L!alL!al* gambling-disks
 -*q!ā'lq!al* short baton
 -*qō'mxōm* cedar-bark basket
 -*L!uwalkL!uwalk* mud
 -*q!ē'gotqot* fever
 -*'pqunx* large round spruce-
 root basket (f. small round
 spruce-root basket)
 -*ctc!ē'ct* clam basket
 -*'maL* bay, sea, river
 -*ēō'k* blanket
 -*'lk'au* cradle
 -*'qēL* creek, brook
 -*'ktcxem* dance of shaman
 -*'Lq* digging-stick
 -*ēam* dish
 -*'pqōn* down of bird
 -*'qcil* fish-trap

-*ci'kc* friend
 -*'p̄xil* grease
 -*'l̄x* ground, earth
 -*'LAN* short thong, string, pin
 for blanket
 -*'cgan* cedar (f. bucket, cup;
 n. plank)
 -*'tsōL* harpoon-shaft
 -*'msta* hat
 -*'tōL* heat
 -*'k'ik* hook
 -*kā'pa* ice
 -*'paqc* boil, itch
 -*'kxōn* leaf
 -*'m'ecx* log, tree, wood (f. ket-
 tle)
 -*'LkuiLx* mat
 -*pā'kxal* mountain
 -*'sik* paddle
 -*ēapta* roe
 -*'pa-it* rope
 -*'n̄xat* plank
 -*gō'cax* sky
 -*'tcxa* point of sealing-spear
 -*kā'wok* shaman's guardian
 spirit
 -*'c'ō* horn spoon
 -*'makte* spruce
 -*qā'nak* stone (f. large bowl-
 der)

Feminine are, for instance,

-*'kta* thing
 -*'qat* wind
 -*ēelqel* polypodium
 -*cā'qcaq* pteris
 -*p!ō'xp!ōx* elbow
 -*tcxō'ltcxōl* lungs
 -*se'qseq* buck-skin
 -*k!oyē'k!oyē* finger-ring
 -*ga'cgas* sealing-spear
 -*ēwisqwis* breaking of wind
 -*Lk!enLk!en* open basket
 -*lēxlex* scales
 -*lēmlem* rotten wood

-*tspx* forehead
 -*utca* ear
 -*atcx* tooth
 -*ēatcx* chest
 -*mō'kuē* throat
 -*'kutcx* bark
 -*'putc* anus
 -*'kci* finger
 -*'p̄xa* alder-bark
 -*ēl'ē'm* bark
 -*p̄L!ikē* bow
 -*lē'qtsen* box
 -*pā'utc* crab-apple

-*'aleptckix* fire
 -*'gal* fish-weir
 -*'lalx* camass
 -*'tcala* grindstone
 -*'mala* marrow, kernel
 -*'pul* night, darkness
 -*mā'p* plank
 -*gā'wē* raspberry
 -*'mopa* rushes

Neuter are, for instance,

-*tsE'tsEx* gravel, thorn
 -*qulā'ula* egg
 -*paa* nape
 -*list* tail of fish
 -*'wit* leg
 -*pc* foot
 -*qlq* armor

-*gu'nkrun* salal-berry
 -*'skL* sinew
 -*'tcin* stump, foot of tree
 -*'ā' lax* sun
 -*ē'xatk* trail
 -*mō'tan* twine of willow-bark
 -*'pcam* piece of twine
 -*tcā'nix* wedge
 -*'plx* well

-*goaq* blanket
 -*'a'tcau* grease
 -*'skuic* mat bag
 -*'tō* milk, breast
 -*tcuq* water
 -*kckuī'* pitch wood

The number of these words that appear *only* in the neuter gender is so small that we may almost suspect that the neuter was until recently indefinite and used to indicate both indefinite singular and plural.

§ 35. DUAL AND PLURAL

(1) Nouns that are naturally dual are:

ckucku'c testicles
szōst eyes, face
ckulkulō' L spear
cemtk spit for roasting
ce'qxō double-pointed arrow
cpā'ix blanket made of two deer-skins
ctc!ā'maq castorium
c'ōlā'l ground-hog blanket, made of two skins

ceqoala'la double-barreled gun
cik!ōk double ball for game
c'lxatct bed platform on sides of house
szutsō'osiq bed platform in front and rear of house
slan bowstring
clā'nist two-stranded twine

There are other words that are always dual, for the form of which no reason can be given, as:

ckā'kolē eel
cenqētqē't hawk
se'nteptep shrew
seq!alōlō butterfly

ckaqe'l dentalia of the length of 40 to a fathom
cii'q half-fathom
cqē'can fern-root (pl. *ōguž'can*)

(2) Nouns that are naturally plural are:

tqamilā'leq sand
te'psō grass
tktē'ma property

t!ōL house (= dwelling of several families)
tkēmōm ashes

In other cases where the noun occurs always with plural prefix the reason is not apparent, as in:

<i>tā'ta-is</i> codfish	<i>tɔt</i> smoke
<i>tmē'n'a</i> flounder	<i>t'skō</i> tattooing
<i>ts!ē'laq</i> grasshopper	<i>tem'a'ēma</i> prairie

§ 36. SECONDARY SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER

Masculine and feminine have assumed the secondary significance of largeness and smallness. This feature appears most clearly in those cases in which a stem used as a masculine expresses a large object, while as a feminine it expresses a similar smaller object. Examples of this use are:

<i>ī'penpen</i> badger	<i>ō'penpen</i> skunk
<i>ē'pqunx</i> large round spruce-root basket	<i>ō'pqunx</i> small round spruce-root basket
<i>ē'cgan</i> cedar	<i>ō'cgan</i> basket, cup
<i>ē'm'ECɣ</i> log, tree, wood	<i>ō'm'ECɣ</i> kettle

One example at least of the reverse relation has come to my notice:

<i>īqā'nakc</i> stone	<i>ōqō'nakc</i> large boulder
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In one case the feminine pronoun expresses plurality:

<i>ikanī'm</i> canoe	<i>ōkunī'm</i> canoes
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There are also a few cases in which smallness is expressed by what appears to be the dual form:

<i>ikanī'm</i> canoe	<i>s'amē'ksōs</i> toy canoe
<i>skēnī'm</i> toy canoe	

§ 37. GENDER OF PLURAL

The use of the pronouns for expressing plurality has come to be exceedingly irregular. The verbal forms suggest that originally *t-* was the true third person plural, which was perhaps originally used for human beings only.

(1) Many plurals of words designating human beings retain the pronoun *t-*.

	Singular	Plural
man	<i>ī'kala</i>	<i>tkā'laruks</i>
women		<i>tā'nemckc</i>
children		<i>tqā'cōcīnīkc</i>
virgin	<i>ōhō't!au</i>	<i>that!aunā'na</i>
old man	<i>īq!eyō'qɣut</i>	<i>tq!eyō'qtīkc</i>

In some cases a more indefinite number may be expressed by *L-*. Thus we find for WOMEN both *Lā'nemckc* and *tā'nemckc*; for COMMON PERSON *Lxalā'yuēma* and *txalā'yuēma*.

(2) The articles used in the majority of cases for expressing plurality are *t-* and *L-*. Examples of these are the following:

	Singular	Plural	
beak	<i>ē'-mīst</i>	<i>t-mēctkc</i>	
belly	<i>ē = wan</i> ¹	<i>t = unaks</i> ¹	
bird (sp.?)	<i>i-pō'ēpoē</i>	<i>t-poēpō'yukc</i>	
blanket	<i>e-ē'ō'k</i>	<i>t!ōkkc</i> (also indefinite <i>L^εōk</i>)	
cheek	<i>i = mēlqtan</i> ¹	<i>t = 'mēlqtanuks</i> ¹	
crane	<i>i-qaō'cqaoc</i>	<i>t-qaocqaō'cēkc</i>	
deer	<i>ē-mā'cēn</i>	<i>t-macā'nukc</i>	
a bird	<i>ēnts!x</i>	<i>tents!ē'xukc</i>	
eye	<i>ē'-qxōt</i>	<i>t-qō'tekc</i> (dual <i>s-qōct</i>)	
dorsal fin	<i>ē'-gala</i>	<i>t-kala(īkc)</i>	
monster	<i>īqctxē'lau</i>	<i>t-qctxē'lā'wukc</i>	
pectoral fins		<i>t-qōēā'nīkc</i>	
arrow	<i>ō'-kulaitan</i>	<i>t-kalai'tanēma</i>	
bunch of grass	<i>ō-pā'wīl^ε</i>	<i>t-pā'wīl^ε-ma</i>	
chicken-hawk	<i>ō'-npītc</i>	<i>tē-npī'tckc</i>	and
		<i>Lē-npī'tckc</i>	
coat	<i>ō-q!oē'laxap</i>	<i>t-q!ēlxā'pukc</i>	and
		<i>L-q!ēlxā'pukc</i>	
chipmunk	<i>ō'-ts!ikīn</i>	<i>tē'-ts!ikīn</i>	
flounder	<i>ō-lā'ta-is</i>	<i>tē-lā'ta-is</i>	
dip-net	<i>ō-k!unxā'tē</i>	<i>t-k!anxā'tē</i>	
board	<i>Lē'-cgan</i>	<i>tē'-cgan</i>	
bird	<i>L-lā'lēx</i>	<i>t-lalā'rukc</i>	
albatross	<i>i-tā'mēla</i>	<i>L-tamēlā'yīkc</i>	
open-work clam	<i>ī'-ck!alē</i>	<i>L-ck!alā'yukc</i>	
basket			
large cedar-bark	<i>i-qō'mxōm</i>	<i>L-qōmxō'mukc</i>	
basket			
grizzly-bear	<i>i-cā'yīm</i>	<i>L-cayā'mukc</i>	
eyelashes		<i>L-lxō'tks</i>	
bailer	<i>o-^εoētēwā' Lxtē</i>	<i>L!ītēwā' Lxtē</i>	
open-work basket	<i>ō-lk!ē'nk!ēn</i>	<i>Lk!ēnLk!ā'nukc</i>	
round basket	<i>ō'-pqunx</i>	<i>Lpqun'xukc</i>	
long baton	<i>ō'-kumatk</i>	<i>Lē'-kumatk</i>	
belt	<i>ō'-koēma</i>	<i>Lē'-kēma</i>	
bucket	<i>ō'-cgan</i>	<i>Lē'-cgēn-ma</i>	
antler	<i>L-^εē'tcam</i>	<i>L-^εatcā'ma</i>	
mountain-goat	<i>L-qaō'q</i>	<i>L-qaō'q-ma</i>	
blanket			

¹ The sign - indicates that a possessive pronoun is here required.

(3) There are a few cases in which the article *ō-* is used for expressing the plural, as:

	Singular	Plural
coat	<i>ō' lqēkc</i>	<i>ō' -lqēkc</i>
canoe	<i>ikanī'm</i>	<i>ō-kunī'm</i>
eagle	<i>u-tc!akte!ā'k</i>	<i>u-tc!akte!ā'kciniks</i> (only used in tale)

(4) A number of words whose plural was originally a distributive retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	<i>i-ktē'luwa-itk</i>	<i>i-ktēluwā'itgema</i>
bone arrow-point	<i>i-gō'ma(tk)</i>	<i>i-gomā'tgema</i>
short baton	<i>i-q!ā'lqal</i>	<i>i-q!alq!alō'ma</i>
black bear	<i>i-i'tsxut</i>	<i>i-i'tsxutema</i>
buck-skin straps		<i>i-t!ā'lēqema</i>
cedar	<i>ē'-cgan</i>	<i>ē'-cgenema</i>
elk	<i>i-mō'lak</i>	<i>i-mō'lakuma</i>
female	<i>ē'-nēmckc</i>	<i>ē'-nēmckcō'ma</i>

Not all words of this type, however, retain the masculine pronoun, as:

	Singular.	Plural.
bay	<i>ē'-maL</i>	<i>LE-mā' LE-ma</i>
small bluff	<i>i-kak!ā'lat</i>	<i>L-kak!ā'latE-ma</i>
creek	<i>ē'-qēL</i>	<i>t!ā'LEma</i> (fortis for elided <i>q</i> , see § 6.3)
disease	<i>ē'-tc!a</i>	<i>t-tc!ā'ma</i>

Feminine distributives do not seem to retain their gender, as:

	Singular	Plural
arrow	<i>ō'kulaitan</i>	<i>t-kalai'tanE-ma</i>
bunch of grass	<i>ō-pā'wil'</i>	<i>t-pā'wil'-ma</i>
dip-net	<i>ō'-nuṣcin</i>	<i>L-nuṣci'ne-ma</i>

§ 38. PLURAL SUFFIXES

(1) Besides the use of pronominal gender for designating plurality, Chinook seems to have distinguished human beings from other nouns also by the use of a separate plural suffix *-ikc*, *-uks* the use of which for human beings is illustrated by the examples given in § 37.1. At present the ending *-uks* is used for forming the plural of many words, including names of animals and of inanimate objects.

On the whole, this suffix is accompanied by a shift of the accent to the penultima. When the last vowel is the obscure *ε* followed by an *l*, *m*, or *n*, it is lengthened to *ā* under the stress of the accent (see § 5); *-ē* changes in these cases to *-āy*.

The following are examples of the shift of accent without accompanying change of vowel:

	Singular	Plural
owl	<i>i-qoē'lqoēl</i>	<i>t-qoēlqoē'luks</i>
crane	<i>i-qoā'cqoac</i>	<i>t-qoacqoā'cēkc</i>
large cedar-bark basket	<i>i-qō'mxōm</i>	<i>l-qōmxō'mukc</i>
Tillamook Indian	<i>L!ē'lēm</i>	<i>T!ilē'muks</i>
dog	<i>L-kē'wucx</i>	<i>t-kēwu'cēks</i>
coat	<i>o-q!oē'lxap</i>	<i>L-q!ēlxā'pukc</i>
fawn	<i>o-q!oē'xcap</i>	<i>t-q!ēxcā'pukc</i>
twine	<i>c-lā'nict</i>	<i>lanē'ctuks</i>
sea-lion	<i>i-gē'pix'L</i>	<i>i-gipe'r'luxs</i>
eight	<i>ksto'xtkin</i>	<i>kstortkē'niks</i> (eight persons)
moon	<i>ō-kLE'mēn</i>	<i>L-kLmē'naks</i>
egg	<i>L-qulā'wula</i>	<i>L-qula'wulā'uks</i>
monster	<i>i-qctxē'lau</i>	<i>t-qctxēlā'wuks</i>
turtle	<i>ē'laxoa</i>	<i>laxoā'yīkc</i>
albatross	<i>i-tā'mēla</i>	<i>L-tamēlā'yīkc</i>
dead, corpse	<i>L-mē'malust</i>	<i>t-memalō'stikc</i>
dusk	<i>ō-munts!ē'kts!ik</i>	<i>t-munts!ēkts!ē'kukc</i>
wolf	<i>i-lē'q!am</i>	<i>L-lēq!ā'muks</i>
mole	<i>u-cē'ntan</i>	<i>t-cēntā'nukc</i>
mouse	<i>u-kō'lxlul</i>	<i>u-kolō'luxs</i> (<i>lx</i> changes to <i>l</i> ; see § 6)
evening	<i>tsō'yust</i>	<i>tsōyō'steks</i>

Words are quite numerous in which the shift of accent produces a change of vowel:

	Singular	Plural
pigeon	<i>ō'-ēomēn</i>	<i>t!amā'niks</i>
fly	<i>ē'-mōtsgēn</i>	<i>t-mōtsgā'nukc</i>
box	<i>ō-Lē'qsen</i>	<i>Legsā'nukc</i>
open-work basket	<i>ō-Lk!ē'nLk!ēn</i>	<i>Lk!ēnLk!ā'nukc</i>
deer	<i>ē-mā'sēn</i>	<i>t-masā'niks</i>
skunk	<i>ō'-penpen</i>	<i>t-pēnpā'nukc</i>
badger	<i>ī'-penpen</i>	<i>i-pēnpā'nukc</i>
squirrel	<i>i-k!ā'utēn</i>	<i>t-k!autā'nukc</i>
pelican	<i>ī'-tcuyēn</i>	<i>L-tcuyā'nukc</i>
grizzly bear	<i>i-cā'yim</i>	<i>L-cayā'mukc</i>
lance	<i>i-squī'l!ēm</i>	<i>squīL!ā'muks</i>
clam basket	<i>ī'-ck!alē</i>	<i>L-ck!alā'yukc</i>
frog	<i>i-q!oatē'nxēxē</i>	<i>t-q!oatēnxēxā'yukc</i>
frog	<i>ō-cuē'ē</i>	<i>t-cuēā'yukc</i>

The plural of *i-po'ēpoē* (a bird), is *t-poēpō'yuks*. Here the accent remains on the *o*, although it is shifted to the next syllable, and the *ē* becomes consonantic.

Here belongs also *L-lā'lex* BIRD, plural *t-lālā'rukx*, in which word the lengthening of the *e* to *ā* before *x* is irregular.

A number of monosyllabic stems are treated in the same manner, as those here described:

	Singular	Plural
kettle	<i>ō'omē'cɣ</i>	<i>L-^εmē'cɣukc</i>
flounder	<i>ō-pkē'cɣ</i>	<i>ō-pkē'cɣukc</i>
round basket	<i>ō'-pqunɣ</i>	<i>L-pqu'nɣukc</i>
eye	<i>ē'-qōt</i>	<i>t-qō'tekc</i>
eyelashes		<i>L-l-xō'tks</i>
cinnamon bear	<i>i-t!E'k</i>	<i>i-t!E'kks</i>
blanket	<i>e-^εō'k</i>	<i>t!ōkkc</i>
chicken-hawk	<i>ō'-npitc</i>	<i>tE-npī'tckc</i>
well	<i>ō-plx</i>	<i>L-plxo'a'kc</i>

In a number of words the accent does not shift:

	Singular	Plural
old person	<i>i-q!eyō'qut</i>	<i>t-q!eyō'qtīks</i>
shag	<i>i-pa'^εowē</i>	<i>L-pā'qo-īkc</i>
male	<i>i'-kalu</i>	<i>t-ka'la-ukc</i>

This is particularly frequent in terms which occur always with possessive pronouns, such as terms designating parts of the body and relationships:

ear <i>ō'-utcā</i>	<i>t-iā'-utcakc</i> his ears
his belly <i>iā'-wan</i>	<i>tgā'-unakc</i> their bellies
mouth <i>i-cqL</i>	<i>tgā'-cqLEkc</i> their mouths
head <i>ē-qtq</i>	<i>tgā'-qtqEkc</i> their heads
cheek <i>ē'-mElqtan</i>	<i>tgā'-mElqtanukc</i> their cheeks
fin <i>ē'-gala</i>	<i>tgā'-amcukc</i> their guts
his father <i>L-iā'mama</i>	<i>t-iā'-gala-īkc</i> his fins
his elder brother <i>iā'-ɣk!un</i>	<i>L-mcā'-mama-īkc</i> your fathers
his younger brother <i>iā'-wux</i>	<i>iā'-ɣk!uniks</i> his elder brothers
	<i>iā'-wuxtikc</i> his younger brothers
his maternal uncle <i>iā'-tata</i>	ers
	<i>L-iā'-tatayukc</i> his uncles

Here belong also:

lid <i>i-sā'mEL^ε</i>	<i>L-iā'-sEmElqaks</i> their lids
five <i>quī'nEm</i>	<i>quī'nEmiks</i> five persons
ten of them <i>i-tā'-Lēlam</i>	<i>i-tā'-Lēlamyuks</i> ten persons
six <i>tE'xEm</i>	<i>i-tā'-k!a-txEmiks</i> six in a canoe

The ending *-tikc* instead of *-(i)kc* is used particularly with indefinite numerals, and expresses a plurality of human beings:

all <i>ka'nauwē</i>	<i>kanauwē'tiks</i> all persons
few <i>mē'nɔ'ka</i>	<i>mē'nɔ'katikc</i> a few persons
many (their number) <i>Lgā'pela</i>	<i>Lgā'pelatikc</i> many persons
several <i>LE'xawē</i>	<i>LE'xawē'tikc</i> several persons

Analogous are the forms of—

up river <i>ma'ēma</i>	<i>t-maemā'tekc</i> those up river
poor (his poverty) <i>Lā'xauyam</i>	<i>Lgā'xauyam'tikc</i> the poor ones
his younger brother <i>iā'wux</i>	<i>iā'wux'tikc</i> his younger brothers

Still a different connective element appears in—

man <i>i'-kala</i>	<i>i-kā'lamuks</i> men
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Attention may also be called to the forms—

	Singular	Plural
children		<i>t-qā'cōcīnik</i>
eagle	<i>u-tcaktcā'k</i>	<i>u-tcaktcā'ktcīnik</i>
gull	<i>i-qonē'qonē</i>	<i>i-qonēqonē'tcīnik</i>
raven	<i>i-qoalē'xoā</i>	<i>i-qoalē'xoatcīnik</i>
crow	<i>u-k'onō'</i>	<i>u-k'onō'tcīnik</i>

The last four forms occur in a wail in a myth (Chinook Texts, p. 40) and are not the ordinary plurals of these words.

(2) The frequent plural-suffix *-ma* (Kathlamet *-maɔ*) seems to have been originally a distributive element. This appears particularly clearly in the words *ē'x'temaē* SOMETIMES (*ē'x't* one; *-ma* distributive; *-ē* adverbial); *kanā'mtēma* BOTH (*kanā'm* both, together; *-ma* distributive). Following are examples of this suffix. In most cases the accent is drawn toward the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural
abalone	<i>i-ktē'luwa-itk</i>	<i>i-ktēluwa'itgema</i>
bone arrow-point	<i>i-gō'matk</i>	<i>i-gomā'tgema</i>
chisels		<i>Lqayā'tgema</i>
willow	<i>ē-lā'itk</i>	<i>ē-lā'itgema</i> ; <i>ē-lā'ēma</i>
disease	<i>ē'-tc'a</i>	<i>t-tc!ā'ma</i>
geese		<i>t-k!elak!elā'ma</i>
knife	<i>i-qēwī'qē</i>	<i>i-qēwīqē'ma</i> iron
saliva	<i>L-iā'-mɔtē</i> (his—)	<i>tE-mɔtē'ma</i>
whale	<i>i'-kolē</i>	<i>i-kolē'ma</i>
meat	<i>ē'-L^suruLe</i>	<i>L!olē'ma</i>
pike	<i>ē'-qōqō</i>	<i>t-qōqō'ma</i>
seal	<i>ō'-lɔaiu</i>	<i>ō-lɔaiō'ma</i>
elder brother!	<i>ka'pɔō</i>	<i>kā'pɔōma</i> , <i>ā'pɔōma</i>
breast (female)	<i>i'-tca-tō</i> (her—)	<i>t-qā'-tōma</i> (their—)

	Singular	Plural
bucket	ō'-cgan	t-cgē'nma
cedar	ī'-cgan	ī-cgē'nma
what	tān	tā'nma
stump	ō'-tcin	t-tcī'nma
arrow	ō-kulwi'tan	ō-kulwi'tanema, t-ka-lai'tanema
dipnet	ō'-nuɣcin	t-nuɣci'nema
antler	L- ^ε E'tcam	L- ^ε Etcā'ma
bear	i-i'tsxut	i-itsxu'tema
bluff	i-kak!ā'lat	L-kak!ā'latema
porpoise	u-kō'tc-kōtc	u-kōtcō'tcema
mountain	i-pā'kɣal	L-pakɣā'lēma
night	ō'-pōl	L-pō'lēma
bunch of grass	ō-pā' ^ε wil	t-pā' ^ε wilēma
common person	giā'-q!atɣal	giā'-q!atɣalēma
year	i-qē'tak	i-qē'takēma
elk	i-mō'lak	i-mō'lakēma, i-mō'la-kuma
blanket	L-qoa'q	L-qoa'qēma
nail	i-tsū'saq	i-tsusā'qēma
grey	cpeq	cpe'qēma ²
half fathom	ci'i'q!	ci'i'q!ma
deerskin blanket	cpā'ix	tpay'i'xema
another	tā'nux	tēnō'ɣuma
mat	ē'-LkuiLɣ	Lkuē' Lɣēma
well	ō-plɣ	lā'plɣuma ¹
strong person	tgELxēwulɣ	tgā' Lxēwulɣēma
torch	tk!ē'war	tk!ēwaxē'ma
bay	ē'-mal	LE-mā'LEma
knee	ō'q!ōxL	tq!ō'xLma
full	pāl	pā'LEma ²

A peculiar form is *oxō'xōc* PILE, plural *oxō xōcēma*, which is a verbal form signifying THEY ARE ON THE GROUND.

In a few cases in which the suffix *-ma* occurs with obscure connective vowel, like the preceding ones, changes of consonants occur in the end of the word:

	Singular	Plural
day	ō ^ε ō'Laɣ	L ^ε alā'ma
(his) fathom	ā'yana	L-iā'-nɣama (stem -nɣ)
spruce	ē'-maktc	t-mā'ktc-xēma
sea-otter	e-lā'kē	i-lagē'tema

Irregular is also the change in vowel in *ē'-qēL* CREEK, plural *t!ā'LEma*.

¹ Also *lā'pLɣoakc*.

² These are particles without pronominal plural sign.

A number of words take the ending *-ma* with connective vowel. Examples of the connective vowel *-ō-* are:

	Singular	Plural
female	<i>ē'-nēmckc</i>	<i>ē-nēmckcō'ma</i>
ground-hog	<i>c'olā'l'e</i>	<i>t!ōlā'l'eōma</i>
blanket		
baton	<i>i-q!ā'lq!al</i>	<i>i-q!alq!alō'ma</i>
rock	<i>ō-qō'nakc</i>	<i>t-qenakcō'ma</i>
skin	<i>ē-^sē'c</i>	<i>ē-^scō'ma</i>
grandson!	<i>qāc</i>	<i>qā'cōma</i>
prairie	<i>tE-m'a'ēma</i>	<i>tE-m'a'ēmayōma</i>

The last of these seems to be a double plural, the stem being probably *-m^sa*.

Another series of words take *-ē-* as connective vowel, sometimes *-wē-* or *-oē-*:

	Singular	Plural
son!	<i>āq</i>	<i>ā'qxōēma</i>
young seal	<i>ā'-xoē</i>	<i>a-xō'yēwēma</i>
widow whose husband has been dead a long time	<i>a-kE'lial</i>	<i>t-keliā'lowēma</i>
island	<i>LEḫ</i>	<i>LEḫōē'ma</i>
younger sister!	<i>āts</i>	<i>ā'tsēma</i>
younger brother!	<i>a'o</i>	<i>a'oēma</i>
town	<i>ē'lḫam</i>	<i>tēlḫamē'ma</i>
house	<i>t!ōL</i>	<i>t!ōLē'ma</i>

Here belong also:

thing	<i>i'-kta</i>	<i>t-iā'-ktema</i> his things
prairie		<i>tEm'a'ēma</i> ¹
a plant		<i>i-q!alxoē'ma</i>

and the irregular forms:

log	<i>ē'-m^sEcḫ</i>	<i>LE-mqcemā'yema</i>
common man	<i>L-xā'yal</i>	<i>L-xalā'yuēma</i>
warrior	<i>L-t!ō'xoyal</i>	<i>t!ōxolā'yuēma</i>

In at least one of these words the origin of the *-ē* is reducible to a probable fuller form of the word. The stem of the word **HOUSE** is *-qulē* in Kathlamet, and would naturally form the plural *tqulēma*, which, in Lower Chinook, would take the form *t!ōLē'ma*.

(3) A considerable number of words have no plural suffix whatever, but differ only in the pronoun, or may even have the same

¹ See above.

pronoun in singular and plural. Examples of these are contained in the lists in § 37. Additional examples are:

	Singular	Plural
beaver	<i>i-qoa-inē'nē</i>	<i>t-qoa-inē'nē</i>
arm	<i>ī'-potē</i>	<i>t-potē</i>
arm-pit	<i>i-kēmēlā'pix'</i>	<i>t-kēmēlā'pix'</i>
cut of blubber	<i>i-gītē'tcxala</i>	<i>t-gītē'tcxala</i>
bone	<i>i-kamō'kxuk</i>	<i>t-kamō'kxuk</i>
dip-net	<i>ē'-qxacga</i>	<i>tē'-qxacga</i>
buoy	<i>ō'-qrun</i>	<i>LE'-qrun</i>
fresh-water clam	<i>ō'-sala</i>	<i>LE'-sala</i>
coal	<i>ō-qō' Lxatsx'</i>	<i>L-qā' Lxatsx'</i>
crab-apple	<i>ō-pā'utc</i>	<i>L-pā'utc</i>
finger	<i>ō-kci</i>	<i>t-kci</i>
canoe	<i>i-kanī'm</i>	<i>ō-kunī'm</i>

(4) Several terms of relationship and a few other related words have a plural in *-nāna*, as:

	Singular	Plural
parent-in-law	<i>ē'-qsix'</i>	<i>tē'-qsix'-nana</i>
sister's son	<i>ī'-Latx'en</i>	<i>t-Latx'en-nana</i>
wife's sister	<i>ō'-pōtszan</i>	<i>t-pō'tszan-nana</i>
father's sister	<i>ō-lak</i>	<i>t-lak-nana</i>
cousin (children of brother and sister)	<i>L-qa'mgē</i>	<i>t-qa'mgē-nana</i>

Also:

virgin	<i>ō-hō't!au</i>	<i>t-hā't!au-nana</i>
friend	<i>i-ci'kc</i>	<i>t-ci'kc-nana</i>

A few terms of relationship have plural forms in *-iks* or the distributive *-ma*, as:

	Singular	Plural
father	<i>L-mama</i>	<i>L-mama-ikc</i>
elder brother	<i>i-xk!un</i>	<i>t-xk!un-ikc</i>
younger brother	<i>i-wux</i>	<i>t-wux-tikc</i>
mother's brother	<i>i-tata</i>	<i>t-tata-ikc</i>
younger brother!		
(address)	<i>a'o</i>	<i>a'oema</i>
daughter's child!		
(address)	<i>qāc</i>	<i>qā'cōma</i>

(5) A number of words have peculiar plural suffixes:

	Singular	Plural
chief	<i>i-kā'nax</i>	<i>t-kanā'x-imct</i>
mother	<i>L-aa</i>	<i>L-atct</i>
youth	<i>i-q'ōā'lipx'</i>	<i>t-q'ulipx'-unā'yu</i> (see under 6) § 12
sweetheart	<i>L-qōlix'</i>	<i>t-qōleyū</i>

(6) In a number of cases the plural is formed by the insertion of the syllable *-yū-* which may be either an affix or may be considered as an expansion of the vowel of the stem by dieresis.

	Singular	Plural
to bathe	- ^ε ōt	- ^ε ōyut
to rise	-xalatch	-xalayutck
to notch	-ts!ēlx	-ts!ā'yulx
to dance	-wītck	-wāyutck
to awaken	- ^ε ōtc	- ^ε ōyutc

(7) The personal demonstrative pronoun has a plural in *-c*.

<i>x'ī'ta</i> these things	<i>x'ī'tac</i> these men	} (see § 44)
<i>qō'ta</i> those things	<i>qō'tac</i> those men	

(8) Several nouns and verbs form singular and plural from distinct or distantly related stems, as:

	Singular	Plural
woman	ō- ^ε ō'kuil	t-ā'nēmckc
child	l-k!ā'sks	t-qā'sōsinīks
child (some one's)	l-xa	l-a
relative	l-icx	t-cōlal
slave	ē-la'itix	t-ēltgēu
eye	ē'-qot	Dual s-qōct
to be	-ō-c	-x-ēla-itix
to cry	-ge'tsax	-xēnēm
to stand	-txuit	-xēna
to die	-ō-meqt	-xē'-L-ait
to kill	-ā-wa ^ε	-o-tēna

§ 39. VOCATIVE

A few nouns, particularly terms of relationship, have a vocative, which has no pronominal element, as:

<i>aō</i> younger brother!	<i>mā'ma</i> father!
<i>āts</i> younger sister!	<i>āq</i> son!
<i>kā'pxō</i> elder brother! elder sister!	<i>āc</i> daughter!
<i>qāc</i> grandchild! (said by man)	<i>cīkc</i> friend!
<i>ka'ē</i> grandchild! (said by woman)	

§ 40. DERIVATION OF NOUNS

On the whole the derivation of the numerous polysyllabic nouns in Chinook is obscure. Evidently a considerable number of nominal affixes exist, which, however, occur so rarely that their significance can not be determined. Examples are the derivatives from the stem *ēlx* LAND, COUNTRY—*ilē'ē* COUNTRY (the *x* disappears because the vowel following *lx* carries the accent) *lgōlē'lxēm* PERSON, *ē'lxam* TOWN,

tē'lx-em PEOPLE. From the stem *xē* we have *iqoatē'xēxē* BULLFROG; from the stem *kon*, *iqto'konkon* WOODPECKER.

A few affixes only occur fairly frequently, but even in these cases it is sometimes impossible to classify the words satisfactorily.

1. **-kē-**. I presume this prefix is the same as, or at least related to, the verbal prefix *-ki-*, *-gi-*, which signifies that a verb usually transitive is used without object. Thus may be explained—

o'gi'liq'up a cut
igē'li'mēnli'mēn something rotten
tgilē'matk store
oguē'p̄xatē alder (= wood for dyeing)
ik!ē'wulēliq food
ē'k'it payment for a wife
lk!ē'wax torch, flower
tkipalā'wul word
tkimō'cx-em toy
ik!etē'nax game

2. **-qe-**. This seems to be a nominal prefix corresponding to the verbal reflexive *-x-*.

ōqōgu'nklatk club (from *-x-gu'k* to club)
lqē'tcamētē comb (from *-xel-tciam* to comb one's self)
lqēlē'tcuwa hat (from *-xenlē'tcuwa* to hang a round thing on top of one's self)
iqats!ē'lzak panther } (from *-xtsē'lzakō* to have a notch around
ōqotsiā'yulzak ants } one's self)

Judging from these examples, it would seem plausible that most nouns beginning with *-gi-*, *-ki-*, *-k!ē-*, *-qē-*, *-q!ē-*, contain these prefixes, for instance:

igē'luxtcutk arrow-head
igē'm̄xatk burial
igē'l'otē elk-skin
oguē'n̄xak plank
ōk!wē'lak dried salmon

and other similar ones. Here may also belong

oquewi'qe knife
oq!welā'wulx maturing girl (the one who is moved up, hidden?)
iq!eyō'qxut old

The extensive use of these prefixes is also illustrated by—

iqēk!ē's BRASS, but
ik!ē'sa GALL (both from *k!ēs* YELLOW)
iqē'p!al doorway (probably from *-p!a* INTO [=that into which people always enter])

3. *na-* is a local prefix.

naLxoa'p HOLE (from *Lxoa'p* to dig)

na'e'lim the country of the Tillamook (from *e'lim*)

4. *-tē* a suffix signifying TREE, WOOD.

oguē'p̄xatē alder (= wood for dyeing).

5. *-tk* is a nominal suffix the significance of which is quite obscure.

In a few cases it indicates the point of an object, but in many cases this explanation is quite unsatisfactory. It seems possible that this suffix is the same as the verbal stem *-tk* TO PUT DOWN, TO DEPOSIT, so that its meaning might be something on the ground, or something attached to something else, or a part of something else. This explanation would be satisfactory in words like—

i'potitk forearm

igē'lux̄tcutk arrow-head

iwa'nematk belly-cut of a fish

ilemē'tk BED may be derived from *-ēlx̄* GROUND, and may mean PUT DOWN ON THE GROUND

ikalxē'lematk may mean PUT DOWN TO EAT FROM (= dish)

The following list contains some stems with their nominal and verbal derivatives. It will be noted that in a number of cases the verb is derived from the noun.

-p̄xa ALDER-BARK.

ō'-p̄xa alder-bark

ō-guē'-p̄xa-tē alder

L-gē'-p̄xa-tē alder-woods

-al-ō'-p̄xa to dye in alder-bark

L-q-L-al-ō'-p̄xa dyed cedar-bark

-ts!ēlx̄ TO NOTCH.

i-qa-ts!ē' Lx-ak what has a notch around itself (= panther)

ō-go-ts!ā'yū Lx-ak those with notches around themselves (= ants)

-s-x-ts!ēlx̄-akō to make a notch around a thing

-k!anx̄ā'tē DRIFT-NET.

ō-k!unx̄ā'tē drift-net

-xen-k!anx̄ā'tē-mam to go to catch in drift-net

nauā'itk NET.

-xe-nauā'itgē to catch in net

-wiuc URINE OF MALE.

L-ō'-wiuc urine

-xa-wiuc to urinate

o-wiū'c-matk chamber

-*kxamit* TO PAY ATTENTION.

i-ka-kxamit mind

-*a-kxamit* to pay attention

-*gunk* TO CLUB.

ō-qō-gu'nk-La-tk club

-*x-gunk* to club

-*tciam* TO COMB.

L-qē-tcam-ē-tē comb

-*Lxē* TO CRAWL.

L-qa-Lxē'-la one who crawls much (= crab)

-*utca* EAR.

ō'-utca ear

-*x-wu'tca-tk* to hear

-*Lxel(ēm)* TO EAT.

i-ka-Lxel'-matk dish

-*oic* TO BREAK WIND.

-*xē'l'oic-qc* to break wind (perhaps for *-oicqoic*)

ō'-wic-qc wind broken

-*Lx* AROUND NECK.

-*Lx-ōt* it is around the neck

i-q!ē'-Lx-ōt necklace

-*tēwa* TO BAIL OUT.

-*x-tēwa* to bail out canoe

o-ē-i-tewā'-Lx-tē for bailing out into the water (= bailer)

-*kamōt* PROPERTY.

-*x-ēmōta* to barter

t-kamō'ta property

-*kema(tk)* BATON.

ō'-kumatk baton

-*xematk* to beat time with baton

-*Lē* TO CATCH WITH HERRING-RAKE.

-*x-Lē-n* to catch with herring-rake

i-qa-Lē'-ma-tk herring-rake

-*mōcxēm* TO PLAY, TO FOOL.

t-ki-mō'cxēma toys

-*m'cx* WOOD.

ē-m'cx tree

ō-m'ēcx kettle

-*xel-mēqci* to gather wood

-*plā* TO ENTER.

i-qē'-plāl doorway

-lētcuwa TO PUT HOLLOW THING ON TOP OF SOMETHING.

L-qē-lētcuwā'-ma hat

-qct LOUSE.

ō-qct louse

-gē-qcta to louse

-k^{ut}ck TO NET

c-k^{ut}ck-mā'tk net-shuttle

-xel-gē'-k^{ut}ck to net

-tciakt TO POINT.

-gen-tciaktē to point at something

gì-tcā'aktē-l pointer (= first finger)

-mq TO SPIT.

-ō-mqo-it to spit

-ō-m^s-a to vomit

L-mx-tē saliva

-kta THING, SOMETHING, WHAT.

i-cta thing, something, what

-gem-ō-kti to pay

§ 41. NOUNS AND VERBS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.

Many particles (see § 46) can be used as stems of nouns. I have found the following examples:

i-yūll! pride 74.11 (from *yūll!* proud)

tk!ē'waxema torches 27.22 (from *wax* light, to shine)

ik!ē'wax flower 165.27 (from *wax* to bloom)

ēwaxō'mi copper (from *wax* light, to shine)

ik!wac^sō'mi fear 213.10 (from *k!wac* afraid)

iq!lq!up cut 46.2 (from *lq!up* to cut)

iqē'L!menL!men syphilis (from *L!men* soft, rotten)

nats!ē'x piece 69.3 (from *ts!ēx* to tear)

naLxoā'p hole 23.7 (from *Lxoā'p* to dig)

nalō'lō something round (from *lō'lō* round)

-xā'penic a woman gives herself in payment for services of a shaman 203.11 (from *pā'nic* to give in payment for services of a shaman)

-gē'staq!oam to go to war 270.1 (from *staq!* war)

L-xq!am to be lazy (from *q!am* lazy)

ne-āxarome to notice 40.14 (from *xāx* to notice)

cē'kpelept it boils (from *lep* to boil)

-xā'gīlq!up to cut one's self (from *lq!up* to cut)

Nevertheless this series of stems is sharply set off from all others, since the latter never occur without pronominal elements, excepting a few vocatives that have been mentioned in § 39.

§ 42. COMPOUND NOUNS

There are only very few examples of nouns compounded of two independent elements, as:

c-gē-mō'lak-tc̄rict my elk nose 193.19 (*c-* dual; *-gē-* my; *-mōlak* elk; *-tc̄rict* nose)

t!agēla'ktē woman's utensils (*t-* plural; *-agē'lak* woman; *-ktē* things)

i-k!ani-y-i'l̄xam myth town 216.8 (*i-* masculine *-kanam* myth; *-el̄xam* town)

A number of nouns, particularly names of animals, are descriptive in character. These were probably used as alternates in case one name of an animal became tabued through the death of a person bearing its name, or a name similar to it. Examples are:

iqats!ē'l̄xak having a notch around itself, i. e., with a thin belly (= panther)

oqots!iā'yul̄xak those having notches around themselves (= ants)

itcā'yan ā'yaqtq snake's head (= dragon fly)

ē'galelx going into the water (= mink)

otcō'it̄xul dip-net maker (= spider)

eqē'wam the sleepy one (= a fish [sp.])

okō'l̄xul thief (= mouse)

ik!u'tk!ut the one who always breaks (bones) (= dog [Kathlamet dialect])

§ 43. SUBSTANTIVES AS QUALIFIERS

Substantives are often used to qualify other substantives. In this case the qualifying substantive takes the gender of the one qualified:

ō'k̄xōla o'ō'wun a male silver-side salmon 109.3

e'ē'kil imō'lak a female elk 264.3

ē'k̄xala imō'lak a male elk 264.2

These qualifiers are not adjectives, but remain true substantives, as is shown by the feminine prefix *ō-*, which is characteristic of substantives.

§ 44. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

(1) *Demonstrative Pronouns of Lower Chinook.* The structure of the demonstrative pronoun of the Chinook proper is analogous to that of the noun. It consists of a modal element, which seems to express visibility and invisibility; the personal pronoun which expresses gender; and the demonstrative element, which expresses position near the first, second, and third persons.

(1) Modal element.

Visibility, or existence in present time *x*-Invisibility, or existence in past time *q*-

(2) Gender.

Masculine *-i*-Feminine *-a*-Neuter *-L*-Dual *-ct*-Plural *-t*-

(3) Demonstrative element.

Near first person *-k*Near second person *-au* (*-i-a*)Near third person *-x* (*-ō-a*)

In the forms with consonantic pronoun (*-L*-, *-ct*-, *-t*-), the demonstrative element is represented by a secondary character—*-i*- (*-ē*-) preceding the pronoun for the demonstratives of the first and second persons; *-ō*- for the demonstrative pronoun of the third person.

Thus the following table develops:

Present, Visible

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	<i>x'ik</i>	<i>x'ak</i>	<i>x'ilik</i>
Near 2d person	<i>x'iau</i>	<i>x'au</i>	<i>x'ila</i>
Near 3d person	<i>x'ix'</i>	<i>x'aḡ</i>	<i>x'ōla</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
Near 1st person	<i>x'ictik</i>	<i>x'itik</i>	<i>x'itike</i>
Near 2d person	<i>x'icta</i>	<i>x'ita</i>	<i>x'itac</i>
Near 3d person	<i>x'ōcta</i>	<i>x'ōta</i>	<i>x'ōtac</i>

Past, Invisible

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person	—	—	—
Near 2d person	<i>q'iau</i>	—	<i>q'ēla</i>
Near 3d person	<i>q'ix'</i>	<i>q'aḡ</i>	<i>q'ōla</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
Near 1st person	—	—	—
Near 2d person	<i>q'ēcta</i>	<i>q'ēta</i>	<i>q'ētac</i>
Near 3d person	<i>q'ōcta</i>	<i>q'ōta</i>	<i>q'ōtac</i>

The forms for past or invisible near the first person do not seem to occur. Besides these, emphatic forms occur in which the initial elements are doubled. Of these I have found the following:

Present, Visible

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
<i>x'ix'ĩ'k</i>	<i>ʔaxā'k</i>	—
<i>x'ix'iau'</i>	<i>ʔaxau'</i>	—
<i>x'ix'ĩ'x</i>	<i>ʔaxā'ʔ</i>	<i>x'ix'ō'la</i>
Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>x'ix'ō'cta</i>	<i>x'ix'ō'ta</i>	<i>x'ix'ō'tac, x'ix'ō'lac</i>

Past, Invisible

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
—	—	—
<i>qiqiau'</i>	<i>qaqau'</i>	—
<i>qiqē'x</i>	<i>qaqā'ʔ</i>	<i>qiqō'la</i>
Dual	Plural	Plural, human beings
—	—	—
—	—	—
<i>qiqō'cta</i>	<i>qiqō'ta</i>	<i>qiqō'ctac</i>

On the whole, these doubled forms are used more frequently in a predicative sense than the single forms. Apparently they are often substantival forms, but I think they are better characterized as predicative. Quite often these forms may be translated **THIS ONE, WHO**.

x'ix'ē'k alqē'tk^ulam x'ila lq'eyō'qxōt it is this (masc.), he brought it (masc.) this (neut.) old man 67.6

ōq'ō'xōl ʔaxau' ō'lxat Ōq'ō'xōl, this is the one, she has come down to the beach 107.9 (*ō-* she; *-lx* to the beach; *-t* perfect)

x'ix'iau amigā't!ōm this one whom you met 185.12 (*a-* transitive; *m-* thou; *i-* him; *-gatq* to meet; *-am* completive)

aniā'wa^q qiqiau'x ktcenxgā'lukl I killed that one who always went first 89.5 (*-wa^q* to kill; *qiqiau'x* probably for *qiqiau'*; *k-* the one who; *tcen*—he me; *-xgako* to go about; *-l* with suffix *-ako* by metathesis *-alukl*)

The simple forms occur generally in adjectival form.

nal^ē'ma ʔak ōk'u'ltcin I will give her this fish head 183.7 (*nal-* I her to her; *-ē^m* to give food; *-a* future; *ōk'u'ltcin* fish head)

atciLE'l^ēm ikamō'kʔuk qō'la Lqē'wusʔ he gave a bone to that dog 187.12 (*atciLEl-* he him to it; *ikamō'kʔuk* bone; *Lqē'wusʔ* dog)

k^uca'la x'ik nē'mal up this river 220.2

In some cases I have found *tikc*, *tik*, *lik* instead of the same elements with the prefix *x'i*, but I am not certain whether in these cases the beginning of the word was not slurred over.

Apparently there is also a duplication of the terminal element in *-k*. At least this is a possible explanation of the form *x'ix'ē'kik*.

x'ix'ī'gik mkā'nax tēmā'xō this here is what will make you rich
218.1 (*m-* thou; *-kā'nax* chief, rich man; *tēm-* he thee; *a-* directive before *x*; *-x* to make; *-ō* future after *x*)

ē'kta tciuwā'ya x'ix'ē'kik what can this one do! 134.25

īā! x'ix'ē'kik! oh, this (miserable) one! 41.10, 147.1

tgā'ma^ε x'itē'kik these are shot 213.20 (*tgā-* their; *-ma^ε* being shot)

To this form may belong the demonstratives *ō'kuk*, *yō'kuk*, *ya'īkuk*, *x'ix'ō'kuk*, *qigō'k*, but all these seem to be demonstrative adverbs.

(2) *Demonstrative Adverbs of Lower Chinook.* These are very numerous and it is difficult to present them in a systematic way. One set corresponds strictly to the set described before. The forms expressing present have the element *x'-*, those expressing past *q-*. Both occur with the two vowels *-ī-* and *-ō-*, which, in this case, seem to express **THIS** and **THAT**. Their locative character is expressed by the suffixed locative element *gō*. Thus we find—

x'igō

x'ōgō

qigō

qōgō

a'ltā ā'lō iau'a x'igō nalxoā'p algā'yax ilē'ē now they went thus to this place where they had dug up the ground 23.7 (*a'ltā* now; *a-* transitional; *L-* indefinite; *-ō* to go; *iau'a* here thus; *na-* place; *Lxoā'p* to dig; *a-* transitional; *Lg-* indefinite transitive subject; *-āy-* for *-ī-* masculine object; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do; *ilē'ē* ground masc.)

x'igō Nagalā'mat, gō tgā'k^uLil qō'ta-y-ē'ka here at Galā'mat is their custom thus 240.25 (*na-* place; *gō* there; *tgā'-*their; *-k^uLil* custom; *ē'ka* thus)

īā'xkēwa tal! x'ōk q!at aqā'nax nevertheless there I am loved 39.5 (*īā'xkēwa* there thus; *tal!* nevertheless; *q!at* to love; *a-* transitional; *-ān'* me [accented *ā*]; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

tc!a'a, qa'da x'ōgu nē'xax see! how I became here 178.8

a'ltā lpil qigō lek^u nē'xax now it was red where it was broken 185.20 (*lpil* red; *lek^u* to break)

pāl ikā'pa qigō mā'lnē it was full of ice there seaward 44.24 (*pāl* full; *ikā'pa* ice; *mā'lnē* seaward)

ale'xelatcgux qigō nōpō'nēm^x he would arise when it was night 165.6

qōgu itcā'q!atxala ayā'xelax utcā'nix there the wedge was bad 161.8 (*ī-* masculine; *-tcā-* feminine possessive; *-q!atxala* badness; *ayā'xelax* hers is on her; *utcā'nix* wedge)

a'ctōp! gō qōgō gitanō'kstx t!ōL they entered that little house 29.14
(*a'ctō* they two go; *-p!* into; *gō* there; *gitanō'kstx* having their smallness)

A distinct series, continuing the idea IN THIS MANNER are *ya'kwa*, *yau'a*, *ē'wa*, *qēwa*, *ya'zkēwa*.

Related to these is the interrogative *qā'xēwa*. All of these contain the element *-wa*. They designate nearness and distance, but I am unable to tell the difference in their use, which is rather indefinite. According to their form *ya'kwa* (= *yak-wa*) probably belongs with the series designating position near the speaker, *yau'a* (= *yau-wa*) position near the person addressed. The form *ēwa* seems to correspond to the demonstrative position near the third person, while *ya'zkēwa* always refers back to a place previously designated: **THUS JUST AT THAT PLACE.**

iakwa' gōyē' ā'tax here he did thus 65.21 (*gōyē'* thus; *āt-* he her; *-ax* to do)

nēkct mō'ya iau'a do not go there! 185.17

nē'k'ikst ē'wa wē'wulē he looked there into the house 130.17 (*nē-* he, intransitive; *-k'i* designates lack of object; *-kst* to look; *wē'wulē* inside of house)

iā'zkēwa nē'xankō there (to the place pointed out) he ran 23.17

iā'zkēwa ayuqunā'ētix't there (where he was shot) he fell down 62.22

The forms in *-wa* are used often to express the idea **HERE—THERE:**

ē'wa ē'nata, iau'a ē'natai here on this side,—there on that side 201.12

ia'kwa nō'ix ā'ēxat, iau'a ta'nuta nō'ix ā'ēxat here went the one (feminine); there to the other side went the other 75.14

But we find also forms in *-uk* used in the same way—

iō'kuk agā'yutk iqē'sqēs, ia'kwa ē'natai agā'yutk kā'sa-it here on one side she put blue-jay, there on the other robin 50.4

īā'yapc iakwa', —iō'kuk iā'melk his foot there,—here his thigh 174.15

The same adverb is not often repeated to indicate different directions or places.

īā'ma iau'a mō'yima; nākct iau'a mai'ēmē iltā'yim only there (upstream) go; do not go there downstream 192.9

Generally repetition refers to the same places.

iau'a acgixa'lukctgux, iau'a acgixa'lukctgux here they two threw him down, here they two threw him down; i. e., they threw him down again and again 26.8

yauā' actik!ēlā'p̄wīt̄zē, yauā' actik!ēlā'p̄wīt̄zē there they turned over each other again and again 127.4

iā'koa-y-ēxt, iā'koa-y-ēxt kanā'mtēma one here, one here, both; i. e., one in each hand 45.10 (see also 157.22)

As stated before, the forms in *-uk* seem to have adverbial meaning. Following are examples of their uses:

ō'kuk klā'qēwam ikē'x imē'xanātē there (with that) shaman is thy soul 199.23 (*klā'qēwam* one having a shaman's song; *i-* he; *-kē-* indicates absence of object; *-x* to do, to be; *-mē-* thy; *-kanātē* soul)

io'kuk agā'yutk gō itcā'xemalap'ix here she put him in her armpit 50.4 (*-tk* to put; *-kemalap'ix* armpit)

aqā'nukct x'ix-ō'kuk some one looked at me here 30.8 (*-kct* to look)
Lōnas yaxku'k ltxā'mama Lōc may be our father is there 29.14 (*Lōnas* may be; *-mama* father; *-c* to be)

tcintuwa'ōmx qiqō'k antsauwī'p!enā'nanma-itx te'k̄xēql he comes to kill me when I always jump in my house 64.25 (*tc-* he; *n-* me; *t-* to come; *-wa'* to kill; *-am* to arrive; *-x* habitually; *a-* transitional; *n-* I; *ts-* probably for *s-* both [feet]; *-auwī-* for *-ōn* into them [see § 9]; *-pen* to jump; *-ān* assimilated for *-āl* always [§ 8] *-a-itx* always [§ 31.10])

Quite isolated is the form *ia'xkatī*, which appears with great frequency. The ending *-ti* is evidently adverbial, as is shown by the parallel Kathlamet form *gipā'tix* THERE, and *nō'l!katix* FOR A LITTLE WHILE. It signifies the position near the third person, THERE.

iā'xkatī mō'p!aya! enter there! 24.5

iā'xkatē ayō'la-it there he stayed 76.14

Still another form, apparently related to the forms in *-uk*, is *ia'xkayuk* HERE.

ia'xkayuk ayō'yam here he arrived 64.24

ia'xkayuk nL^seltā'qla I shall leave it here 186.1

Related to this form may be *yukpā'* HERE and *yukpā't* TO THIS POINT HERE. These contain the locative suffix *-pa* AT, which is characteristic of Upper Chinook, but does not occur in Lower Chinook, while the ending *-t* is directive and related to the Upper Chinook *-ta* (see § 55).

yukpā' iā'ma^s atcē'lax here he hit him (his shooting he did to him here) 62.22

yukpā' ayageltcē'mex'it here it hit him 153.22

yukpā't lā'yagsō aqlē'lax iLā'lqta his hair was made that long (to here his hair someone made it on him its length) 156.17

yukpē't nīLē'la-it ltcuq up to here he stood in (it) the water 225.8

It will be noticed that the element *iax* (*yaʔ*) occurs quite frequently in these demonstratives. As terminal element it is found in *x'ix'ō'yaʔ*, *gō'yaʔ* and the interrogative *qā'xēyaʔ*.

As initial element it occurs in *ya'ʔkuk*, *ia'ʔkayuk*, *ia'ʔkēwa*, *ia'ʔkati*.

It is undoubtedly identical with the terminal *yaʔ* of the Kathlamet demonstrative and with the first element in *ia'ʔka* HE ALONE, the third person masculine personal pronoun of Lower Chinook.

(3) *Demonstrative Pronouns of Kathlamet.* In Kathlamet and Wishram, the distinction of visible and invisible does not occur and the structure of the demonstratives is quite different. In both Kathlamet and Wishram, the demonstrative expressing location near the first person has a prefix (which in Kathlamet has the same form for masculine and feminine), while all the other genders are designated by their characteristic sounds. In Wishram this prefix is invariable. The location near the second and third persons is expressed in both dialects by invariable suffixes.

Kathlamet

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person . . .	<i>tayaʔ</i>	<i>tauwā'ʔ</i>	<i>lālā'ʔ</i>
Near 2d person . . .	<i>yā'ʔauē</i>	<i>ā'ʔauē</i>	<i>lā'ʔauē</i>
Near 3d person . . .	<i>yaʔ-i'(yaʔ)</i>	<i>waʔ-i'(yaʔ)</i>	<i>laʔ-i'(yaʔ)</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, persons
Near 1st person . . .	<i>ctactā'ʔ</i>	<i>tatā'ʔ</i>	<i>lālā'ikc tatā'ikc</i>
Near 2d person . . .	<i>ctā'ʔauē</i>	<i>tā'ʔauē</i>	(?)
Near 3d person . . .	<i>ctax-i'(yaʔ)</i>	<i>tax-i'(yaʔ)</i>	<i>la-itci ta-itci</i>

Besides these forms, Kathlamet has two very short forms, *gi* and *tau*. Both are used for positions corresponding to HERE, but their exact relationship has not been determined. They occur with all genders and numbers. The form *tau* is undoubtedly identical with the Wishram *dau*, which characterizes the first and second persons as prefix and suffix.

its!ā'ts!emôm gi ā'mēqct her sweetness this thy louse (=your louse here is sweet) 118.12 (Kathlamet Texts)

lā'ema gi lē'tcīn lā'tgatʔ only this stump drifts down 92.5 (*ibid.*)

qātqī k!ā igō'xoax gi tgu'nat? why have these salmon disappeared? (why nothing became these salmon?) 47.8 (*ibid.*)

qā'mta iō'ya tau igiʔatk!oā'mam? where went he who came home? 162.7 (*ibid.*)

iklotā'mit tau aqagē'lak this woman carried him away 163.1 (*ibid.*)

The element *gi* appears also presumably in *tānki* SOMETHING.

(4) *Demonstrative Adverbs of Kathlamet.* The two most frequent forms of the demonstrative adverbs in Kathlamet are

gipā' here

gōpā' there

both compounds of demonstrative stems and the locative suffix *-pa*

gipā' gi t̄ā'q̄q̄emapa ayamēlgē'tga here to these our wedges I shall put you 114.13 (Kathlamet Texts) (*t̄ā-* our; *-q̄q̄em* wedge; *-ma* plural; *-pa* to; *ayamēl-* I to thee; *-gi-* indicates absence of object; *-tk* to put; *-a* future)

gipā' c̄xq!ōā' Lqōx here the two were grown together 17.1 (*ibid.*)

ic̄xē'la-ītx kō'pa they stayed there 10.6 (*ibid.*)

kōpa' igīxi'qo-ītq then he awoke 21.8 (*ibid.*)

imō'lak gōpā' cā'xalīx an elk is up there 71.5 (*ibid.*)

In place of *gipā'* the stronger form *gipā'tīx* is found.

gipā'tīx siā'xōstpa right here on his face 76.14 (*ibid.*)

Compare with this form—

ilō'yam ēlxpadīx they arrived in that land 17.14 (*ibid.*)

iq̄quē'wulxt iq̄ā'mēnoqpā'tīx he climbed a pine there 11.14 (*ibid.*)

Corresponding to the forms *yukpē't*, *yukpē'tema*, in Lower Chinook we find here *gipe't*, *gipe'temax*.

gipe't ā'yalqt up to here its thickness 189.5 (*ibid.*)

Lxp!ōctemtīx LE'Laqcō gipe'temax braided was his hair to here 131.10 (*ibid.*)

Often *yaṛ·ī'* (masc. dem. 3d person) is used as an adverb:

yaṛī' aqalā'x there (was) the sun 109.3

ya'xi mā'Lnīx igē'kta there seaward he ran 172.11

The series of forms of Lower Chinook ending in *-wa* is represented by *ā'koa*, *ē'wa*.

iqcxē'lau ā'koa itcō'xoā here thus he made her a monster 224.3 (*ibid.*) (*iqcxē'lau* monster; *itcō-* he her)

lān laxi ā'kua lxō'la? who is that here thus talking? 51.9 (*ibid.*)
lān who; *lxō-* it by itself)

ictō'lxā ē'wa ikak!ō'lītx the two went down there thus to the lake 18.95 (*ibid.*)

It is characteristic of Upper Chinook that these forms occur often with distributive endings and with directive *-ta*.

māktc ā'wimax itcā'lqtax two these thus their length 189.4 (*ibid.*)
(*māktc* two; *itcā-* her; *-lqtax* length)

Another adverb is found in this dialect, *tē'ka* THUS HERE.

tē'ka gi atxōqō'ya! here we will sleep! 109.4 (*ibid.*)

tē'ka atxk!ayā'wulalēma here we will play! 167.17 (*ibid.*)

(5) *Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs in Wishram* (by E. Sapir).

	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Near 1st person . . .	{ <i>da'uya</i> (x) <i>da'ya</i> (x)	{ <i>da'ua</i> (x) <i>da'wa</i> (x)	{ <i>da'ula</i> (x) <i>da'la</i> (x)
Near 2d person . . .	{ <i>ya'xdau</i> <i>ya'xda</i> (x)	{ <i>a'xdau</i> <i>a'xda</i> (x)	{ <i>la'xdau</i> <i>la'xda</i> (x)
Near 3d person . . .	<i>ya'xia</i> (x)	<i>a'xia</i> (x)	<i>la'xia</i> (x)
Near 3d person (formed from <i>ya'xdau</i>) . . .	<i>yakā'xdau</i>	<i>akā'xdau</i>	<i>lakā'xdau</i>
	Dual	Plural	Plural, persons
Near 1st person . . .	{ <i>da'ucda</i> (x) <i>da'cda</i> (x)	{ <i>da'uda</i> (x) <i>da'da</i> (x)	{ <i>da'uda-itc</i> <i>da'da-itc</i> <i>da'(u)la-itc</i> <i>da'(u)a-itc</i> <i>da'xdauaite</i> <i>la'xdauaite</i> <i>a'xdauaite</i>
Near 2d person . . .	{ <i>cda'xdau</i> <i>cda'xda</i> (x)	{ <i>da'xdau</i> <i>da'xda</i> (x)	{ <i>da'xiaite</i> <i>la'xiaite</i> <i>a'xiaite</i>
Near 3d person . . .	<i>cda'xia</i> (x)	<i>da'xia</i> (x)	{ <i>dakā'xdauaite</i> <i>lakā'xdauaite</i> <i>akā'xdauaite</i>
Near 3d person (formed from <i>ya'xdau</i>) . . .	<i>cdakā'xdau</i>	<i>dakā'xdau</i>	

NOTE.—It is somewhat doubtful whether *ya'xdau* should be so read or as *ya'xda*. (x) in personal and demonstrative pronouns is deictic in value.

-ka may be added to demonstratives in -itc.

Elements -t/a and -t/ikc are perhaps "diminutive" forms of demonstrative pronominal stem *da* THIS and personal plural -dikc.

Following is a list of the demonstrative adverbs of the Wishram dialect:

	Locative	up to	towards, on . . . side
Stem <i>da</i> (u)	<i>da'ba</i> here	<i>dapt</i>	<i>dabā't</i> little ways further on
Stem <i>kwô</i>	<i>kwô'ba</i> there	<i>kwôpt</i>	<i>kwôbā't</i>
Stem <i>iaxi</i>	{ <i>(yax da'ba</i> 48.16) ¹ <i>ia'xiba</i> yonder <i>ia'xi</i> away, off	<i>ya'xpt</i>	<i>iaxā't</i> further on
Stem <i>di</i>	<i>dika</i> here (<i>dika dabā'</i> 92.11)	(-pt also in <i>qa'n t c i p t</i> how long?)	<i>di'gat</i> (18.17)

¹ References in the rest of this section relate to E. Sapir, *Wishram Texts* (vol. II, Publication Amer. Ethnol. Society).

Stem <i>gi</i>	Locative	towards, on . . . side
		<i>gi'gat</i> (18.17)
		<i>i'wat</i> to you (place. (106.22)
	<i>i'wa</i> thus, there	<i>iwa'tka</i> (158.24)

NOTE.—Compounded with *gi* are also *da'ngi* SOMETHING; *qa'tgi* SOMEHOW; *qza'matgi* SOMEWHERE (96.11).

Related to *di'ka* and *di'gad* is perhaps *digu'tciṣ* PERHAPS (96.17); also *di'wi* LIKE.

In *-ṣi* we have, besides *ya'ṣi*, also (*aga*) *du'ṣi* OH, WELL! (60.4).

NOTE.—*Ya'ṣa* INDEED (also in *qut i'aṣa* AS IT TURNED OUT); *au* (perhaps = *aw'*, *a'wa*, and related to Chinook *ya'wa*) in *da'n au ayamlu'da* WHAT, PRAY, SHALL I GIVE YOU? (154.6); *yaza'wa* HOWEVER.

Note also *kwō'biṣiṣ* RIGHT THERE, NOT VERY FAR.

-a'diṣ forms: *a'ngadiṣ* LONG AGO; *iṣka'diṣ* (192.2); *ina'tkadiṣ* (192.5).

With stem *dau*: *kwō'dau* AND; *da'ukwa* JUST AS BEFORE; *qri'das* THUS.

§ 45. Independent Personal Pronoun

The independent personal pronoun is formed from the objective pronoun by means of a number of suffixes of unknown origin and the terminal suffix *-ka* ONLY.

<i>naika</i> I	<i>ntaika</i> we two (exclusive)	<i>ntcaika</i> we (exclusive)
<i>maika</i> thou	<i>tzaika</i> we two (inclusive)	<i>lzaika</i> we (inclusive)
<i>ia'xka</i> he	<i>mtaika</i> your two selves	<i>mcaika</i> ye
<i>a'xka</i> she	<i>cta'xka</i> their two selves	
<i>la'ska</i> it		<i>ta'ska</i> they

These forms may also be interpreted as intransitive verbs. Another emphatic form, apparently more verbal in character, is—

<i>nā'mka</i> I alone
<i>mā'mka</i> thou alone, etc.

A peculiar form *mā'ca* YOU occurs in the texts (23.1)

In the Kathlamet dialect an emphatic form *na'yax* I, *ma'yax* thou (Kathlamet Texts 114.11) is found, which occurs also in Wishram.

The forms for I, THOU, etc., ALONE are:

<i>na'ēma</i> I alone	<i>tza'ēma</i> we alone 134.16
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These correspond to Wishram forms recorded by Sapir:

<i>na'-ima</i> I alone	<i>la'imadikc</i> , <i>da'-imadikc</i> , <i>a'-imadikc</i>
<i>ma'-ima</i> thou alone	they alone
<i>lza'-imadikc</i> we (incl.) alone	

Besides these, Doctor Sapir has recorded in Wishram the following:

Shortest form:

<i>na(x)</i> I	<i>ya(x)</i> he	<i>da'-itc</i> they
		<i>la'-itc</i> they (Wishram Texts 48.4)
		<i>a'-itc</i> they

Inclusive:

<i>nai't!a</i> I too	<i>ya'xt!a</i> he too	<i>la'-it!ikc</i> they too
<i>lxai't!ikc</i> we too		<i>da'-it!ikc</i> they too
		<i>a'-it!ikc</i> they too

He remarks that the demonstratives of the third person (*ya'xia*) seem morphologically parallel to first and second personal emphatic pronouns (*na'ya*); that the demonstrative element *-i-* is characteristic of the first and second persons, *-x-* of the third; as in

<i>na-i-ka</i> I	<i>ya-x-ka</i> he
<i>na'-i-t!a</i> I too	<i>ya-x-t!a</i> he too
<i>na'-(i)-ya</i> I	<i>ya'-x-ia</i> he

These elements *-i-* and *-x-* are probably identical with Chinook *-i-* and *-x-*, *-x* in *x'ila* and *x'ix*, *x'ax*.

Particles (§§ 46-52)

§ 46. Attribute Complements

It is one of the most striking characteristics of the Chinook language that a few verbs of very indefinite meaning which require subjective and objective attribute complements are applied with great frequency. By far the greater number of these, and the most characteristic ones, are words that do not require pronominal prefixes. Many are clearly of onomatopoeic origin. In some cases it appears doubtful whether the words belong to the regular vocabulary of the language, or whether they are individual productions. This is true particularly when the words do not form part of the sentence, but appear rather as independent exclamations. Examples of this kind are the following:

oxwiwā'yul kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm they danced, *kumm, kumm, kumm, kumm*, 167.5 (here *kumm* indicates the noise of the feet of the dancers)

hōmm, iguā'nat ēnīlā'kux hōmm, I smell salmon 67.3

a'lta, pemm, temōtsqā'nuks gō iā'yacql now *pemm*, flies were about his mouth 72.22 (*pemm* indicates the noise of flies)

tcx, tcx, tcx, tcx, gō lkamelā'leq there was noise of footsteps (*tcx*) on the sand 75.3

In a number of cases onomatopoeic terms which undoubtedly belong to the regular vocabulary are used in the same manner:

tcɣup, tcɣup, tcɣup, tcɣup *alɛ'xax* *lā'k!ēwax* the torch flickered (literally, made *tcɣup*) 50.24

L!äq, L!äq, L!äq, Lā'xa *nē'xax* *iskē'pɣoa*, out, out, out, out came a rabbit 113.6

These cases make it plausible that most terms of this kind belong to the regular vocabulary. The frequent use of such onomatopoeic words and the occurrence of new words of the same kind (such as *t!ntin* CLOCK, WATCH, TIME; *tsi'ktsik* WAGON) suggest that in Chinook the power of forming new words by imitative sounds has been quite vigorous until recent times.

Examples of onomatopoeic words of this class are:

hē'hē to laugh

hō'hō to cough

pō to blow

t!eq to slap

t!āk to break a piece out

tō'tō to shake

cix to rattle

cāu low voice

tsɛx to break

tcɣup to flicker

tczoap to gnaw

k!ut to tear off

ɣwē to blow

lep to boil

L!äq to crackle

L!lep to go under water

It is difficult to say where, in this class of words, the purely onomatopoeic character ceases, and where a more indirect representation of the verbal idea by sound begins. I think a distinct auditory image of the idea expressed is found in the following words:

iū'L!l proud

wāx to pour out

pāl full

temɛ'n clear

tell tired

tc!pāk loud

gu'tgut exhausted

ge'cgɛc to drive

ku'lkul light (of weight)

k!ā silent

q!am lazy

q!ul fast

lō'lō round

Lell to disappear

Lāx to appear

Lzoap to dig

Most stems of this class occur both single and doubled, sometimes they are even repeated three or four times. Repetition indicates frequency of occurrence of the verbal idea; that is to say, it is distributive, referring to each single occurrence of the idea. We have—

wāx to pour out (blood) 68.1

pō to blow once 66.25

tell tired

k!ut to tear off 89.25

wā'rwax to pour out (roots) 43.2

pō'pō to blow repeatedly 129.20

tē!ltell to be tired in all parts of the body

k!u'tk!ut to tear to pieces 249.4

A few stems, however, occur in duplicated form only, probably on account of the character of the idea expressed, which always implies repetition. Such are—

hē'hē to laugh

hō'hō to cough

tō'tō to shake

gu'tgut exhausted

ku'lkul light (of weight)

lōlō round

Others do not occur in duplicated form, but take the distributive ending *-ma*. These are—

pāl full 39.1, distributive *pā'lma* 229.24

wuk! straight, real 24.12, distributive *wuk!ma* 107.20

cpeq gray, distributive *cpe'qema*

Still others do not seem to undergo any change for the distributive.

teme'n clean, empty

tā'menua to give up 61.18

tq!ēx to wish 129.27

stāq! war 272.5

k'!ē to disappear, nothing

k!wac afraid 90.5

L!ap to find 140.1, 138.15

On the whole, it would seem that those least onomatopoetic in character lack the doubled distributive.

In a few cases the doubled form has acquired a distinctive significance.

k!wan hopeful 134.8 *k!wa'nk!wan* glad 38.20

lāx sideways 267.3 *lā'xlax* to deceive 65.19, to rock 129.2

The most common verbal stem which is used in connection with these attributes is *-x* TO BE, TO BECOME, TO DO, TO MAKE. *-ō(-ī?)*, the general verb for motion, is sometimes used with stems signifying motion. It seems difficult to classify these words, except those that clearly express noises. Among a total of 126 words of this class, 44 express activities or processes accompanied by noises; 16 are decidedly imitative; 22 designate states of the mind or body which may be expressed by imitative sounds, such as cold, tired, fear; 7 are terms of color; 45 express miscellaneous concepts, but some of these may also be considered as imitative. It seems likely that, in a language in which onomatopoetic terms are numerous, the frequent use of the association between sound and concept will, in its turn, increase the readiness with which other similar associations are established, so that, to the mind of the Chinook Indian, words may be sound-pictures which to our unaccustomed ear have no such value. I have found that, as my studies of this language progressed, the feeling for the sound-value of words like *wāx* TO POUR, *k'!ē* NOTH-

ING, *k!ômm* SILENCE, *lô* CALM, *pā'pā'* TO DIVIDE, increased steadily. For this reason I believe that many words of the miscellaneous class conveyed sound-associations to the mind of the Chinook Indian.

It will be noticed that verbs of motion and transitive verbs, except such as are accompanied by decided noises, are almost absent from the list of these words.

In quite a number of cases these words seem to be rather adverbs than attribute complements:

*cā'ucau nazayi'llk*Lē* she told him in a low voice 40.21

lux nuLā'tax'it it fell down broken 49.2

lke'plkep atciō'cgam it took it in its talons 137.15

If I remember rightly the cadence of the spoken sentence, these words must rather be considered as standing alone, the auxiliary verb *-x* being omitted.

LIST OF ATTRIBUTE COMPLEMENTS

(1) Actions and processes accompanied by noises.

(*wā* a noise under water 217.15)

uhū' noise of an arrow striking a body 49.3

(*hemm* noise of wind 41.25)

hōmm smell 67.2

(*hā* noise of an arrow breaking 49.4)

hē'hē to laugh 12.22

hō'hō to cough

pemm noise of flying 72.22

pō to blow 66.25; *pō'pō* 129.20

pā, *pā*, *pā* 175.3

(*dell* noise of bursting 49.19, noise of bear spirit 217.14)

t!eq to slap 40.25; *tē'qteq* 26.8

tō'tō to shake 194.1

tumm noise of fire 45.16, noise of bear spirit 217.13

temm noise of feet 133.17

t!āk to break a piece out of something

cix noise of rattles 22.5

cell noise of rattles on a blanket 61.22; *ci'llcill* rattling of breath of one choking 150.7

cā'ca to break, to wreck 198.7

cāu low voice 162.11; *cā'ucau* 40.21

cxx noise of flying birds 137.14

ts!ex (*tc!ex*, *tc!ux*, *ts!ex*) to break a piece of wood, antlers, etc., with hands 60.7; to split wood 27.2; sinews 138.19; roots 95.14 (not used for splitting planks out of trees); to skin a bird 136.23; to bark a tree 164.16; *ts!ē'xts!ex* 45.19; *nats!ē'x* a piece of flint flaked off 69.3

tcɣup, tcɣep to extinguish 51.2, to flicker 50.24; *tcɣɛ'ptcɣep* 28.8
tcɣ noise of footsteps on sand 75.3
tcxoɑ'p to gnaw; *tcxoɑ'ptcxoap* 175.23
gumm a noise under water 217.16
gōm noise of something heavy falling down 27.9
kumm noise of dancing 167.5
gɛ'cgɛc to drive 15.5
k!ut to tear off 89.25; *k!u'tk!ut* to clear up (sky) 249.4
ku'tcɣä to sneeze 64.24
qull noise of falling objects 67.1, noise of heels striking the ground 65.13
q!ɑ'lq!ɑl to beat time
q!ē door creaks 66.14
xx to blow 113.20
ɣä'ɣa to rub 65.9
ɣwē to blow nose 113.21, to blow on water before drinking 213.13
*LEk** to break 165.19; *LE'kLEk* 68.16
LE'kLEk to burrow 95.13
LEɣ to split (planks) 27.1, to burst 204.4; *LE'xLE'x* to tear 145.20
LE'xLEɣ noise of scratching 153.7
lap noise of shooting 272.20
lux to come out 49.2, 201.1; *lu'xlux* to pull out (of ground) 138.9
lkɛ'plkep to grasp in talons 137.15
lk!ōp to squeeze 9.8; *lk!ō'pLk!ōp* with eyes run out 29.20
Lq!ōp to cut 114.3
Lxoɑ'p to dig 23.5; *Lxoɑ'pLxoap* 115.15
L/L! to titter 177.15
L!eq to hit, to strike 156.23
L!äq, L!äx to crackle 38.1, 185.8
L!lep under water 14.8

(2) Descriptive words.

pāL full 39.1; *pā'Lma* 229.24
wāx to pour out 68.1, to take across river in canoe 23.24; *wā'xwax* 43.2
wāx to light, set afire 28.2, to bloom 165.26
k!ōmm no noise
k!ā'ya no, none
k!ē no 128.5, nothing 14.1, to disappear 128.28
q!ēl strong; *q!ɛ'lq!ēl* hard, 139.8, too difficult 204.12
tɛmɛ'n empty, clean
tɛ'tɛ to stop doing something
tuwā'x to light, shine 12.1 (see *wāx*)
ku'Ukull light of weight 199.9
k!am, k!em no, none 37.15
lep to boil 173.1

lō'lō round 186.23

L!āk spread out 178.7

L!mēn to break into small pieces, soft 130.4; *L!mē'nL!mēn* 17.9

(3) Words expressing states of mind and body.

iū'L!l proud 93.16

pēt quiet 177.24

p!alā' quietly, safe 198.4

tēll, täl tired 62.14; *tē'lltēll* tired all over (= rheumatism)

tq!ēx to like 129.27

t!ayā' well, healthy 165.21

tsēs cold 41.9

tsē'xtsēx unwell, feeling uncomfortable

tczap to hesitate 27.15

q!at to love 41.6

xāx to notice, observe 75.17

LEk!, Lāk! weak 212.21

tc!ē'ktc!ēk almost choked 151.1

lāx lonesome 22.3

gu'tgut exhausted

k!ēx cloyed 46.24; *k!ē'xk!ēx* grease smell 137.7

k!ā silent 37.9, 129.2

k!wan hopeful 134.8; *k!wa'nk!wan* glad 38.20

k!wac afraid 211.15

k!cō stiff in joints

q!am lazy 138.4

L!ō'ya stingy (?) 139.11

L!ā to fear 212.11

L!pāq to recover 196.22

(4) Color-terms.

Lē'ēl black 25.11

k!ās yellow

cpeq gray (dry?) 109.10

tk!ōp white 124.25

ptc!x green 30.21

Lp!l red 185.20

ts!emm variegated

(5) Miscellaneous words.

iā'c to let alone 187.13

ux to take a chance

wuk! straight 24.12; *wuk!ēma'* 107.20

pē'nka afoot 217.8, 107.6

pā'nic to give secretly payment to a shaman 200.7

pā'ε to divide; *pā'εpa'ε* 248.4

pāx unlucky 264.13

- pōx* foggy 37.4
pux lukewarm
pō'xoiē to make a mistake
mel! wet 37.5
manē'x to learn a secret 200.10
tā'menua to give up 61.18
tkē'lkēl dull
tk!ē to sit looking on
t!ā'nuwa to exchange 228.8
nekō to keep, to retain 277.14
stāq! war, attack 272.5
stux to untie, to unwrap 135.13; *stu'xstux* 116.10
(tctāx around a point)
tsk!es to stoop
tc!pāk strongly 164.9, 110.1
k!au to tie 123.19; *k!au'k!au* 118.6
qoā't reaching 48.6, high water 198.24
qul to hang, to fish with gaff-hook 27.16, to put on garment, to dress 136.23
q!ē'cq!ec dry 14.19 (= thirsty) 21.1
(q!oa'p near 40.9)
q!ul low water 198.26
q!ul fast; *q!ul ē'cgam* hold fast 44.15 (see *qul*)
xuē't half full 166.8
xōp streaming
lāx sideways 267.3, afternoon 63.18, to miss 13.19; *lā'xlax* to rock 129.2, to deceive 65.19
lu'xlux slick
lu'xpamē adultery
lex to sit still
lāq to step aside 146.14; to turn 137.12, 63.4; to cut off, to fall off 154.28, 194.1; to take out 65.11; *lā'qlāq* zigzag, also plural for the other meanings
lāx to appear, become visible 23.13; *lā'xlax* to emerge
lēx to cohabit 228.16; *lē'xlēx* to prepare corpse for burial 253.3
lō calm 25.18
luwā' freshet
l!ap to find 261.8
l!āp fitting 154.8

§ 47. Adverbs

The dividing line between attribute complements and a number of adverbs can not be drawn very definitely. I am particularly doubtful how *t!aya'* WELL should be classed, and a few others which are placed in parentheses in the preceding list.

A considerable number of temporal and modal adverbs occur, the latter expressing certainty, compulsion, intention, and a great variety of ideas which we express by auxiliary verbs or by separate clauses. These can not be derived from simpler forms. Such are:

ai'aq can ¹
xa'oxal can not
qōi will
qē'xtcē without reaching the desired end
ka'lta in vain, only
qā'dorūē must
atsuwā' probably
lx may (implying uncertainty)
k!ōma perhaps
lō'nas I don't know (expression of uncertainty)
pōc contrary to fact
pet really
nākct not
na interrogative particle
lēqs almost
qalā'tcx'i hardly
ā'nqa(tē) already, before
a'lta now
ā'lqē later on
kawa'tka soon
anā' sometimes
nau'i at once
lē, lē'lē a long time
q!astē'n for the first time
tcax for a while
wixt again
kulē'ts once more
alā'tēwa again in this manner
guā'nsem always
wāx next day (*wux'i'* to-morrow; *kawī'x* early)
q!oā'p near
tc!pāk quickly
lawā' slowly
(ai'aq quickly)
tɁul too much
maniq!ā' too much
t!ā'qea just like
ā'la even

¹ Evidently the original significance of this word is QUICKLY; for instance, *ai'ag nō'ye* (if you tell me to go) I GO QUICKLY, i. e., I can go.

§ 48. *Exhortative Particles*

A number of exhortative particles form a peculiar group of words. They are applied so regularly and seem to be so weak, that I do not quite like to class them with interjections. It would seem that the meanings conveyed by some of these have very nice shades. Examples are:

wuska a somewhat energetic request—now do let us make an end of it and—37.12

nixua please, just try to 130.3

tcux since this is so, do (or let us) 24.10

tayax oh, if he would! 22.4

hō'ntcin be quiet

tca! well! introducing a new idea

(*qā't!ōcɛm* look out!)

(*nau'itka* indeed!)

(*tgt!ō'kti* good!)

The last three of these hardly belong here. They are derivatives: *qā't!ōcɛm* is probably derived from *t!ō* WELL; *nau'itka*, perhaps from *nau'i* AT ONCE; *tgt!ō'kti*, from *t!ō* WELL and *-kta* THING.

§ 49. *Interjections*

The line between the last group of words and true interjections is very indefinite. As might be expected, the number of interjections in this language which has such strong onomatopoeic tendencies is considerable. Some of these are:

ā, ā, ō oh!

adē' surprise 29.13

ē pity for hardships endured 187.19

nā pity 116.15

anā' pain, regret, sorrow, pity 22.4, 161.13

ahaha' pain 177.16

anā'x pity 153.8

hē call 12.2, indeed 38.22, 186.8

hē a long distance 28.3, 123.13

hō, hōhō', ohō' surprise at the success of an action 24.3, 25.22, 67.14

lxuā' disgust 46.26

ha'ō'm, haō' now I understand! 39.27, 100.23

nā disapproval 145.12

nāq! contemptuous rejection of an offer 124.11

hohū' derisive rejection of a remark 23.25

ahā' ridicule, disbelief 166.23

ehēhiū' derision 45.1

- le* derision of weakness 60.14, 146.1
iä' reproach for foolishness 117.9
nāṛaṛaṛ anger 186.16
teṛä that is nothing! 47.4
kuc good! 89.4 (also used by the Chehalis)
k'ic oh! (?)

As mentioned before, many of the imitative attribute complements may be used as interjections. This may, indeed, be their original function. Such are *hemm* NOISE OF WIND, *kumm* NOISE OF DANCING, *klômm* SILENCE. A few differ so much in form and use from the attribute complements, that I include them among the interjections:

<i>ha'lelelelelele</i>	noise of flight of an arrow 62.21
<i>wu'lelelele</i>	noise of flight of cormorants 77.16
<i>wa'tsetsetsetset</i>	cry of bluejay 31.2, 157.25
<i>qa'nawulwulwulwul</i>	cry of gull 88.21
<i>wō</i>	bark of dog 23.9
<i>wä</i>	cry of child 185.24
<i>hä</i>	cry of a person weeping 118.8
<i>wäüüü</i>	low voice 162.3
<i>kukuku</i>	voice of bluejay after he had become a ghost 166.19

In this group belong also the burdens of songs, a few of which occur in the texts.

§ 50. Conjunctions

A number of invariable words perform the function of conjunctions. The meanings of a few of these are not quite certain. The most important are the following:

- ka* and, then (connecting sentences) 26.18
cka and, while (connecting sentences) 25.4
k'a and (connecting nouns)
teṛi a little while passed, then 37.4 (often following the conjunction *qiä'x* IF)
tcu or 276.1
tatc'a although it is so, still 44.4
tal! although I did not expect it, still 74.9
ä'olel although I did not intend to, still 13.3
take then 135.6
a'lta now 135.5
taua'lta otherwise 134.8
manix when 253.14
qiä'x if 127.20 (*qē*, *qēc*?)

§ 51. *Adjectives*

Color-terms, the plural of small, the numerals from two to nine, and the indefinite numerals are used without pronominal prefixes. The color-terms were enumerated among the attribute complements, because they are generally used in that form. *gene'm* SMALL 38.17 is used only for plurals. I have found very few cases only in which these words are clearly used as adjectives:

aqlō'cgam ptcix *LE'LUWELkLUWELk* green mud was taken 30.21
lō'lo ikta something round 127.5

This is possibly due to the rarity of adjectives, except numerals and a few others in the texts. It would seem, however, that in most cases derivatives of these stems are used whenever the substantive or adjective is to be used, for instance:

ma'nix kã'ltac ilã'yuL!l klã'qẽwam when a shaman only has pride 203.18

More often nouns with the prefix *k-* THE ONE WHO HAS (p. 579) are used to express adjectival ideas.

gẽ'latc!a a sick one (the one who has its sickness) 196.14

The cardinal and indefinite numerals of this class are:

<i>môkct</i> two	<i>si'namôkct</i> seven	<i>ka'nauwẽ</i> all
<i>lôn</i> three	<i>kstô'xkin</i> eight	<i>kapẽ't</i> enough
<i>la'kit</i> four	<i>kui'tst</i> nine	<i>qãmx</i> part
<i>qui'nem</i> five	<i>tcã</i> several	<i>mank</i> few
<i>te'xem</i> six		

All the cardinal numbers of this group when used as distributives take the suffix *-mtga*; when used as adverbs, they take the adverbial suffix *-ẽ*. The ordinals are formed by the third person pronominal prefix and the possessive form; for instance, *ẽla'lôn* ITS THIRD ONE (m.) 217.21, *alã'lôn* (f.) 211.20; and from these, again, ordinal adverbs, *ẽ'laLônẽ* THE THIRD TIME 134.23. When counting human beings, all these numerals (cardinals as well as indefinite) take the prefix *a-* and the plural suffix *-kc*. *môkct* TWO may also take the dual prefix *c-*.

To the groups of indefinite numerals belongs the peculiar form *kanem* EACH, ALL, TOGETHER, which occurs alone only in its distributive form *kanã'mtgema* 157.23, while generally it appears as a prefix of numerals: *kanemqoã'ne* FIVE TOGETHER 201.22, *lkanemqoã'ne-miks* 176.8. With *môkct* TWO it seems to lose its *m*: *skanasmôkst* BOTH 76.14. In this form it appears also in *ka'nauwẽ* ALL.

§ 52. Adverbs Derived from Intransitive Verbs

Particles used as adverbs have been mentioned before. It has also been stated that numeral adverbs are formed from both ordinal and cardinal numbers by the suffix *-ē*. This is also used with intransitive verbs, the adverb being formed from the masculine third person singular.

iū' lqat it is long; *iū' lqtē* long

ē'nata the one on the other side; *ē'natai* on the other side

Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism (§§ 53-54)

§ 53. Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)

Very characteristic of Wishram, as also without doubt of all other Chinookan dialects, is a series of changes in the manner, and to some extent in the place, of articulation of many of the consonants, in order to express diminutive and augmentative ideas in the words affected. This peculiar process of "consonantal ablaut," though perhaps most abundantly illustrated in the case of the noun, is exemplified in all parts of speech, so that it has almost as much of a rhetorical as of a purely grammatical character. Of the two series of consonantic changes referred to, that bringing about the addition to the meaning of the word of a diminutive idea is by far the more common, an actual change to augmentative consonantism hardly being found outside of the noun. The main facts of consonantic change may be briefly stated thus: To express the diminutive, non-fortis stopped consonants become fortis, the velars at the same time becoming back-palatals (the treatment of velar stops, however, seems to be somewhat irregular); *c* and its affricative developments *tc* and *tc'* become *s*, *ts*, and *ts'* (*s* seems sometimes to be still further "diminutivized" to *ts*, *ts* to *ts'*, so that *c*, *s*, *ts*, *ts'* may be considered as representing a scale of diminishing values); *x* becomes *ɣ*, in analogy to the change of velar stops to back-palatal stops just noted; other consonants remain unmodified. To express the augmentative, fortis consonants become non-fortis (generally sonant) stops, no change taking place of back-palatal to velar; *s*, *ts*, and *ts'* become respectively *c*, *tc*, and *tc'* (in some few cases *ts* and *tc* affricatives become *dj*, pronounced as in English judge, this sound not being otherwise known to occur in Wishram); other consonants remain unmodified.

The following table of consonantic changes will best make the matter clear:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>b, p</i>	<i>p!</i>	(<i>b</i>)
<i>d, t</i>	<i>t!</i>	(<i>d</i>)
<i>g, k</i>	<i>k!</i>	(<i>g</i>)
<i>q, q</i>	<i>k!, (g, k)</i>	(<i>q</i>)
<i>qx</i>	<i>kx</i>	(<i>qx</i>)
<i>q!</i>	<i>k!, (kx)</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>p!</i>	(<i>p!</i>)	<i>b</i>
<i>t!</i>	(<i>t!</i>)	<i>d</i>
<i>k!</i>	(<i>k!</i>)	<i>g</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>s, ts</i>	(<i>c</i>)
<i>tc</i>	<i>ts</i>	(<i>tc</i>), (ʔ) <i>dj</i>
<i>tc!</i>	<i>ts!</i>	(<i>tc!</i>), <i>dj</i>
<i>s</i>	(<i>s</i>)	<i>c</i>
<i>ts</i>	(<i>ts</i>), <i>ts!</i>	<i>tc, dj</i>
<i>ts!</i>	(<i>ts!</i>)	<i>tc!</i> , (ʔ) <i>dj</i>
<i>x</i>	<i>x</i>	(<i>x</i>)
<i>x̣</i>	(<i>x̣</i>)	(ʔ) <i>x</i>

On the whole, there is a distinct tendency to have all the consonants of a word bear a consistent diminutive or augmentative coloring, though absolute concord in this regard is by no means always observed. In general it may be said that *c* and *s* sounds are most easily varied in accordance with our rule. Final non-affricative stops seem incapable of change. It often happens that the normal form of a word is itself partly diminutive in form owing to its meaning; in such cases the form may be still further "diminutivized" if it is desired to give the word a more than ordinarily diminutive force. Thus *-k!ac-* in *il-k!a'c-kac* CHILD is evidently a semi-diminutive form of the stem-syllable *-kac*; LITTLE CHILD, BABY appears in more pronouncedly diminutive form as *ilk!a'skas* (Wishram Texts 176.3).

The following table of body-part nouns will serve as a set of examples of diminutive and augmentative forms. The diminutives would naturally refer to the body-parts of a tiny child, the augmentatives to those of an abnormally large being, as a giant.

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>i-p!a'qxa</i> flat-headed- ness (dim.)		<i>i-ba'qxa</i>
<i>i-gx'tc</i> nose (aug.)	<i>i-k!E'tc</i>	
<i>i'l-pc</i> foot	<i>i'l-ps</i>	

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>i-qxwi't</i> leg	<i>i-khwi't</i>	
<i>a-q!o'xl</i> knee	<i>a-k!u'xl</i>	<i>a-go'xl</i>
<i>a-mE'luqtan</i> cheek	<i>a-mE'luk!tan</i>	
<i>i-mElexik!u'lamat</i> tongue		<i>i-mElexigu'lamat</i>
<i>i-mi'ct</i> lips	<i>i-mi'st</i>	
<i>i-k^ucxa't</i> mouth	<i>i-k!^usxa't</i>	
<i>wa'-kcEn</i> finger	<i>wa'-ksEn</i>	
<i>is-qxu's</i> eyes (dim.)		<i>ic-qxu'c</i>
<i>id-mE'qco</i> face-hair	<i>id-mE'kso</i>	
<i>i-k!wa'yat</i> crown of head		<i>i-gwa'yat</i>
<i>a-tckE'n</i> shoulder	<i>a-tsk!E'n</i>	
<i>wa-qxa'tc</i> breast	<i>wa-kxa'ts</i> ¹	
<i>i-kxa'tc</i> tooth	<i>i-k!a'ts</i>	
<i>i-q!a'qctaq</i> head		<i>i-ga'qctaq</i>
<i>ic-k!a'lkal</i> hip-joints	<i>is-k!a'lkal</i>	<i>ic-ga'lkal</i>
<i>is-q!wá'gwôst</i> jaws (dim.)	<i>is-k!wa'gwast</i>	
<i>a-mu'q!wal</i> paunch, stomach		<i>a-mu'gwal</i>

Examples of other than body-part nouns are:

Normal	Diminutive	Augmentative
<i>it-q!u'tcu</i> bones	<i>it-q!uts!iE'lxlEm</i> dog (literally, eater of small bones)	
<i>i-tc!i'au</i> snake	<i>i-ts!i'au</i>	<i>i-dji'au</i>
<i>i-ts!i'ktsik</i> wagon (dim.)	<i>is-ts!i'ktsik</i> buggy	<i>i-dji'kdjik</i> heavy truck
<i>i-cgi'lukc</i> wolf (aug.)	<i>il-sk!i'luks</i> new-born wolf cub (Wishram Texts 56.30)	
<i>da-ga'c</i> yellow	<i>a-qx-k!i'c</i> gold	
<i>i-cga'n</i> cedar board	<i>wa-ska'n</i> box <i>wa'-tsk!un</i> cup	
<i>i-k!a'lamat</i> stone		<i>i-ga'lamat</i>
<i>a-k!a'munaq</i> fir		<i>a-ga'munaq</i>
<i>il-k!a'ckac</i> child (dim.)	<i>il-k!a'skas</i>	
<i>a-t!u'-gagilak</i> good, strong woman		<i>a-du'-gagilak</i> strap- ping big woman

¹Cf. *wa-q!a'tc* THORN, dim. *wa-kxa'ts* (Wishram Texts, p. 26.1)

In these lists, (dim.) and (aug.) mean that the words so designated are wholly or partly diminutive or augmentative in consonantism owing to their primary significance. In *i-p!a'qxa*, for instance, the diminutive notion implied by *p!* is easily understood if we remember that head-flattening is associated with infancy. In some cases a consonant change involves or is accompanied by a vocalic change; it seems that the change of *a* to *u* or *ɛ* has in itself more or less diminutive force (cf. *wa'-tsk!un* from *wa-ska'n* with *ila-k!ô'its* VERY LITTLE [Wishram Texts 176.3] ordinarily *-k!aits* SMALL). The case of *i-cga'n* as compared with *wa-ska'n* and *wa'-tsk!un* illustrates the fact that the diminutive form of a noun often has a specialized meaning of its own. A few more examples are:

Normal	Diminutive
<i>i-tc!i'nôn</i> eagle	<i>il-ts!i'nôn</i> bird
<i>i-tc!i'laq</i> cricket	<i>il-ts!i'laq</i> grasshopper
<i>i-q!apca'hwac</i> turtle	<i>is-k!a'psalwas</i> lock (of door)
<i>a-tca'la</i> grindstone	<i>a-tsa'la</i> file

It will be observed that several nouns on becoming diminutive in form at the same time change to a more suitable gender, masculines often becoming feminines (e. g., *wa-ska'n*), neuters (e. g., *il-sk!i'luks*), or diminutive duals in *is-* (e. g., *is-k!a'psalwas*). Most examples of diminutives and augmentatives hitherto given have been formed from nouns that in themselves have no necessary diminutive or augmentative force. Other examples than those already given of words with inherent diminutive force, and hence with at least partial diminutive consonantism, follow:

<i>a-k!u'ksk!uks</i> ankle	<i>is-ga'k!aps</i> hat
<i>a-p!u'xp!ux</i> elbow-joint	<i>i-k!a'its</i> smallness (contrast <i>-gail</i>
<i>i-p!u'xc</i> cotton-tailed rabbit	BIGNESS)
<i>a-t!antsa</i> crow (contrast	<i>i-k!a'stila</i> crab
<i>i-cka'lax</i> RAVEN)	<i>il-xan</i> (somebody's) child
<i>i-sk!u'lya</i> coyote (? cf.	<i>i-sk!wô'latsintsin</i> swallow
<i>i-cgilukc</i> WOLF)	<i>wa-tsk!E'nLx</i> nit
<i>a-gu'squs</i> chipmunk	
<i>a-p!una'tsektek</i> mosquito	
(? cf. <i>-bena</i> JUMP)	

Particularly instructive as indicating a live feeling for diminutive consonantism are such words as *a-lik!u'k* CHICKEN and *a-lap!u's* CAT borrowed from Chinook jargon (*p* in *-pus* would not be consistent

with diminutive *s*). It is perhaps not too far-fetched to recognize augmentative consonantism in the following nouns:

<i>i-ga'nuk</i> beaver	<i>ic-kcku'ct</i> testicles (contrast <i>is-gu'nat</i> Chinook salmon (contrast <i>wa-tsu'iha</i> BLUE- BLACK SALMON)	<i>qxu's</i> EYES)
<i>i-ce'lqcelq</i> porcupine	<i>ic-gwô'lala</i> gun	<i>i-gu'cax</i> sky
<i>ic-ga'kwal</i> eel	<i>wa'-itc</i> tail of mammal	<i>ic-li'ct</i> fish-tail (contrast <i>is-p'i'ot</i> TAIL OF BULB, DRIED FISH)
<i>i-du'iha</i> buffalo		

It sometimes happens that a change to diminutive consonantism implies not so much the diminutiveness of the object referred to as a sense of endearment. This seems particularly true in the case of certain terms of relationship:

Non-diminutive		Diminutive
<i>-qce-n</i>	} man's son's	<i>-k!a'c-u-c</i> paternal grandfather
<i>ga'c-u</i> (vocative)		child
<i>-gak-an</i>	} man's daughter's	<i>-ga'k!-u-c</i> maternal grandfather
<i>ga'g-u</i> (vocative)		child
<i>-gi-an</i> woman's son's	child	<i>-k!i-c</i> paternal grandmother

Interesting as examples of augmentative consonantism are the names of Coyote's four sons, all of which are derived from words denoting body-parts of the salmon. The augmentative consonantism implies the lubberliness of Coyote's sons.

Body-parts of salmon	Names of Coyote's sons
<i>i-k!la'tcin</i> salmon-head	<i>Sipa'-glatsin</i> Big Gristle (Wishram Texts 66.5)
<i>i-ksa'lk!uts</i> backbone of fish	<i>Sipa'-ksalguts</i> Big Backbone (Wishram Texts 66.6)
<i>i-q!wi'nan</i> fin	<i>Sapa'-gwinan</i> Big Fin (Wishram Texts 66.7)
<i>a-k!a'tk!tgwar</i> adipose fin (? better <i>-q!a'tk!tgwar</i>)	<i>Sapag-a'tk!tgwar</i> Big Adipose Fin (Wishram Texts 66.8)

As has already been remarked, the noun is not the only part of speech that illustrates the consonantal play here discussed. Adverbs and particle verbs of appropriate meaning sometimes show diminutive consonantism: *ts!u'nus* A LITTLE; *sāk!* TO WHISTLE; *sa'u sau* TO WHISPER (contrast Lower Chinook *cāu*); Lower Chinook *k!a* AND may be diminutive to *ka*. The diminutive form of a particle verb denotes a less intense state of being or activity than its correlative form. Sometimes its meaning is considerably specialized:

Non-diminutive

tcic cold*ma'ca* to spoil*gut* to break up (earth) by digging

Possibly also—

wax to pour out*iq!up* to cut

Diminutive

(ts!u'nus) a-itsā's just (a little) cool (Wishram Texts 190.15)*ma'sa* to be ashamed*k!u'tk!ut* to pluck*wax* to set on fire; to bloom*lk!up* to shoot

The dual in *is-* is not the only example of a diminutive form of a purely grammatical element. The diminutive stem *-q!wa'lasup* FAST RUNNING occurs with possessive prefixes showing diminutive consonantism. Thus the normal elements *-tca-* HER and *-cda-* OF THEM TWO appear as *-tsa-* and *-st!a-* in *i-tsa-q!wa'lasup* SHE RUNS FAST (Wishram Texts 66.9) and *i-st!a-q!wa'lasup* THEY TWO RUN FAST (Wishram Texts 66.13). Similarly, in a song (Wishram Texts 94.23), where the reference is to *is-p!i'ast* TAIL OF BULB, a noun of diminutive form, the pronominal element *cd-* and the post-positive local element *-ba* AT appear as *st-* (? better *st!-*) and *-p!a*. Thus:

staimap!ā' giskip!i'ast it-alone-at the-my-tail

Finally the verb may show diminutive consonantism, partly in the stem itself, partly in its local and adverbial prefixes and suffixes, partly and most frequently in its pronominal prefixes. Examples of verb stems in distinctly diminutive form are not exactly common, but certain cases seem clear enough. Thus *gagiu!at!a'-ulx* HE WAS TOSSED UP (Wishram Texts 84.26) and *gaciu!at!a'melq* HE SWALLOWED HIM BY SUCKING HIM IN evidently contain a diminutive form of the verb stem *-lada-* TO THROW AWAY; *silu'skwax* IT TREMBLES (Wishram Texts 116.10) and *gasí'xímk!na-uk'atsk* HE LOOKED AROUND (Wishram Texts 30.6) show diminutive consonantism both in their stems (*-skw-* and *-k!na-u-*) and in their first incorporated pronominal objects (dual *s-*), the latter verb also in its adverbial suffix *-tsk*, doubtless the diminutive form of *-tck* UP FROM POSITION OF REST; *gats(s)altsgi'ma* HE LAID HER BELLY UP (Wishram Texts 56.27) shows diminutive consonantism in both stem (*-tsgi*) and incorporated pronominal subject (*-ts-*) and first object (dual *-s-*).

We have already given *-tsk* as an example of a derivative suffix with diminutive consonantism. Other such suffixes are *-p!a* SLIGHTLY OUT (OF POSITION) (from *-ba* OUT) in *ayulap!a'teguxwida* IT WILL TILT UP, literally, IT WILL SPONTANEOUSLY MOVE OUT UP FROM ITS SITTING

POSITION (Wishram Texts 184.10) and *tsu* (from *-tcu* DOWN) in *ililu'stsu* (WATER) MOVED DOWN INTO THE (HOLLOW PLACE). As examples of diminutive forms of local prefixes may be given *-t'el-* (from *-gel-* DIRECTED TOWARD) in *ga-tssi'k'elutk* HE LOOKED AT HIM and its reflexive correlative *-xel-* (from *-xel*) in *gasi'xelutk* HE LOOKED: *-sk'em-* UNDER in *iniask'emla'datcu* I THREW IT DOWN UNDER HER is doubtless diminutive to *-gem-* NEXT TO (cf. *-tcu* and *-s-tsu* ABOVE).

The only examples of diminutive consonantism in the pronominal prefixes of verb forms occur in the case of *ts* (for *tc*, third person masculine subject transitive) and *s* (for *c*, third person dual subject intransitive and transitive and object transitive). Whenever the object of the transitive verb (or the apparent subject, really first object, of the "half-transitive" verb) is diminutive in form, the pronominal prefixes *tc* and *c* appear as *ts* and *s*; the *ts* by no means implies the diminutive character of the transitive subject. Examples are: *i'wi gatssu'x isié'nqrôq* HE LOOKED AT HIS FISH-LINE (Wishram Texts 140.28), where the incorporated pronominal dual element *-s-* of *gatssu'x* refers to the diminutive dual object *is-ié'-nqrôq* HIS FISH-LINE, while the pronominal subject *-ts-* HE agrees with the object in diminutive consonantism; *galksu'klam* (*-lks-* always appears for *-skt-*) THE TWO (WOMEN) CAME HOME WITH THE (BABY) (Wishram Texts 2.12), the diminutive dual *-s-* referring to the grown-up women, not to the baby; *gasengatk'agwā'x gas ktênak!wā'st* IT-WAVES-FREELY-OVER-ME-MY-FEATHERED-CLOAK (Wishram Texts 142.5), where the first object *-s-* of the half-transitive verb refers to the diminutive dual noun *s-tênak!wā'st* (SMALL) FEATHERED CLOAK. Particularly noteworthy in this connection is the idiomatic use of a diminutive dual object *-s-* referring to an implied, unexpressed noun of diminutive significance; there need not even exist such a diminutive dual noun to which reference, if desired, could be explicitly made. A good example is: *gaksi'lutk* SHE CRADLED HIM, literally, SHE PUT THE-TWO-SMALL (OBJECTS) DOWN TO HIM, where THE TWO SMALL (OBJECTS) refer to an implied word for CRADLE, though the word for CRADLE in actual use is a masculine (*i'-lkan*). Similarly, verbs of jumping and somersaulting have an incorporated diminutive dual object *-s-* referring to THE TWO SMALL (FEET), though the actual word for FEET is plural (*i't-pc*). Examples are: *gaksu'bma* SHE JUMPED; *gasixmi'lgwa* HE TURNED A SOMERSAULT (Wishram Texts 82.18); and *gats(s)altsgi'ma* HE LAID HER, BELLY UP. The

most transparent example of the use of an incorporated diminutive dual object to refer to an unexpressed but existing noun is afforded by certain verbs of looking, in which the *-s-* has reference to *s-qxu's* THE TWO EYES. A frequently occurring example of such a verb is *gatssi'k!elutk* HE LOOKED AT HIM, literally, HE PUT THE TWO SMALL (EYES) DOWN TOWARD HIM, the *-tc-* and *-gxl-* appearing in their diminutive forms *-ts-* and *-k!el-* to agree with the object *-s-*; *gastxim-t!na'-uk*atsk* HE LOOKED AROUND is another such verb.

As a rule, it will have been observed, a verb form tends to be consistently diminutive or non-diminutive in its consonantism. It is at least possible, however, to limit the application of the diminutive idea to some specific element of the action by "diminutivizing" only some corresponding element of the verb form. An example already published elsewhere will again do service here. The normal word for I STRUCK HIM WITH IT is *inige'ltcim*. If the verb stem *-tcim* appears, with diminutive consonantism, as *-tsim*, it implies that the person struck is small; if the verbal prefix *-gxl-*, which implies in this case intent to hit, is pronounced *-k!el-* the implication is that the missile used is a small one. Hence we have four forms: *inige'ltcim* I HIT HIM WITH IT; *inige'ltsim* I HIT HIM (a child perhaps) WITH IT; *inik!el-tcim* I HIT HIM WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL), and *inik!el'tsim* I HIT HIM (A CHILD) WITH IT (SOMETHING SMALL). To be sure, such examples are very uncommon and the one just given is perhaps little more than a linguistic tour de force. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly how thoroughly alive is the feeling for the significance of consonantal play.

§ 54. *Diminutive and Augmentative Consonantism in Chinook and Kathlamet*

So far as I am able to discover, the diminutive and augmentative consonantism of the *p* and *t* stops does not occur in Chinook; perhaps because the strengthening of these consonants in case of the dropping of a following velar counteracted this tendency. When the word *t!azē'ma* CREEKS has a fortis *t!* on account of the dropping of *q* in the stem *-qēl-*, the same strengthening can not very well denote at the same time diminution.

There are, however, indications that the changes from *c* to *s* and the corresponding affricatives occurred, although the significance of

the process does not seem to have been very clear in the mind of my sole informant, Charles Cultee, while my only Clatsop informant considered changes of this type as distinguishing characteristics of the Chinook and Clatsop dialects. For instance: Clatsop, *ē'cēlqēlq*: Chinook, *ē'sēlqēlq* PORCUPINE.

The most characteristic case that I have found in Chinook is the following:

itsa'antca-y-ōgō'lal the waves are too bad (too great)

itsa'antsa-y-ōgō'lal the waves are a little bad

I have also:

ē'cgan cedar

i-sgē'nemā young cedars

It is, however, worth remarking that this plural occurs with the particle—

gē'nem isgē'nemā small young cedars

without strengthening of the *g* of *gē'nem*. An examination of the texts and explanatory notes collected from Cultee makes it fairly certain that he did not use the diminutive changes of stops in Lower Chinook.

It seems possible that a relation like that between *c* and *s* may exist between *l* and *ts*.

iā'qoa-iL large

iā'qoa-its small

iō'lqat long

iū'tsqat short

L!ex to split large planks

ts!ex to split small pieces of wood

Lxoa'p to dig

tsxoa'p to gnaw

In Kathlamet I have found one very clear case of consonantic change, analogous to those found in Wishram:

ksemm taxī tk!unā'temax ō'xoaxt small are those little salmon 98.8
(Kathlamet Texts)

Here the *s* in *ksemm* indicates smallness, and *tgūnā'temax* SALMON has been changed to *tk!unā'temax*.

Syntax (§§ 55-56)

§ 55. Syntax of Lower Chinook

In the discussion of the morphology of the verb it has been shown that every verbal form contains incorporated pronominal representatives of the subject, and of the direct and indirect objects when these occur. Nominal incorporation is almost entirely absent. The nominal subject and the object are treated as appositions, without any organic connection with the sentence, except in so far as the

pronouns agree with the nominal gender. This agreement is, on the whole, one of form, but in the Lower Chinook texts cases occur in which the noun has indefinite (neuter) gender L-, while, according to its actual sex or number, the incorporated pronoun is masculine, feminine, or plural. I do not know whether this is an individual trait of the narrator of the available texts or not.

Generally the verb with its incorporated pronouns precedes the subject and objects, but there is great freedom of usage.

Sentences with intransitive verbs:

ayō'magt i lā'zak! emāna dead was their chief 37.1

altē'mam lgōlē'lexmk it came a person 11.15

Sentences with transitive verbs, nominal subject and object:

alktō'p! ena lā'ēwam qō'la lā'nēwa he utters his song that first one 196.7

tgige'n̄autē i kanā'tē tēmēwā'lema they watch it a soul the ghosts 199.10 (*tgi-* they it; *i-kanā'tē* soul; *t-mēwā'lema* ghosts)

algō'ctrōx lē'ā'gīl qax ō'ō'kuil she carries her on her back a woman that woman 248.21

Examples of inverted order are the following:

ēqctxē'lau atcungō'mit lem cā'wux a monster (he) carried (her) away your younger sister 11.5

ka qō'la iau'a k'!imta' alk tō'p! enā'x lā'ēwam and that one there behind (he) utters (them) his songs 196.9

ēmā'cen algīā'x klā'qēwam a deer makes the one who has (his) songs (i. e., the shaman) 199.11

aqu'i nēmikc i kalā'mukc atgā'qcx ō'lexkul five men (they) hold (her) in their mouths dried salmon 267.19

ē'ō'k algē'lelōtx kl tō'p! enā'n tē'lx'em a blanket he gives (it) to (them) those who named the people 267.25

Particle verbs always precede their auxiliary verb:

lāq° atcā'yax he took him out 133.13

stux atcā'yax he untied him 135.13

ūhu' nē'xax he made *ūhu'* 49.3

lek^u nā'xax it (fem.) broke 70.24

l!lap ā'yō he went under water 14.16

This agrees with the most frequent position of adverbs:

ā'ka alxā'x thus it does 239.16

nau'i alō'meqtx it faints at once 239.6

nāktc algīā'wa^ε they did not kill him 99.18

ya'zkatī atgē'p!x there they entered 49.14

The discussion of the prefixes in § 25 shows that the relation of indirect objects to the verb are expressed by verbal elements. In

Lower Chinook prepositional elements are practically absent, but we find the demonstrative *gō*, which is used almost like a preposition.

iō'c gō iqē'p'al he was in the doorway 65.3

atcā'yagc gō iā'tuk he bit him at his neck 9.9

naxalgu'litck gō ōgō'xō she told her daughter 11.20

atclī'tklam gō wē'wulē they brought it into the house 11.23

pō'pō agē'lax gō ltcuq she blew on them with water 12.6

agiō'xtkinema gō tē'l'xīm she searched for him among the people 13.8

The demonstrative character of *gō* appears in sentences like—

mō'ya mā'lxlē gō go there inland! 13.1

a'lta gō-y-ō'ō'lax now (when) there the sun 13.5

lō'nas gō lqētcamē'tē Lkēx perhaps a comb is there 13.20

gō nō'yam ō'ō'lax there arrived the sun 97.16

It will be shown in § 56 that Wishram possesses quite a number of post-positional elements. In Lower Chinook a few of these appear, clearly loan-words, taken from Upper Chinook:

yukpē't up to here 13.9

kape't (go-pē't?) up to there, enough 98.4

In Kathlamet the number of post-positional elements is greater, but only one or two are used with any degree of freedom:

-pa. This post-position takes the place of *gō* of the Lower Chinook.

It is used quite freely (see § 56.1).

igī'xk'loā'mam tē'ctaqlpa he arrived at their two selves' house 91.13¹

itclōlā'etamit laxi lēpā't ltcu'goapa q'loā'p he placed it that one at the water near 121.4

q'at igī'yuxt ē'tcamxtcpa like she did him her heart in 132.5

Here belong also the common demonstrative adverbs—

kō'pa there 216.9

gipā' here 250.14

-pēt. The post-position *-pēt* is not quite free in Kathlamet.

gipe'temaṣ to those places 131.10

ē'l'xpāt as far as the ground 67.12

-ta toward.

iō'ya ē'wata ca'xalata he went there, then upward 219.2

-at from

ē'wa iā'pōtcā't lqā'wulqt lāx i'x'xōx then from his anus blood came out 184.5.

-te like.

l'a lkak!emā'nate itcā'lkulē like a chief was her resemblance 247.6

siā'xōst la lktemenā'kstē his face was like the moon 246.6

¹ References on the rest of this page refer to F. Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*.

In most cases transitive and intransitive verbs are used in the ordinary manner, but a number of peculiar forms of expression deserve mention. The directional *-ō-* (§ 26) occurs in many transitive and intransitive verbs. When, however, a stem, according to its significance, is transitive, it may be made intransitive either by means of the prefix *-ki-* (§ 26), which brings about elimination of an object, or by the use of reflexive forms. Which of these forms is used depends partly on usage. In some cases the two forms are used for expressing different tenses. Thus *i-kē'-x* (*i-* he; *-kē-* prefix eliminating object; *-x* to do) signifies HE IS, the continuative tense, *n-ē'-x-a-x* (*n-* modal; *-he-* he; *-x-* reflexive; *-a-* directive; *-x* to do) signifies HE BECOMES, the transitional tense. The manner of eliminating objects has been discussed before (§ 26). It seems, however, desirable to call attention here to the frequent use of implied objects and to the peculiar use of intransitive verbs with indirect objects which occupy a prominent position in Chinook sentences. Implied objects occur frequently with verbs implying the use of parts of the body, as

a lksō'pēna it jumped (literally, it jumped the two [feet]) 9.6
atkcīntēnā'xē they kneel (literally, they kneel them two) 270.6
sā'npōt she closed her eyes (literally, they two were closed in her) 48.10

They occur also with other verbs:

mēlnēltcā'ma you will comb me (literally, you will comb it [namely, the comb] to me)
atca-iā'lgemax he shouted at him (literally, he shouted her [namely, the shout] at him 236.9)
anlē'tickō I oil him (literally, I oil it [namely, the oil] to him)

Intransitive verbs with indirect object are used often in place of our transitives. These forms also contain often implied objects.

nē'nxlayu he deserts me (literally, he removes himself from me)
ayaxē'le'iomēqt she forgets him (literally, he on account of her forgets his own) 167.16
ninxē'lgilx I burn him (literally, he catches fire from me)
snēnpō'xuit I close my eyes (literally, they two are closed in me)
mcagelā'etā-ē you cure her (literally, you cure on account of her)

Subordinate modes are not indicated in Chinook by changes in the form of the verbs. Subordination of sentences is indicated only by conjunctions which are followed by the usual verbal forms. The

most frequent form of subordination is brought about by the particle *ma'nix* which indicates primarily a temporal relation.

ma'nix aqⁱe'lgelax ikē'utan when someone sees (it) a horse 198.1
ma'nix ltē'mama, mitelō'ta when they come, give it to them 66.22
mixenlk!ā'yōgō imē'tuk ma'nix aqēmō'lektca bend your neck when
 some one will roast you 107.21 (*mi-* you him; *-xen* reflexive;
-lk! to bend, plural *-lk!āyuk*; *i-tuk* neck; *-lektc* to roast)

The conditional conjunctions are closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun. The forms *qē*, *qēa*, *qiā'x* occur, which perhaps express NEARNESS and ABSENCE. When a statement contrary to fact is to be expressed, the particle *pōs* is used.

qē nēkctx mai'kṣa imē'q!atxala, pōc nēkct ē'ka atci'lxax if it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us 139.19 (*nēkct* not; *mai'kṣa* thou; *i-q!atxala* badness; *ē'ka* thus; *tc-* he; *-lx* us; *-a* directive; *-x* to do)

qia nēkct qax ō'ō'kuil, pōc nēkct aqiā'wa^e if it had not been for that woman, he would not have been killed 64.5 (*qax* that, feminine; *ō'ō'kuil* woman; *qi-* somebody him; *-a-* directive; *-wa^e* to kill)

t!ayā' qia' mkl!ē'mēn good, if you dive 12.12

qiā'x q!ōā'p ilē'ē tēx'ī pōs amlō'lxam algiō'cgam when you were near the land you should have said to it to take it 44.2 (*q!ōā'p* near; *ilē'ē* land; *tēx'ī* then; *aml-* you it; *-ō-* directive; *-lxam* to say; *algi-* it him; *-o-* directive; *-cgam* to take)

qiā'x itcā'yan, tēx'ī miā'xō if it is a snake, then you shall eat it 194.2

The interrogative is expressed by the particle *na*, which, however, is not used when there is an interrogative pronoun or adverb.

tēnlā'xo-ix na tge'ēlgeu? are (they) known to me my slaves! 117.10

nēkct na tnē'txiṣ? do I not know it? 66.2

ē'ktalx lgiā'xō? what will he eat? 22.20 (*ē'kta* what; *-lx* may be: *lgi-* it him [masc. object corresponding to *ē'kta*])

qā'xēwa ā'lō? where did they go? 23.14

la'ksta x'ix'ō'la? who is that? 73.14

The imperative differs from other verbal forms in that it has no directive prefix. The imperative of the transitive verb has no subject of the second person. (See §§ 22, 26).

§ 56. *Post-positions in Wishram (by Edward Sapir)*

Wishram, differing markedly in this respect from Lower Chinook, makes rather considerable use of a series of post-positive particles

defining material case relations (chiefly local and instrumental). As most such relations can be expressed by means of local and adverbial prefixés and suffixes in the verb, the denominating parts of speech being in apposition to incorporated pronominal elements, this use of postpositions must be considered as un-Chinookan in origin; the fact that some of the postpositive particles are phonetically identical with corresponding Sahaptin case suffixes proves the whole process to be borrowed from the neighboring Sahaptin linguistic stock. As a rule such postpositive particles are used with denominating parts of speech (nouns, pronouns, adjectives), but some of them may also be suffixed to predicating words (verbs, particle verbs); in the latter case the predicate is to be considered as substantivized syntactically, though not morphologically, and is used subordinately to another predicate. Wishram thus utilizes its postpositions to some extent in the building up of subordinate clauses. Where a noun or other denominating part of speech has been already represented in the verb by an incorporated pronominal element, its relation to the verb and to other nouns in the sentence is necessarily already defined, so that no postposition is necessary; even here, however, it not infrequently happens that a postposition is pleonastically used (compare such English possibilities as "He entered into the house"). If a noun is modified by a preceding attributive word (demonstrative pronoun, numeral, noun, or adjective), the postposition is used with the modifying word. The postpositions, with examples illustrating their uses, are listed in the following paragraphs:

1. **-ba (-pa) IN, AT.** With this element should be compared Yakima **-pa IN.** Examples illustrating its use with nouns and pronouns occur with very great frequency, so that only a few need here be given.

cikxa'-imat ci't!ix yak^ucxatpa half of it lies in his mouth 4.3¹

gaklakxa'-ima ilk!a'ckac akni'mba she put the child in the canoe 2.11

atgadi'mama da'uyaba wí'lx they will come in this land 6.17

gayu'yam ixtpó' wílx he arrived at one land 6.28

itcqxé'mem axqzatcpa I am sick in my breast 12.27

gatci'upmt it!ó'xwatkpa he hid it in the bushes 18.25

gatu'ya yaxka'ba he went up to him 20.10 (one can also say

gatiǵlu'ya HE WENT TO HIM with local prefix **-gel-**)

¹ References are to Wishram Texts.

gadiq'ellxi'uba icia'gitcha ya'k'c̣atpa waml'u'xiba they went out through him at his nostrils, at his mouth, and at his ears 28.24
galu'xuni yaga'ilpa wi'mal it floated in the great river 48.7
alxu'ya wa'tḳtib' itga'qpuks let us go on the tops of the grass 70.26 (literally, the-grass-at its-tops)

Observe that the first two examples illustrate its pleonastic use; the nouns *yak'c̣a't* and *akni'm* have been respectively anticipated in the verb by the pronominal elements *-i-* and *-a-*, while their local relation to the verb is defined by the prefix *-k-* ON following these elements. *-ba* is also used with demonstrative stems to form adverbs of place where: *da'ba* HERE; *kwô'ba* THERE; *iā'xiba* YONDER.

As subordinating element, *-ba* denotes WHERE; less frequently it indicates cause. It is suffixed either to the verb itself, or, similarly to the case of the modified noun, to an adverb or particle preceding the verb. Examples are:

ctā'xya i'nadix q!a'tṣenba gatccge'lgelx across yonder (were) the two where he had first seen them 8.10 (literally, first-at he-saw-them)

galiktô'ptck gatccgelke'ḷxpa he came to land where he had seen them 8.5

ē'wi gali'xôx gayaxa'limaṭxpa he looked back to where he had thrown himself into the water 8.6

ma'sa gali'xôx q!u'mba gagi'ux he was ashamed because she had disturbed him in his sleep 58.26 (literally, disturb-in-sleep at she-made-him)

2. *-iamt* (often with palatalized *a* as *-iämt*, *-iëmt*) TO, FROM. This suffix is probably Chinookan in origin; it may be plausibly analyzed as verb stem *-i-* GO + verb suffix *-am* ARRIVING + tense suffix *-t*. This analysis would explain its two apparently contradictory meanings. It tends to draw the accent to itself. Examples are:

icktê'lgwiptck wimatia'mt they collected (driftwood) from the river 2.2

nig̣elga'ba iciagitcia'mt it flew out of his nostrils 80.29 (literally, out of him from his nostrils)

gac̣x'k'wa'x tctôqlia'mt the two returned to their house 2.12

gayuk'wî'xa ilaxnî'miëmt he swam to the person's canoe 18.23

ṃx̣a'tcktcam wimatia'mt go to the river and wash yourself 22.18 (literally, go-and-wash-yourself to-the-river)

gatclu'k'ul itq'liä'mt iltcqoa he took the water to the house 28.8

As subordinating element it may be translated as TO WHERE. An example of its use after verbs is:

asemxelu'tka a'tpxiamd aga'lar you shall look towards the east
188.21 (literally, she-comes-out to-where the-sun)

3. **ba'ma** FOR, BELONGING TO. This is evidently the Yakima suffix
-pama FOR. Examples of its use with denominating words are:

na'ikabam' amtklni'dama ilqagi'lak for my sake you two will go
and get me the woman 62.25

ya'xtau laxka'bama lgiubi'tcema that (fish) he obtains for himself
186.4

gaqxô'gwigax its!i'nônks wi'lxpama animals were taken belonging
to the country 16.13

ctmô'kct gactu'ix ntca'ikabama two of our men (literally, us-for)
went on 216.16

da'nbama qxê'dau mxu'lal what for do you speak thus? 132.24
lga'tqwôm luwa'n qa'xbabama he has come I know not where from
128.17 (literally, what-in belonging-to)

k!a'ya kwô'babama idE'ljam tcduxt he had not made people be-
longing to there 44.23

gi'gwalbam' itk!i'tit underclothes (literally, below-for clothes)

Less commonly *bama* may precede. An example is—

bam' ilxê'wulx aklugwi' itk!a'lamat he carries rocks for (i. e., in
order to gain) strength 186.17 (cf. *ilxê'wulx bama* 188.2)

When used at the beginning of a predication, *bama* gives it the
meaning of a clause of purpose. Examples are:

ba'ma la'-itcka a'lem' atcludi'na in order that he might kill them
54.2 (literally, for them will he-will-kill-them)

bama capca'p qixuru'nnil ika'ba 188.19 for chopping up the ice
(literally, for chop-up it-is-always-made the-ice)

When accented (*bama'*), it is used after predicates to mean EVER
SINCE. An example is—

nk!a'ckabama' k!ā'ya qxantci'x itctge'mem ever since I was a
child I have never been sick 190.9

4. (**E**)**nEgi** WITH, BY MEANS OF, less frequently MADE OUT OF. It
seems to be the Yakima genitive case ending -ngi. Examples
are—

axk' E'nEgi amcgiu'xa lq!ô'p with it you will cut it off 12.4

lq!ô'p galgi'ux aqe'nek E'nEgi they cut it off with the stone knife
18.5

galklô'ql' alakce'n E'nEgi he counted them with his finger 18.19
it!a'ma ngi gayu'ya he went by means of a round-pointed canoe
38.21

iga'bēnāc E'nEgi gatclu'x he made them out of young oak 4.13

Less frequently *ngi* may precede. Examples are—

xa'u xau galxu'x ng' ilkcē'n they combed themselves with the hand 78.10

ayak!a'lamat ngi wa'nux his pipe (was) made out of a stomach 94.9

a'mEni MADE OUT OF, less frequently WITH. It is perhaps the Yakima *-nmi*. Examples are—

sā'q itk!a'lamat a'mEni aki/xax* it is entirely out of stones 82.13
isk!u'ly' amEni isga'k!aps aqsu'xwa a hat is made out of coyote 182.7

alk!wa'dit amEni agiu'xwa it is made of tule 182.9

itq!u'tc' a'mEni tsē'xtsēx gaqtu'x itk!a'munaq they split trees by means of antlers 182.14

6. *-pt* UP TO is used to form adverbs out of demonstrative stems:

dapt UP TO HERE; *kwōpt* UP TO THERE, THEN, ENOUGH; *ya'ip* UP TO YONDER. Probably etymologically identical with this element is *-bEt*, frequently added to verbs or other words in the predicate to form temporal clauses. Examples are—

gatchē'mquit lqa'wulqt gagiula'dabīt he spit blood when she threw him down 14.11

galikta'tckpet p!a'la igi'xōx when he had come up out of the water, he stopped 22.18

lē'p(b)Et alxu'xwa anigēlgā'ya when he dives, I shall take hold of it 18.20

nk!a'ckacbEt when I was a boy 188.8

aga'lax alaxu'xwa yaxtadi'wi gal'i'xux galxō'qbEt the weather will be as it was when they came together 130.27

When rhetorically lengthened to *-bā't*, this post-position has a general cumulative significance; with verbs it is best translated AS MANY AS. Examples are—

gwe'nEmabā'd ilgwō'mēx antk!wa'lalaqwida I shall be absent as much as five days 122.12

kwō'pt natcdupgenayabā't that many (ropes) as he had apportioned 188.6

qxa'ntcipt alk!xa'tgway' atculzamabā't he piles up as many as he tells him to 186.19

7. *diwi* (emphatic *dā'wi*) LIKE. This element is very likely of demonstrative origin, and so does not perhaps belong here. It is freely used, however, as a post-position, and so may be included. Examples are—

ick!a'li diwi datc'i'p striped like a basket 166.2

iya'lqx ilgwa'lilx diwi his body (was) like a person's 166.17

naika dā'wi itcē'lgulit exactly like my appearance 104.10

VOCABULARY (§§ 57-60)

§ 57. Onomatopoeic Terms

The most important trait of the Chinook vocabulary is the abundance of onomatopoeic terms.

There are many nouns of onomatopoeic origin. All of these contain the imitative group of sounds doubled. Since, in onomatopoeic words when used as verbs, duplication of the stem signifies repetition, the doubling of the stem in nouns may be interpreted as meaning that the particular sound is uttered habitually by the object designated by the onomatopoeic term. Some nouns contain other phonetic elements in addition to the doubled group of imitative sounds.

This class of nouns includes particularly names of birds, of a few other animals, and a miscellaneous group of terms among which are found names of parts of the body and a few terms of relationship. Some of these are not strictly onomatopoeic, but may be included in the class of doubled stems for the sake of convenience.

(1) Birds.

From stem *t!ē* is formed *it!ē't!ē* hawk

<i>qoēl</i>	<i>iqoē'lqoēl</i> owl
<i>pōē</i>	<i>ipō'ēpōē</i> (sp.?)
<i>qēs</i>	<i>iqē'sqēs, o'ē'c'ēc</i> blue jay
<i>qoās</i>	<i>iqoā'sqoas</i> crane
<i>qonē</i>	<i>iqonē'qonē</i> gull
<i>tsen</i>	<i>ē'tsentsen</i> humming-bird
<i>goēx</i>	<i>ogoē'xgoēx</i> female mallard-duck
<i>tc!āk</i>	<i>utc!aktc!ā'k</i> eagle
<i>tsiās</i>	<i>otsiā'stsias</i> robin
<i>qul</i>	<i>ē'qulqul</i> heron
<i>lōt</i>	<i>iqsō'łlōlōt</i> (sp.?)
<i>ts!ēk</i>	<i>ōmunts!ē'kts!ēk</i> teal-duck
<i>koaē</i>	<i>otc!ē'nakoaēkoaē</i> (sp.?)
<i>tcxen</i>	<i>tq!ē'ptxcntcxen</i> sprigtail ducks
<i>qēt</i>	<i>cenqētqē't</i> hawk
<i>kon</i>	<i>iqstō'konkon</i> woodpecker

(2) Mammals.

From stem *pen* is formed *ō'penpen* skunk; *ī'penpen* badger

<i>nam</i> (?)	<i>ēnamnā'muks</i> otter
<i>kōtc</i>	<i>ukō'tckōtc</i> porpoise
<i>txp</i>	<i>sē'ntēptēp</i> shrew
<i>cēlq</i>	<i>ē'cēlqcēlq</i> porcupine

(3) Other animals.

From stem *qo* is formed *ē'qoqo* pike

<i>lōx</i>	<i>ilō'xlox</i> oyster
<i>lex</i>	<i>iqalē'xlex</i> a small fish (see <i>lex</i> scales)
<i>xē</i>	<i>iq'oatē'xēxē</i> bullfrog
<i>mēn</i>	<i>ōlatsē'mēnmēn</i> newt
<i>lō</i>	<i>sēq'alōlō</i> butterfly

(4) Plants.

From stem *ma* is formed *emā'ma* pewterwort

<i>qel</i>	<i>ō'elqel</i> polypodium
<i>cāq</i>	<i>ucā'qcaq</i> pteris

(5) Parts of body.

From stem *p!ōx* is formed *up!ō'xp!ōx* elbow

<i>tcxōl</i>	<i>utcxō'ltcxōl</i> lungs
<i>kuc</i>	<i>ckucku'c</i> testicles

(6) Terms of relationship.

From stem *ga* is formed *iā'gaga* his mother's father

<i>qac</i>	<i>iā'qacqac</i> his father's father
<i>cga</i>	<i>oyā'cgacga</i> his mother's mother
<i>k!ē</i>	<i>oyā'k!ēk!ē</i> his father's mother
<i>ma</i>	<i>liā'mama</i> his father
<i>ta</i>	<i>liā'tata</i> his mother's brother
<i>k!āc</i>	<i>ik!ā'ckc</i> boy

(7) Miscellaneous terms:

From stem *pāt* is formed *ipā'tpat* net

<i>tcēl</i>	<i>ē'tcēltcēl</i> brass buttons
<i>sēq</i>	<i>ōsē'qsēq</i> buck-skin
<i>tsēx</i>	<i>ltsē'xtsēx</i> gravel, thorn
<i>k!oyē</i>	<i>ok!oyē'k!oyē</i> fingering
<i>gac</i>	<i>ogō'cgac</i> sealing-spear
<i>kup</i>	<i>ikupku'p</i> short dentalia
<i>qāl (?)</i>	<i>iqā'lxal</i> gambling-disks
<i>L!al</i>	<i>il!al!al</i> gambling-disks
<i>q!āl</i>	<i>iq!ā'lq!al</i> short baton
<i>qwīs</i>	<i>ō'wīsqwīs</i> breaking of wind
<i>qōm (?)</i>	<i>iqō'mxōm</i> cedar-bark basket
<i>Lk!ēn</i>	<i>ō' Lk!ēn Lk!ēn</i> open basket
<i>qula</i>	<i>Lqulā'ula</i> egg
<i>lex</i>	<i>ō'lexlex</i> scales
<i>L!uwalk</i>	<i>ē' L!uwalk L!uwalk</i> mud
<i>lem</i>	<i>ōlēmlem</i> rotten wood (<i>-lēm</i> rotten bark)
<i>qot</i>	<i>iq!ē'qotqot</i> fever

A second large class of onomatopoetic terms, those used in place of verbs, has been discussed before (§ 46).

§ 58. Nouns Expressing Adjectival and Verbal Ideas

In Chinook a great many adjectives and verbs are expressed by substantives. In these expressions the quality or action becomes the subject or object of the sentence, as the case may be. The Chinook will say, **THE MAN'S BADNESS KILLED THE CHILD'S POVERTY**, meaning that the bad man killed the poor child. It is true that such expressions are not entirely unfamiliar to us; for we can say, **HE WENT THE WHOLE LENGTH OF THE WAY, OR HE MASTERED THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROBLEM**, in which we also treat a quality as objective. In Chinook this method is applied to a greater extent than in any other language I know. Many qualities are used only as abstract nouns, while others may be transformed into adjectives by the prefix *g-*, which expresses possession (see § 17.6); for instance:

iā'q!atxal his badness

giā'q!atxal the one who has his badness (i. e., the bad one)

In the same way, verbs appear as nouns. This also is a mode of expression not unfamiliar to us, although the frequent application of such expressions and the ideas they express appear very strange. We can say, like the Chinook, **HE MAKES A HIT** and **HE HAS A SICKNESS**, instead of **HE HITS** and **HE IS SICK**; we can even use the verbal idea as the subject of a transitive verb, or form analogous passive constructions; for instance, **SORROW FILLED HIS HEART, HE WAS SEIZED BY A FIT OF ANGER**; but the absence or rarity of the corresponding verbal forms and the strong personification of the verbal idea in the noun appear to us quite strange.

Most of the nouns of this class are always used with the possessive pronoun. The following examples illustrate their uses:

a'lta (1) *itsanō'ksetx* (2) *ōlk!ē'nLk!ēn* (3) *agiā'lōtk* (4) *ik!ēnā'tan*
(5) now (1) she put (4) potentilla-roots (5) into (4) the smallness of (2) a clam basket (3) 43.22

ohō' (1) *itci'qōqcīn* (2) *Liā'xawyam* (3) ! *ohō'* (1) my wife's relative's (2) poverty (3) ! i. e., oh, my poor relative ! 67.21

tagē' (1) *eē'tczōt* (2) *iā'lkuilē* (3) just like (1) a bear's (2) similarity (3) 275.11

qulē'tc (1) *igō'lgeli* (2) *tcāxt* (3) *Iō'i* (4) once more (1) her lie (2) has done her (3) Ioi (4) i. e., Ioi has lied again 163.14

ō'lō (1) *aktā'x* (2) *tē'lx'em* (3) hunger (1) acts on (2) the people (3) 260.16

ka'nauwē (1) *tēlalā'xukc* (2) *ō'tām'ō* (3) all (1) birds (2) their chewed thing (3) i. e., all birds eat of it 40.18

ta'kē (1) *ā'yatc'a* (2) *nixā'lax* (3) then (1) his sickness (2) came to be on him (3) i. e., then he became sick

qa'da (1) *itxā'alqt* (2) *qtgiā'xō* (3) ? how (1) shall we make (3) our wailing (2) ?

A list of these nouns has been given on pp. 599-600.

It will, of course, be understood that these words, from the Chinook point of view, do not form a separate class, but that they are simply concrete or abstract nouns, as the case may be. They are in no way different from similar constructions in English, in which the quality of an object is expressed as its property. We find, therefore, also, that many ordinary concrete nouns perform the functions of adjectives. *Ayā'pẏela* (1) *icimē'wat* (2), literally, THE DUCK (2) ITS FAT (1) means the duck had (much) fat, or the fat duck. The only peculiarity of Chinook in this respect is, that certain ideas which we consider as qualities or activities are always considered as concrete or abstract nouns. A glance at the list shows clearly that quite a number of these words can not be considered as stems. Some are derivatives of unchangeable words, and others are evidently compounds.

§ 59. Phonetic Characteristics of Nominal Stems

On account of the intricate derivation of Chinook nouns, and our unfamiliarity with the component stems, it is impossible to describe the phonetic characteristics of nominal stems. The lists of nouns given before (pp. 597 et seq.) contain a number of stems consisting of consonants only, while most of the others are monosyllabic stems. It is doubtful if the purely consonantic stems have originated entirely through phonetic decay. A comparison of the Upper and Lower Chinook dialects gives no decisive answer to this question.

On the whole I am under the impression that a considerable number of monosyllabic nouns, and perhaps a few of two syllables, may be considered as stems.

§ 60. Verbal Stems

The onomatopoeic stems which do not readily form true verbs, and the nouns used for expressing verbal ideas (so far as they are not derivatives) reduce the total number of true verbal stems considerably. These are very brief, consisting sometimes of a single

sound, often of a group of consonants, or of a single syllable. Stems of this character are relatively so numerous as to arouse suspicion that all dissyllabic stems may be compounds.

In many cases it is very difficult to determine the stem of the verb, because it remains often doubtful whether an initial *-x*, *-k*, and *-g* belong to the stem or to a prefix. The following list contains only such stems the phonetic character and significance of which appear reasonably certain. The stems are arranged according to their initial sounds—first vowels, then labials, dentals, palatals, and finally laterals. The beginning of the stem is marked by parallel lines; suffixes are separated by single lines; tr., signifies transitive; intr., intransitive.

-enux others, apart

-ā'mka only, alone

-ā'nawa first

-ēxt one (for animals and inanimate objects)

-ē'xat one (person)

-o|i to go. The forms of this verb are irregular. Some are derived from a stem *-i*, while others seem to have the stem *-ō*. It may be, however, that the latter is only the directive prefix *-ō-*. The stem *-i* (which is absent in forms like *ā'yō* HE GOES, *ā'lō* IT GOES) reappears in

ayō'yam he arrives

ayō'ix he is in the habit of going

nō'ya I go

nō'yam I arrive

nē'gemoya he goes along it

nigēlō'ya I go for a purpose, i. e., I go hunting

ayoē'wulxt he goes up

-xel| *ōi ma* other, different

-wa to pursue

-ā|wa to pursue tr. 62.12

-xā|wa to run pl. intr. 276.9

-xe'l|wa|ko to follow around

-u|wā'|x·it to flee (=to be pursued) 223.10

-u|wā'|ko to demand 157.19

-ā|wa^ε to kill sing. obj.

-a|wan belly 186.6 (=pregnant)

-ā|wul^ε to swallow 46.12

-ā|wintsx to melt

-u|wē'^ε raw, unripe 93.26

-pena to jump

-o||pena tr. with dual obj. to jump 192.13

-*palau* to talk-o||*palaw*|*ul* to address some one tr. 213.15-*ki*||*palau* substantive TO BEWITCH (= word) 62.16-o||*piā'lx* to gather, to pick 245.5-o||*pēqla* to scratch 26.21-o||*pēl* to stretch out 109.12-*pō* to close, to shut-*x*||*pō*|*tē* to be locked 12.3-*ā*||*pō* to shut a box-*n*||*pō*|*t* to shut in (=to shut eyes) 47.18-*x*||*pōna* to carry food to wife's relatives 249.7-o||*pōn*|*it* to put up 29.8-*pōl* darkness, night-*pō'lakli* dark 29.8*no'pōnem* it gets dark 23.5-*ō*||*pcut* to hide 9.10-o||*ptca* to lead by hand 130.6-o||*ptcx* to mend-o||*p'ena* to pronounce, to utter 253.21-o||*mako* to distribute, to give presents 98.8-*l*||*mako* 77.17-o||*mā'inx* rotten 199.26-o||*mētk* to find, gather up 162.21-*l*||*mē'ctx* to loan, to lend; tr. with two obj.-o||*mēql* to lick 42.8-o||*mēla* to scold 93.24 (=bad? Kathlamet)-*mēxa* one more-o||*met* to grow up 224.4-*ō*||*mēl* to buy 94.20-*ō*||*mēqt* to die sing. 114.3, to faint, 239.6-*ō*||*mēqtit* thirsty 71.1-*mēq* to vomit, to spit-*ō*||*mēqo-it* to spit-*ō*||*m^εa* to vomit 13.6*e'*||*m^εa*|*ql* qualmish-*xen*||*mō'sx'em* to play, to fool, to make fun of 178.18-*ō*|*t* to give 164.6-*t* to come-*tē* to come 15.18-*tē*|*mam* to arrive coming 161.14-*x*|*takō* to come back 28.21-*x*|*takōm* to arrive coming back 16.17-*ga*|*t!*|*ōm* (for -*gatqōm*) to meet 94.11

- g_{EL} |ta to leave 250.8
- x_{EL} |ta to leave 250.10
- ^e_{EL} |ta|q_L to leave sing. obj. 123.15
- ē |ta|q_L to leave pl. obj. 128.7
- l |ta|tke to leave to somebody 177.5
- k |ta to pursue, to meet 197.24, 23.19
- l |taqt to meet 164.26
- o |tēna to kill pl. obj. 23.22
- l |tigō to oil, to grease; tr. with two objs., the direct obj.
- l- standing for GREASE
- x_{EL} |tōm to accompany 135.20
- o |tuke to suck
- tk to put down
- ō |tk to put away 177.6, to snow 42.1
- x_{EM} |ō |tk to stake 30.16
- ō |tg|akō to put down around (=to step) 240.29
- ō |tcin |tk to put first (=to begin)
- ō |tx to give away
- tx to stand sing.
- ō |tx|uit to stand 184.20
- g |ō tx to stand on, to strike 191.20
- ō |tx|uit|tcu to fall down
- ō |tx|umit to place upright 48.5
- ō |tx|uitck to make ready 42.17
- x_{EL} |tx|uitck to get ready
- tcam to hear
- x |tcīmaq to understand 165.16
- l |tcīmaq to hear 24.18
- o |tcēna to lay down 98.6
- o |tceq_Lk^u to be crosswise 266.13
- g_{EL} |tcim to strike, to hit 66.4
- tct to move on water
- o |tct|tcu to go down river by canoe 277.3
- o |tct|amit to push into water 74.22
- o |tctxōm to finish 46.23
- nax_E |tctxōm to finish one's own (breath), to faint
- o |tcktc to wash 39.23
- o |tsqat short
- x_{EL} |o |tcx to observe 25.1
- o |tcx_{EM} to boil 23.4
- c to be somewhere sing.
- o |c to be 219.7
- l |ō |c to be in 151.3
- k |ō |c to be on 39.12
- x |ō |c to be on ground 39.18

- o||ci to roast in ashes 185.4
- o||ctx to carry on back 114.20
- cg to take
 - o||cg|am to take 134.1
 - o||cge|lx to take to water 116.24
 - x||cg|am to take away
 - gelge||cg|am to help 28.6
 - x||cg|al|il to play 17.4
- o||sko'it warm 174.13
- ckta to search on beach 88.4
- o||ck*!L to turn over fire
- '|nata on the other side, across
- nazl to miss something that is needed
 - o||nazl'atck to lose 43.17
- o||nalx to wipe
- ni to tie (?)
 - k!ē||ni'ako to tie around 253.2
 - x||ni'ako to tie around 115.24
- ngo to run sing.
 - xa||ngo to run 23.23
 - xa|tE|ngo to come running 28.3
 - o||ngō'mit to cause to run (= to carry away) 27.16
 - o||nguē to flutter
- kel to see
 - 'ēl||kel to see sing. obj. 115.1
 - 'ē||kel to see pl. obj. 66.11
- ka to fly
 - ō|kō to fly
 - t|ka to come flying
 - t||ka|mam to arrive flying and coming
- kim to say 127.17
- gē'xa to swim
 - o||guēxa to swim 14.15
 - gel||gēxa|xē to swim across 217.11
- gēxē (-guēxē?) to sweep
 - o||guēxē.172.5
- kō to go home, to pass
 - x|kō to go home 25.9, to go past
 - xa t|kō to come home 212.2
- ka (-kō?)
 - o||kō to order 129.29
- gōn another
 - x||kxuē to throw away 17.11
 - o||kuman to look at 47.2

- o *kula* to sharpen 15.21
- o *ktik* to lie down on side 76.8
- ktomit* to take revenge on relative of a murderer 203.10
- ktuq* to enslave
- o *kte* to carry 66.4
- ktcax* (-*ge'tcax*) to cry 275.2
- o *ktcan* to hold in hand 271.10
- o *ktcikt* roasted, done 134.10
 - o|*ktcikt|amit* to roast 93.26
- o *kc* to harpoon 92.9
- o *kct* to see 217.22
 - o|*kctam* to go to see 187.10
- o *kct* (probably the same as *-kte* above) to carry 38.18
- x o kcti* to lie down, to sleep 76.20
- xal o kctgo* to throw down 16.8
- o *k^utk* to make net 95.4
- o *k^uL* to carry 129.19
 - t|*k^uL* to bring 127.13
 - t *k^uLam* to arrive bringing 67.6
- k^uL* to tell
 - x|*guLitch* to tell 37.17
 - x|*k^uLēl* 41.4
- kLēwa* to paddle 135.1
- o|*kLpa* to miss 271.13
- k!a* to haul, to pull
 - x *k!a* 117.19
 - gat k!a* to haul here
- k!ōL* to glue
- a q* to meet
 - ga|^qōm* to arrive meeting 117.24
- a qamt* (-*a|qamit?*) to look 218.11
- a qamst* to drink
- l qamx* to shout
- qana it* to lie
 - o *qana it* to lie down 16.23
 - k|qana it* to lay on top of
 - o|*qunā' it x it* to fall down
- qā'yaqt* between
- o|*qa-iL* large
- qēna* orphan
- ēm* to give food
 - l|*ēm* to give food 22.10
 - t|*ēm* to come to give food
 - gē|qoim* 240.28 ,

- ^εōya between
 - n|^εōya to put between into 172.20
 - a|^εoya mit to leave meanwhile 93.26
 - a|^εoya time between (= days) 175.9
- a|^εwēwul to invite 176.18
 - t|^εwēwul to invite here 41.6
- a|^εwilx to hit, to strike 65.12
- a|^εōptit to sleep 255.16
- a|^εōpk to steam on stones 97.25
- a|^εqōt to bathe
 - x|^εōt to bathe sing. 12.8
 - x|^εōyut to bathe pl.
- a|^εōtc! to awaken sing. 137.23
 - a|^εōyutc! to awaken pl.
- a|^εōnim to laugh at 184.3
- a|qc to split wood 45.18, to bite 100.13
- a|qcti to be satiated 172.12
- qla to count
 - qlā'x'it to be counted (= to menstruate) 245.20
- o|xun to drift
- o|xtk to steal 163.12
- o|x'tkin to search 12.5
- xgō to be transformed
 - xgō|mit to transform 30.23
- a|x tr. to do; intr. to become, to be
 - ||xōm to arrive
 - a|x|otck to begin to do (= to work)
- xauwē many
- xāyal common man -(xal?)
- xēna to stand pl., to place upright 23.6
 - xēna|x'it to stand pl. 235.19
- xomem to show 41.2
- gen|ō'tēn to help sing 235.5
- o|xogtc to invite 60.4
- xōLlt dizzy
- xol! to finish
- o|xtk to swim (fish) 63.13
- xglako to surpass 245.13
- a|x's to cut
- l to move
 - o|la to move
 - x|ll to shake intr. 156.14
 - o|llatck to lift 25.21
- lap to dig
- ā -laxta next 60.8

- o||*lɛktc* to roast 124.19
- o||*lɛam* to say to tr. 13.17
- LEMāt* next to last
- la* to sit, to remain
 - o||*la it* to be, to sit 22.10
 - gem*||*la it* to wait for 128.5
 - xɛ'*||*la it* dead pl.
 - k*||*la it* to be in canoe
- o||*lata* to pull back 38.13
 - o||*lā'ta|x it* to fly about
- lk'ik* crooked
- o||*lqat* long
- o||*L!* (-o||*Lq*) to win, to surpass 30.15
- Lqla* to strike
 - ge*||*Lqla* to stab 89.1
 - xɛl*||*ō*||*Lqla* to hammer
- xɛl*||*lɛlɛm* to eat
- L!ala* foolish
- L!ɛlɛt* lean

CHINOOK TEXT

THE SHAMANS

Gita'kikelal ¹	atgē'ix ²	ē'wa ³	tinēwā'lema. ⁴	Ma'nîx ⁵	alō'nîks. ⁶
Those who have power of seeing	they go	thus	the ghosts.	When	three persons.
lā'nēwa ⁷	aqlā'x ⁸	pāt ⁹	gilā'xawōk; ¹⁰	k'îmta' ¹¹	aqlā'x ⁸ pāt ⁹
that one first	some one makes him	really	one who has a guardian spirit;	last	some one makes him
gilā'xawōk; ¹⁰	kā'tsek ¹²	aqlā'x ⁸	gianu'kstx ¹³	ila'xawōk. ¹⁴	Aqē'ktaōx ¹⁵
one who has a guardian spirit;	middle	some one makes him	one who has smallness	his guardian spirit.	Some one pur- sues it
ilā'xanātē ¹⁶	Lkā'nax, ¹⁷	ma'nîx ⁵	ē'latc! ¹⁸	Lkā'nax. ¹⁷	Ma'nîx ⁵
his life	the chief,	when	his sickness	the chief.	When
itcā'q'atxala ¹⁹	ayā'xela ²⁰	qax ²¹	uē'xatk, ²²	alktō'p'ena ²³	lā'ēwam ²⁴
its badness	it is on it	that	trail,	he utters it	his shaman song
qō'la ²⁵ lā'nēwa. ⁷	Ma'nîx ⁵	ē'wa ³	k'îmta' ¹¹	itcā'q'atxala ¹⁹	ayā'xela ²⁰
that first one.	When	thus	behind	its badness	it is on it

¹ -kel TO SEE, as a transitive verb used with the prefixed element -k- (§ 25.7); -ki- is introduced to make the stem -kel intransitive (§ 26.4); terminal -l (with connecting weak vowel al) indicates an action characterized by many repetitions (§ 31.7); this compound stem kikelal is treated as a masculine noun, POWER OF SEEING (§ 34.5); this appears as third person plural possessive -lā- (§ 23), and is transformed into a personal noun by prefixed q- (§ 17.6).

² a- aorist (§ 17.1); tē- third person plural, special form (§ 19.2); ēl vowel lengthened under stress of accent; -x usitative (§ 32.11).

³ ē'wa THUS, THEN (§ 44.2).

⁴ t- third person plural (§ 21); -mēwal GHOST, a stem introduced after the older stem -mēm Elōst had been tabooed on account of the death of a person whose name contained this word; -ma distributive ending. always used with the stem -mēwal (§ 38.2).

⁵ ma'nîx, temporal conjunction WHEN.

⁶ Lōn THREE; -iks plural indicating human beings (§ 38.1); a- special plural.

⁷ ā'nēwa FIRST; L- neuter pronoun (§ 18).

⁸ a- aorist, q-, subject SOME ONE (§ 18); L- object IT (§ 18); -ā- directive, for ā before k sound (§ 10); -x stem TO DO; contracted with the usitative ending -x (§ 32.11), which has drawn the accent to the last syllable.

⁹ pāt REALLY, adverb.

¹⁰ i'kawōk GUARDIAN SPIRIT; -Lā- neuter possessive (§ 23), after which the k changes to x (§ 6.1); q- transforms the term into a personal noun (§ 17.6).

¹¹ k'îmta' LAST, AFTERWARDS, BEHIND. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

¹² kā'tsek MIDDLE. Adverb, may also be used as noun.

¹³ i- nukstx SMALLNESS, with possessive pronoun masculine third person, and personifying prefix q- (see notes 1, 10).

¹⁴ See note 10.

¹⁵ a- aorist; q- SOME ONE; ē- HIM; stem presumably -lat; the preceding k seems to be adverbial (see § 25.3), because when accented it takes the form qē', and because, after ā, an ā is inserted following it: for instance, aqūgō'tatx 197.15 SOME ONE PURSUES THEM; the verb has, however, only one object. It never occurs with directive -ā-.

¹⁶ i-kanā'tē LIFE, SOUL. Neuter possessive (§ 23). See also note 10.

¹⁷ i-kā'nax CHIEF, RICH MAN; ōkō'nax CHIEFTAINNESS (§ 7); Lkā'nax indefinite, A CHIEF.

¹⁸ ē'-tēla SICKNESS. Masculine noun; neuter possessive.

¹⁹ ē'-q'atxala BADNESS. Masculine noun, feminine possessive, relating to the feminine noun wē'pāt.

²⁰ Intransitive verb with indirect object; a- aorist; y for i between vowels (§ 17.1), HE (namely, badness); ā- HER (namely, trail); -x- indicates that the badness belongs to the trail (§ 24); -l to (§ 25.1); -ā- directive before k sound (§ 10); -x stem TO DO, TO BE.

qax ²¹ that	ue'xatk, ²² trail,	ka ²⁶ and	qō'La ²⁵ that one	iau'a ²⁷ then	klīmta' ¹¹ behind	alktōp'Ena'x ²⁸ he utters it
Lā'ēwam. ²⁴ his song.	Cka ²⁶ And	mē'nx'ī ²⁹ a little while	nōpō'nemx ³⁰ it is dark	ka ²⁶ and	atōgoē'la-ītx, ³¹ they treat him,	tatcl how- ever,
ayu'ktelil ³² the morning star	io'itet ³³ comes	ka ²⁶ and	aqita'ēōm ³⁴ some one reaches it	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his life	qō'La ²⁵ that	gē'Latc!a. ³⁵ one who has his sickness.
Aqio'cgam ³⁶ Some one takes it	ilā'xanatē. ¹⁶ his life.	Nōxotā'kox ³⁷ They return	tgā'xawōk ³⁸ their guardian spirits	gitā'kikelal. ¹ those who have power of seeing.		
Ē'xtemaē ³⁹ Sometimes	mō'kti ⁴⁰ twice	alā'ēōix, ⁴¹ are between,	ē'xtemaē ³⁹ sometimes	ē'xti ⁴² once	alā'ēōix ⁴¹ is between	ka ²⁶ and
aqē'telōtxax ⁴³ some one gives him to them	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his soul	qigō ⁴⁴ as	nōxotā'komx ⁴⁵ they return	qō'ta ⁴⁶ those	tgā'wōk. ³⁸ guardian spirits.	
T!ā'ya ⁴⁷ Well	alxā'x ⁴⁸ he becomes	gē'Latc!a. ³⁵ one who has his sickness.				
Ma'nix ⁵ When	aqiā'wax ⁴⁹ some one pursues him	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his soul	gē'Latc!a. ³⁵ one who has his sickness	atgē'ix ² they go	gitā'kikelal ¹ those who have the power of seeing.	
ma'nix ⁵ when	aqiā'wax ⁴⁹ some one pursues him	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his soul	gē'Latc!a; ³⁵ one who has sickness;	iau'a ²⁷ then	qiq'E'tcqtā ⁵⁰ to the left	

²¹ Demonstrative feminine, absent past (§ 44); the corresponding masculine is *qir*.

²² *u-ē'xatk* TRAIL. Stem probably *-tē*.

²³ *a-* aorist; *L-* indefinite (neuter) subject; *-k-* indicates *L* as transitive subject (§ 19); *-t* THEM; *-ō-* directive; stem *p/Ena* (Upper Chinook *-pəEna*).

²⁴ *L-qē'wam* SHAMAN'S SONG. Neuter possessive (§ 23); since the accent is thrown back before the *q*, it is weakened to *ē* (§ 6.3).

²⁵ *qō'La*, neuter demonstrative, absent invisible past (§ 44).

²⁶ The connective conjunction appears as *ka*, *k/a*, and *cka*. It has not been possible to give a satisfactory explanation of their uses.

²⁷ THEN. Demonstrative adverb related to *ē'wa*.

²⁸ See note 23, with usitative suffix *-x* (§ 32.11).

²⁹ *mank* A LITTLE; with adverbial ending *-i*, the *k* is always aspirated.

³⁰ Irregular formation from the feminine stem *-pōl*. It would seem as though the directive *-ō* had been inserted in the verbal form in which the aoristic *n-* appears before a vowel (§ 17.1). This *n-* has assimilated the *-l* of *-pōl* (§ 8). The explanation is, however, not satisfactory.

³¹ *a-* aorist; *t-* third person plural intransitive subject; *-ō-* third person plural object before *-g-*; *-gē-* prefix eliminating one object (?) (§ 26.4); *-la-īt* stem, perhaps *-l-+a-īt* (§ 29.1).

³² Intransitive third person masculine singular before vowel, when the *i-* takes a consonantic character, so that the aoristic *a* is retained; *-u* directive; stem *-ktelil*.

³³ *i-* third person masculine singular before vowel, *-ō*.

³⁴ *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine singular object; *-la'* stem TO PURSUE; *-ōm* for *-am* after *k* sound, TO ARRIVE (§ 26.1).

³⁵ See *ē'Latc!a* (note 18); *-g-* personal noun (§ 17.6).

³⁶ *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine singular object; *-ō* directive; *-cg-* stem TO TAKE; *-am* completion of motion.

³⁷ *n-* aorist before vowel; *-ō-* third person plural before *k* sound; *-x* reflexive; *-o* probably short and introduced after *o* preceding *x*; *-t* stem TO COME; *-āko* AROUND, BACK; *-x* usitative.

³⁸ *t-* plural; *tgā'* third person plural possessive; *t'kawōk* GUARDIAN SPIRIT.

³⁹ *ēxt* ONE; *-ma* distributive; *-ē* adverb.

⁴⁰ *mōkti* TWO; *-i* (= *-ē*) adverb.

⁴¹ *a-* aorist; *L-* intransitive third person neuter subject; *-a-* directive, for *-ō-* before *k* sound; stem *-ōya* BETWEEN; *-x* usitative.

⁴² *ēxt* ONE; *-i* (= *-ē*) adverb.

⁴³ *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-ē* HIM; *-t-* THEM; *-l-* TO; *-ō-* directive; *-t-* TO GIVE AWAY; *-x* usitative. This form is unusual in so far as the two terminal *x*'s are not contracted and the accent is not on the ultima.

⁴⁴ Demonstrative adverb *q-* invisible; *-t-* masculine; *-gō* THERE.

⁴⁵ See note 37; *-om* for *-am* after *k* sound and perhaps contracted with *-āko*; *-x* usitative.

⁴⁶ See note 25, plural.

⁴⁷ See § 46.3.

⁴⁸ *a-* aorist; *-L-* neuter; *-x-* reflexive; *-ā-* directive, for *-ō-* before *k* sound; *-x* stem TO DO.

⁴⁹ *a-* aorist; *-q-* indefinite subject; *-i-* third person masculine object; *-ā-* directive, accented before *w*; *-wa-* TO PURSUE ONE; *-x* usitative.

⁵⁰ *qiq'E'tcqtā* LEFT; *qiq/cama'* RIGHT. Particles.

qaχ ²¹ that	uē'xatk ²² trail	alō'ix ⁵¹ it went;	nōgō'goimx ⁵² they say	gitā'kikelal: ¹ those who have the power of seeing:	"ō. "Oh,
Lō'meqta, ⁵³ he will die,	taL!!" ⁵⁴ nevertheless!"	Ma'nix ⁵ When	iau'a ²⁷ there	qinq'leama' ⁵⁰ to the right	ayōix ⁵⁵ goes
ilā'xanatē: ¹⁶ his soul:	"ō, tla'ya ⁴⁷ "Oh, well	qlā'xō." ⁵⁶ some one will make him."			
Aqiga'ēōmx ⁵⁷ Some one reaches it	qigō ⁴⁴ when	naLxoā'pē ⁵⁸ the hole	ilē'ē. ⁵⁹ ground.	la'xkatē ⁶⁰ There	alklē ⁶¹ they always
ē'meta-itx ⁶¹ drink it	tmēmēlō'etike. ⁶² the ghosts.	Ma'nix ⁵ When	alkLā'mctx ⁶³ he has drunk it	gē'latc'la ³⁵ the one who has there his sickness	gō ⁶⁴
qō'la ²⁵ that	Ltcuq, ⁶⁵ water,	a'lta ⁶⁶ then	nēket not	qa'nsix ⁶⁷ (any) how	tlayā' ⁴⁷ well
				aqlā'x. ⁸ some one makes him.	Qē'xtcē ⁶⁸ Endeavoring
ka'nauwē ⁶⁹ ali	tga'qēwama ⁷⁰ their shaman songs	atalgē'la-itx, ⁷¹ they treat him,	nāket ⁷² not	L'pāx ⁷³ well	aqlā'x. ¹ some one make him.
Llap ⁷⁵ Find	aqē'ax ⁷⁴ some one does it	ilā'xanatē ¹⁶ his life	qō'la ²⁵ that	Lklāmctx ⁶³ it has drunk it	Ltcuq. ⁶⁵ the water.
Aqiō'cgamx, ³⁶ Some one takes it,	iā'qoa-il ⁷⁵ it is large	qix ²¹ that	ikanā'tē. ¹⁶ life.	Nōxōtā'kux ³⁷ They return	tga'xawōk ³⁸ their guardian spirits
gitā'kikelal. ¹ those who have power of seeing.	Iā'qoa-il ⁷⁵ It is large	qix ²¹ that	ikanā'tē. ¹⁶ life.	Aqiō'cgamx ³⁶ Some one takes it	q'loa'p ⁷ near
iā'kua ⁷⁶ here	Natē'tanuē ⁷⁷ Indians	ka ²⁶ and	ianō'kstx ¹³ its smallness	nē'xēlax. ⁷⁸ comes to be on it.	Nōgō'go-imx ⁵² They say

⁵¹ a- aorist; -L- neuter subject; -ō- directive; see note 2.

⁵² n- aorist before vowel; -ō- plural before k sound; -gō introduced before k stop (§ 19.2b); -k-im, -gim to SAY, in which -ō- is introduced in harmony with preceding o (§ 7); -x usitative.

⁵³ L neuter subject; -ō- directive; stem -mEqT DEAD, -a future.

⁵⁴ See § 50.

⁵⁵ a- aorist before consonantic y, which stands for intervocalic -i- third person masculine subject (see note 51).

⁵⁶ q- indefinite subject; -L- neuter object; -ā- directive before k sound; -x stem to DO; -ō future for -a after k sound (§ 26.1).

⁵⁷ a- aorist; q- indefinite subject; -i- third person masculine object; -ga- adverbial prefix (?); -x stem to MEET; -ōm for -am after k sound, COMPLETION OF MOTION (compare note 34).

⁵⁸ na- prefix for local names (§ 40.3); Lzoap onomatopoeic term, TO DIG; -ē suffix.

⁵⁹ Stem -Lx; masculine; on account of accented vowel following the cluster -Lx, the x is dropped (§ 6.2); -ē suffix.

⁶⁰ See § 44.

⁶¹ a- aorist; -Lk- neuter transitive subject with following k sound (§ 19); -L- neuter object, implying water (see note 65); -gamct stem TO DRINK, here modified by accent into -āamct; -a-itx ALWAYS (§ 31.10).

⁶² See note 4. The stem -mēmēlōt DEAD was used occasionally by the narrator; -t- plural; -lkc plural ending (§ 38.1).

⁶³ See note 61. This form stands for a LkLE'Emctx.

⁶⁴ Demonstrative adverb (§ 44).

⁶⁵ Stem -tcuq; neuter.

⁶⁶ See § 47.

⁶⁷ See § 44.

⁶⁸ Adverb indicating an action performed, but not attaining the desired end.

⁶⁹ Indefinite numeral (§ 51).

⁷⁰ See note 24. Here the stem -qēwam is retained in its original form; tga- plural, possessive third person plural; -ma plural.

⁷¹ a- aorist; -t- third person plural intransitive subject; -L- neuter object (see note 31).

⁷² nēket NOT, with rhetoric emphasis nāket.

⁷³ Attribute complement.

⁷⁴ a- aorist; q- indefinite subject; -ē- masculine object; -a directive before k sound; -x stem to DO.

⁷⁵ t- third person masculine singular continuative; -a directive before k sound; -qoa-L stem LARGE.

⁷⁶ Demonstrative adverb of the groups ē'wa, iau'a, ia'kwa (§ 44).

⁷⁷ Plural in na-; stem -l'tanuē (§ 21).

⁷⁸ Intransitive verb; n- aorist; -ē- contracted from t-i HE HIS (§ 12); -x reflexive; -i- TO; -a- directive before k sound; -x stem to DO, TO BE.

xtōguilā'lē. ⁷⁹ those who treat them:	"Lō'nas nāket ⁷² "Perhaps not	LE'tlōix ⁸⁰ it comes between	ka ²⁶ and	Lō'meqta. ^{77 53} he will die."
Niktoō'ktixē. ⁸¹ It gets day.	Qē'xtcē ⁸³ Endeavoring	aqē'telōt ⁴³ some one gives it to them	ilā'xanate. ¹⁶ his life.	Aqā'telōtx. ⁸² Some one gives it to them
q'loa'p ⁷³ nearly	ka'nauwē ⁶⁹ all	ē'lal'a ⁸³ his body	ka ²⁶ and	alō'meqtx. ⁵³ he dies.
ilā'xanātē. ¹⁶ his soul.				Nilgengā'gux ⁸⁴ It is too small

[Translation.]

The seers go thus to the ghosts. When there are three of them, the one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed first, and one who has a strong guardian spirit is placed last. One who has a small guardian spirit is placed in the middle. The soul of a chief is pursued when the chief is sick. When the trail is bad, the first one utters his shaman song. When the trail is bad behind, then the one there behind utters his shaman song. And it is night for a little while, and they treat him; but when the morning star comes, the soul of the sick one is overtaken. His soul is taken. The guardian spirits of the seers return. Sometimes his soul is given to him two nights, sometimes one night, after the guardian spirits return. Then the sick one becomes well.

When the soul of a sick person is pursued, the seers go, when the soul of the sick person is pursued. There it went thus on the trail to the left. Then the seers say, "Oh, he will die, anyway!" when the soul went there thus to the right, "Oh, he will become well!"

It is reached where there is a hole in the ground. There the ghosts are in the habit of drinking. When the sick one has drunk of that water, he can not be made well at all. All those who have shaman songs try to treat him, but he is not made well.

The soul of one who has drunk of that water is found. It is taken. That soul is large. The guardian spirits of the seers return. That soul is large. It is taken here, near to the Indians, and it grows small. Those who treat them say, "Perhaps it will not be one night before he will die." It gets daylight. The attempt is made to give him his soul. It is given to him. It nearly (fills) his body, and he dies. His soul is too small.

⁷⁹ See note 31. *k-* personal noun.

⁸⁰ See note 41. Presumably with directive *-t-* TO COME, which is strengthened by the elision of *q* (§ 6.3).

⁸¹ *n-* aorist before vowel; *-t-* masculine subject; *-k-* is a prefix. The origin of the suffix is not clear.

⁸² *ā* rhetoric lengthening of *ē* (see notes 43, 72).

⁸³ *ā-* masculine pronoun; *-la-* neuter possessive; *-l'a* stem BODY.

⁸⁴ *n-* aorist; *-t-* third person masculine intransitive subject referring to the soul; *-l-* neuter object, referring to the owner of the soul or life; *-gēn* probably for *-gēl* ON ACCOUNT OF (§ 25.4); *-g-* probably stem; *-ago* AROUND, or part of stem; *-x* usitative.

KATHLAMET TEXT

Ēxā't¹ nē'qatc̄x̄em² nai'ka³ tge'q̄lēyuqt̄k̄c.⁴ Tqē'qlax⁵ qatciuxōi⁶
 One he sang conjurer's I my ancestors. One hundred he owned
 song

watcguīx̄.⁶ Laxanako'ngut⁷ ilā'l̄x̄am.⁸ Noxuā'koax⁹ ta-ītcī¹⁰ tē'l̄x̄am¹¹
 songs. Laxanako'ngut his town. They assembled those people
 ta'x̄i¹¹ tē'laql̄pa¹² ya'x̄i¹³ iqē'qt̄cx̄am.² Lākt¹⁴ lpō'lemar¹⁵
 that his house at that the one who sang Four nights
 conjurer's songs.

nox̄uiwī'yutckuax¹⁶ ta-ītcī¹⁰ tē'l̄x̄am.⁸ A'qa¹⁷ nigē'mx¹⁸ ya'x̄i¹¹
 they danced those people. Then said that
 iqē'qt̄cx̄am.² "A'qa¹⁷ Lxatō'guala¹⁹ La'x̄i¹³ Lq̄lēyō'qt.⁴ alx̄etelō'te.
 one who sang "Then he will come to hear that old man, he will go to see
 conjurer's song:

xama.²⁰ Igox̄uiLō'xoa-it²¹ tē'l̄x̄am.⁸ "Qā'mta²² Lq²³ altē'mama²⁴
 the dances." They thought the people: "Whence may be he will arrive

¹ Stem -x̄t ONE; feminine aē'x̄t; neuter Lēx̄t; plural tēx̄t; forms indicating human beings ē'x̄t, aē'x̄t, Lē'x̄t, tē'x̄t.

² Stem -tc̄ram; the preceding -k- (heard here generally -q-) probably ON; nē- transitional masculine (§ 17).

³ naika I, independent personal pronoun; used here to intensify the possessive pronoun in the following noun.

⁴ -q̄'ygōt OLD PERSON; t- plural; q̄x- my; -k̄c plural, human beings.

⁵ This form is not otherwise known.

⁶ qa- a very frequent verbal prefix in Kathlamet, either transitional, or a slurred form of q̄a THIS contracted with transitional t-: tē- HE, transitive subject; t- HIM; this verb may correspond to Chinook tciā'ruwalick HE HELPED HER SING (Chinook Texts 144.3).

⁷ Laxanako'ngut is a Nehalem town, called in that language Nesō'ka; perhaps derived from ōngut a small bay with steep banks, and Lā'ranē outside.

⁸ i- masculine; -Lā- indefinite possessive; -l̄x̄am TOWN, from stem -l̄x̄. The neuter or indefinite possessive pronoun refers here to the indefinite ancestor whose name is not stated. From the same stem is formed tē'l̄x̄am, with t- plural prefix.

⁹ Stem probably -koa (Lower Chinook -ko); nō- transitional, third person plural; -x̄ua- reflexive after i vowel; -koa stem; -x̄ usitative.

¹⁰ Demonstrative, indicating human beings (see § 44).

¹¹ Demonstrative plural, referring to t̄quL HOUSE.

¹² Without possessive pronoun this noun has the stem -quL; with possessive pronoun the vowel is dropped. It has always the plural prefix t-; -La- refers to the same person as the possessive in iLā'l̄x̄am (see note 8; -pa at (§ 55)).

¹³ ya'x̄i, wu'x̄i. La x̄i demonstratives (§ 44).

¹⁴ Numeral; for human beings the form la'kt̄k̄c is used.

¹⁵ wē'pōl night; L- indefinite pronoun; -pōl night, dark; -mar distributive plural.

¹⁶ nō-, igō- transitional third person plural (§ 17); -x̄ui- reflexive, used apparently in this verb only in the plural; the u is introduced after preceding ō; stem -wē TO DANCE; always ending with -i expressing repetition, or -tck expressing probably an inchoative (§ 31); -x̄ usitative.

¹⁷ This is the most common connective AND THEN (see note 6).

¹⁸ nī- masculine transitional; -k̄zim, accented, -gēm to say; -x̄ usitative.

¹⁹ L- indefinite; -ra- reflexive; the stem does not occur in any other place in the available material.

²⁰ a- future; -L- indefinite; -x̄- reflexive; -ē- him; -t- coming; -lōt̄x̄ to look on; -am to go to—; -a future.

²¹ igō- transitional third person plural (§ 17); -x̄- reflexive changed to -x̄ui- after preceding a-; -Lā- to think; -a-it suffix expressing rest.

²² qā where; -mta suffix, not free; WHENCE, WHITHER.

²³ Lq̄ enclitic particle, MAY BE.

²⁴ a- future; -L- indefinite; -tē to come; -mam for -am after vowel TO ARRIVE (§ 29); -a future.

Lax ¹³ that	Lqleyō'qt ²⁴ old man?	Lxuan ²⁵ Perhaps	ē'wa ²⁶ thus	Naqē'lēm ²⁷ Nehelim	altē'mama ²⁴ he will arrive	alxitelō'tc- he will see the
xama ²⁰ dance,	Lxuan ²⁵ perhaps	ē'wa ²⁶ thus	Tiā'k'lēlakix ²⁸ Clatsop	altē'mama ²⁴ he will arrive	alxitelō'tcxama ²⁰ he will see the dance."	
Igō'pōnem ²⁹ It grew dark.	A'qa ¹⁷ Then	wi'tax ³⁰ again	iguxuiw'yutck ¹⁶ they danced	ta-ŋci ¹⁰ those	tē'lxam ⁸ people.	
Qē'q'ayaq ³¹ Middle	wā'pōlpa ³² night at,	a'qa ¹⁷ then	tell ²³ tired	igō'xoax ³⁴ became	ta-ŋci ¹⁰ those	tē'lxam ⁸ people.
Igugoaqē'witx-it ³⁵ They rested.	Lēxā'ti One	Lqleyō'qt ²⁴ old	Lqagē'lak ³⁶ woman	as ³⁷ and	nō'l.līx ³⁸ a little	
igō'pōnem ²⁹ It was dark	a'qa ¹⁷ then	iloqō'ptit ³⁹ she slept.	Q!oā'p ⁴⁰ Near	ē'ktelil ⁴¹ morning star	qilxē'qo-ŋtq ⁴² she arose	
La'xi ¹³ that	Lqleyō'qt ²⁴ old	Lqagē'lak ³⁶ woman.	A'qa ¹⁷ Then	tā'nki ⁴³ something	igē'xox ⁴⁴ was (there).	Ilgilte'maq ⁴⁵ She heard
q!a'ē q!a'ē q!a'ē ⁴⁶ noise of a crack opening	tā'nki ⁴³ something	igē'xox ⁴⁴ was	ic!qēpa ⁴⁷ the door at.	IlxLō'xoā-it ²¹ She thought	La'xi ¹³ that	
Lqleyō'qt ²⁴ old one:	Lxuan ²⁵ "Perhaps	sāq ⁴⁸ war	iqantē'txam ⁴⁹ some one comes to make on us.	Ní'xua ⁵⁰ Well	antcuqō'yutck- I awoke	
qema ⁵¹ them	tē'lxam ⁸ the people."	A'qa ¹⁷ Then	ilktuqō'yutck ⁵² she woke them,	ac ³⁷ and	qenē'mkatix ⁵³ remaining quiet	ta-ŋci ¹⁰ those
tē'lxam ⁸ people.	Iguxoā'qo-ŋtq ⁵⁴ They arose	ta-ŋci ¹⁰ those	tē'lxam ⁸ people.	Iguxoalā'yutck ⁵⁵ They arose.		

²⁵ Perhaps related to *-lōx-* TO THINK (see note 21); compare *mīlō'xuan tci q!oā'pīx* DO YOU THINK IT IS NEAR? 26.5.

²⁶ Demonstrative adverb (see § 44).

²⁷ *na-* locative prefix (§ 40); *-qēlēm* stem for a place name south of Columbia river; *Tqēlē'muks* THE PEOPLE OF *Naqē'lēm* (NEHELIM), the Tillamook.

²⁸ *-i-* plural; *-iā-* HIS; *-k'lak* ROASTED, DRIED SALMON; *-līx* adverbial ending; WHERE THERE ARE THEIR ROASTED SALMON, the native name of Clatsop. In the Clatsop dialect the name *Lō'tsēp* has the same meaning; *Lā-* THEIR; *-līx* ROASTED, DRIED SALMON.

²⁹ *igō-* transitional and directive; *-pōl* NIGHT; *-pōnem* IT IS ALWAYS NIGHT (see § 8).

³⁰ AGAIN corresponding to Lower Chinook *wēxt*.

³¹ *qē'q'ayaq* THE MIDDLE OF A THING.

³² *w-* nominal prefix (§ 17); *ā-* feminine; *-pōl* NIGHT; *-pa* AT, IN.

³³ Onomatopoeic particle verb.

³⁴ *igō-* transitional intransitive third person plural; *-x-* reflexive; *-oā-* changed from *o* after *ō*; *-i* TO DO.

³⁵ *igugoa-* third person plural before *k* sound (§ 19); *-qēwit* TO REST; *-i* *it* suffix (§ 29).

³⁶ *L-* indefinite; *-qagē'lak* WOMAN.

³⁷ *as*, *ac* connective conjunction, sometimes used for WHILE.

³⁸ *nōl!* A LITTLE; *nō'l!r* adverb.

³⁹ *il-* indefinite transitional; *-ō-* directive; *-qōptit* TO SLEEP.

⁴⁰ NEARLY, NEAR BY; also *q!oā'pīx* ALMOST.

⁴¹ Stem *-kizil*.

⁴² *qil-* see note 6; *-x-* reflexive; *-qo-ŋtq* TO ARISE.

⁴³ *tān* WHAT; *lān* WHO; *tā'nki* SOMETHING.

⁴⁴ *igē-* transitional third person masculine; *-x-* reflexive; *-o-* directive; *-i* TO DO.

⁴⁵ *ilgi-* IT HIM; *-l-* is probably the prefix to (§ 25); stem *-lckmaq* TO HEAR; the terminal *-aq* may also be a suffix.

⁴⁶ An onomatopoeic particle.

⁴⁷ *i-* masculine; *-ci'qē* DOORWAY; *-pa* AT.

⁴⁸ A particle verb (see p. 46).

⁴⁹ *i-* transitional; *-q-* SOME ONE; *-nīc* inclusive plural; *-l* TO COME; *-i* TO DO; *-am* TO ARRIVE.

⁵⁰ *nīxua* corresponds almost exactly to the German "doch;" here it might be translated ANYWAY.

⁵¹ *a-* future; *-nīc-* I THEM; *-u* directive; *-qōtck* plural; *-qōyutck* TO AWAKEN; *-em* distributive; EACH ONE (?); *-a* future.

⁵² *ilkt-* IT THEM.

⁵³ Perhaps *qān* QUIET; distributive *qanēma*; *-katir* adverbial suffix; compare Chinook *ia'rkati* RIGHT THERE; *q!oā'pkati* QUITE NEAR.

⁵⁴ *igo-* transitional third person plural; *-xoā-* reflexive after *o*; *-qo-ŋtq* TO ARISE.

⁵⁵ *igoxoa-* see note 54; *-lalcck* plural; *-lāyutck* TO ARISE; this word contains the inchoative *-tck*, and may be the stem *-l* TO MOVE.

Itgō'guiga⁵⁶ tgā'qamatax.⁵⁷ Iqlō'l'xam⁵⁸ laxi¹² lōxā't:¹ "Wār⁵⁹ ā'xā⁶⁰
They took their arrows. He was told that one: "Light do it
wu'xi¹² ā'tōl.⁶¹ Wāx⁵⁹ ile'kox⁶² la'xi¹² lgoalē'l'x.⁶³ A'qa¹⁷ tā'nki⁶⁴
that fire." Light he did that person. Then something
lāx⁵⁹ igē'xox⁴⁴ icī'qepa.⁴⁷ Lxuan²⁵ ā'wima⁶⁴ ictā'qa-ilax⁶⁵ siā'xōt⁶⁶
visible became the door at. Perhaps thus its largeness its face
la⁶⁷ lktemenā'kstē.⁶⁸ Igugōā'k'im⁶⁹ ta-ītcī¹⁰ tē'l'xam.⁵ "Iqetxē'lau⁷⁰
like the moon like. They said those people: "A monster
ya'xi¹² alīlxgē'tpqa.⁷¹ Igē'k'im⁶⁹ ya'xi¹² iqē'qtcxam.³ "Iqcxē'lautci⁷²
that he will come in." He said that the one who sang "A monster is it"
the conjurer's song:
lā'xka⁷³ la'xi¹² lqleyō'qt⁴ ilxētēlō'tcxam³⁰ ilgemcītqoē'mam.⁷⁴
he that old one he came to see the dance he came to give you food."
Qōct⁷⁵ igē'pīxl⁷⁶ ya'xi'ya⁷⁷ igixelō'tcxam.⁷⁸ Tiā'maq⁷⁹ iqtē'lōx.⁸⁰
Behold a sea lion that he came to see the dance. His shots they made on it.
kōpa⁸¹ iō'magt.⁸² Kelā'ix⁸³ cā'xalix⁸³ ya'xi¹² ē'l'xam,⁸ tatc'a
there it died. Far up that town, never-
theless
iuquē'wulxt⁸⁴ ya'xi¹² igē'pīxl.⁷⁶ A'qa¹⁷ itgixē'lemux⁸⁵ ta-ītcī¹⁰
it went up that sea lion. Then they ate those
tē'l'xam,⁸ ta-ītcī¹⁰ igē'taxelō'tcxē.⁸⁶ Oxuē'lutcx⁸⁶ ya'xi¹² ē'tcxampa.⁸⁷
people, those who had come to see the dance. They saw the dance that song at.
Kloalqē' lā'yulemax⁸⁸ ā'nqa⁸⁹ laxanakcō'ngut⁷ nai'ka³ tge'q'lēyūq⁹⁰
Thus then supernatural long ago Laxanakcō'ngut I my ancestor.
tūkc.⁴

⁵⁶ *itgō-* THEY THEM; *-ga-* after *ō* changed to *-gā-*; stem *-ga* TO TAKE.

⁵⁷ *l-* plural; *itgō-* THEIR; *-qamatax* ARROW.

⁵⁸ *iq-* SOME ONE HIM; *-ō-* directive; *-lxam* TO SAY.

⁵⁹ Onomatopoeitic particle verb.

⁶⁰ Imperative of transitive verb without subject; *ā-* feminine object; *-x* TO DO; *-a* future.

⁶¹ *a-* feminine; *-tōl* FIRE.

⁶² Probably *l-* transitional; *l-* IT; *-k* indicating preceding transitive subject; *-a-* HER; *-x* TO DO.

⁶³ Probably from the stem *-l'x* PLACE, COUNTRY.

⁶⁴ *ā'wa* THUS; distributive *ā'wimax* (?)

⁶⁵ *l-* masculine; *-cā-* THEIR TWO SIDES, relating to the following dual noun FACE; *-ga-ilax* LARGENESS.

⁶⁶ *a-* dual; *-id'* HIS; *-xōt* FACE, EYES.

⁶⁷ *la* JUST LIKE.

⁶⁸ In Chinook *ōklē'mēn* is used for MOON. After the death of a man named *Klē'mēn*, whose guardian spirit was the moon, the Kathlamet discarded the word *aklē'mēn*, which corresponds to the Lower Chinook form, and used *aka'im* instead (see *Lkaem'u'ka* Kathlamet Texts 27.3). The word at this place corresponds to the plural of the Lower Chinook, and should read perhaps *lklēmēn'ka* (see Chinook Texts 245.18); the ending *-lē* LIKE (see § 55).

⁶⁹ *igu-* transitional third person plural; *-gō-* inserted before stem in *k*; *-k'im* TO SAY; see note 18.

⁷⁰ Stem *-qetxē'lan*.

⁷¹ *al-* future before vowels (§ 17); *l-* HE; *-lx-* US; *-gē-* COMING TO; *-pq* INTO; *-a* future.

⁷² *īcī* interrogative particle.

⁷³ *ia'zka*, *a'zka*, *la'zka* HE, SHE, IT.

⁷⁴ *l-* transitional; *lqemc-* IT YOU; *-ā* TO COME; *-qōxm* TO GIVE FOOD; *-ām* TO ARRIVE.

⁷⁵ An exclamation.

⁷⁶ Stem *-gē'pīxl*.

⁷⁷ Demonstrative, see § 44.

⁷⁸ *iq-* transitional intransitive; *-xē-* reflexive ON BEHALF OF THEMSELVES; *-ō-* directive; *-lxam* TO GO TO SEE.

⁷⁹ *l-* plural pronoun; *-id-* HIS; *-maq* THE ACT OF SHOOTING.

⁸⁰ *iqtl-* SOMEBODY THEM ON HIM; *-ō-* directive; *-x* TO DO, TO MAKE.

⁸¹ Perhaps better *gō-pa'* THERE AT.

⁸² *l-* masculine; *-ō-* directive; *-magt* TO DIE, singular.

⁸³ Both words contain the adverbial ending *-lx*.

⁸⁴ From a stem *-qē* TO GO UP; *-wulxt* UP.

⁸⁵ *igt-* THEY HIM; *-xē'lemux* used here as a transitive verb; more commonly intransitive *itxē'lemux* THEY AT, IN REFERENCE TO HIM; stem *-mux*.

⁸⁶ See note 20; *-xlōlx* TO WITNESS A DANCE; *ō-* third person plural; *gē'taxelō'tcxē* is nominal, probably THE ONES WHO HAD THEIR WITNESSING; *g-* nomen actoris; *l-* masculine; *-lx* THEIRS.

⁸⁷ See note 2; *l'xam* THE CONJURER'S SONG THAT IS SUNG; *-pa* AT.

⁸⁸ *lā-* THEIRS; *-yūlema* SUPERNATURAL BEING.

⁸⁹ In Lower Chinook *d'ngatē*.

WISHRAM TEXT¹

By EDWARD SAPIR

COYOTE AND ITO'E'XYAN

Aga ²	kwô'pt ³	gayu'ya ⁴	isklu'lya ⁵	wi'tlax. ⁶	Nā'2wit ⁷	gayu'yam; ⁸
Now	then	he went	Coyote	again.	Straightway	he arrived going;
galixē'ltcmaq ⁹	isklu'lya	gwā'nîsîm ¹⁰	qtulatla'melqt ¹¹	ide'lxam ¹²		
he heard	Coyote	always	they (indef.) are always swallowing them down			the people

¹ A connected English translation of this text will be found in Sapir's Wishram Texts, Publications of the American Ethnological Society, II, 41, 43. The Indian text as here given has been very slightly normalized from its form as there published (pp. 40, 42).

² Used partly with weak temporal force, partly as mere connective in narrative. It is frequently practically untranslatable into English.

³ *kwôpt*, THEN, AT THAT TIME, is regularly used with preceding *aga* to mark new step in narrative. It can be analyzed into demonstrative stem *kwô-* (or *kwa-*) THAT (= Chinook *gô* THERE) and local suffix *-pt* UP TO (SO AND SO) FAR. Neither of these elements occurs freely. *kwô-* is not used to form demonstrative pronouns, only occurring stereotyped in several adverbs; besides *kwôpt* we have *kwô'ba* THERE (note 39), and *kwô'daw* AND (note 46). *-pt* also hardly seems to occur except stereotyped in adverbs; cf. *dapt* AS FAR AS THIS (related to *da'ba*, THIS-IN-HERE, as *kwôpt* is to *kwô'ba*), and *yappi*, AS FAR AS THAT YONDER, from *ya'pi* OFF YONDER). See also note 56.

⁴ *ga-* (*gal-* before vowels) = tense prefix denoting remote past, regularly used in myth narrative. *-y-* = 3d per. masc. subj. intr., referring to *isklu'lya*, before consonants it would appear as *-t-*, while *gal-* would then appear as tense prefix (*ga-g-* = *gal-t-*: see notes 9, 28, 32, 47). *-u-* = directive prefix AWAY FROM SPEAKER. *-ya-* = verb stem TO GO.

⁵ *-t-* = masc. noun prefix with which *-y-* in *gayu'ya* is in agreement. *-sklu'lya* = noun stem COYOTE, apparently not capable of analysis; perhaps loan-word from Kilekitat *spi'lya*. Chinook has another stem, *-l/da'lapas*.

⁶ Composed of *wi't/a* AGAIN and deictic particle *-x-*: cf. *da'uya* (note 54) and *da'uyax* THIS. *wi't/a* is most plausibly explained as stereotyped adverb from *wi-*, masc. noun prefix (originally independent masc. pronoun? See notes 19 and 33), and *-t/a*, emphatic particle added to pronouns, TOO, ALSO (see note 21). According to this analysis *wi't/a(x)* was originally formed from **wi* as *ya'pi/a(x)* HE TOO from *ya-pi* HE. Originally it must have meant THAT (masc.) TOO, but was later generalized in meaning.

⁷ Rhetorically lengthened form of *nu'u* IMMEDIATELY, RIGHT AWAY. When thus lengthened to *nd'wit*, it seems to imply direct, unswerving motion without interference of other action; it may then be rendered as STRAIGHT ON or ON AND ON.

⁸ As in note 4, except that instead of verb stem *-ya* we have its shorter form *-y-*. *-t-* (as in *yu'u* HE GOES; cf. also note 61). To this is suffixed verb suffix *-am* ARRIVE WHILE —ING, GO (or COME) TO DO—. Several verb stems have two forms,—one in *-a*, and one without this *-a* (e. g., *-pa* and *-p* TO GO OUT; cf. *galu'pa* SHE WENT OUT with *atp* SHE COMES OUT).

⁹ *gal-* = tense prefix *ga-* before vowels. *-t-* = 3d per. masc. obj. before reflexive element (reflexive verbs have, morphologically speaking, no subject). *-xel-* = indirect reflexive composed of reflexive element *-x-* and local verb prefix *-t-* TO, INTO. *-tcmaq* = verb stem TO HEAR. *galixē'ltcmaq* means literally TO HIMSELF HEARD. TO HEAR SOME ONE is expressed by *-x-tcmaq* with prefixed transitive subject and object pronominal elements.

¹⁰ Adverb not capable of analysis.

¹¹ *g-* = indefinite transitive subj. *-t-* = 3d per. pl. obj. tr., referring to *ide'lxam*. *-u-* = directive prefix (very many verbs have this "directive" *-u-* even when no definite idea of direction away from speaker seems to be implied). *-lat/am/Elq-* is example of rarely occurring compound verbs. *-lat/a-* is "diminutive" form of verb stem *-tada-* TO THROW DOWN, AWAY (In this case its meaning seems to correspond somewhat more closely to that of its Chinook cognate *-lala* TO PULL BACK); *-melq-* is best explained as verb stem *-mElq-* (or *-mq-*) TO VOMIT with infixed *-l-* of frequentative or continuative significance (that *-l-* is not really part of stem is shown by form *itculatla'maq* HE SWALLOWED HIM DOWN); PULL BACK + VOMIT may be construed as meaning VOMIT BACKWARD, DRAW TO ONE'S SELF AND SWALLOW. *-t-* = tense suffix of present time. Observe peculiar sequence of tense, HE HEARD . . . THEY SWALLOW THEM DOWN. Verbs that are dependent on other verbs, chiefly of saying or perception, are always present in tense, no matter what tense is logically implied; cf. below *gacigē'ikēl* . . . *ik'ax* (note 43) HE SAW IT . . . IT IS.

itc!E'xyan. ¹³	Qxa'damt ¹⁴	gayu'y' ¹⁵	ikn!m ¹⁶	nā'wit	gacig'e'lga' ¹⁷
Merman.	Whither	it went	the canoe	straightway	he got hold of it
itc!E'xyan;	gaciu!at!a'melq' ¹⁸	kā'nawi ¹⁹	dan. ²⁰	"Nait!" ²¹	a'g' ²²
Merman;	he always swallowed it down	every	thing.	"Me too	now
atcnulat!a'melqema, ²³	isklu'lya	galixlu'xwa-it. ²⁴	Aga	kwō'pt	
he will swallow me down,"	Coyote	he thought.	Now	then	
gayu'y' isklu'lya;	gacig'e'lga	yag'ai! ²⁵	ikla'munaq. ²⁶	Aga	kwō'pt
he went	Coyote;	he got hold of it	its bigness	the tree.	Now then

¹³ *id-* = 3d per. pl. noun prefix, in concord with *-t-* in preceding verb. *-lam* (*-E* is inorganic) = noun stem VILLAGE (*wi'lam* VILLAGE is formally masc. sing. of *id'lam* PEOPLE); *-lam* is evidently related to *-t-* (see note 33).

¹⁴ *t-* as in note 5. *-t/E'xyan* = noun stem MERMEN, PROTECTOR OF FISHERMEN (see Wishram Texts, p. 4, note 2; p. 42, note 2; p. 256, note 2); no etymology suggests itself. Syntactically *itc!E'xyan* is subject implied, but not grammatically referred to, by *g-* of preceding verb. This clause can hardly be considered as quite correct; properly speaking, *itc!E'xyan* should go with *itculat!a'melq'*.

¹⁵ From interrogative stem *qza-* (or *qa-*), seen also in *qa'zba* WHAT-IN? = WHERE? *qa'zba* OF WHAT KIND? and *qa'ngi* WHAT-WITH? = HOW? *-damt* = local suffix TOWARD found suffixed to several adverbs (cf. *ca'zadamit* TOWARD ABOVE, *gigwa'ladamt* TOWARD BELOW). This *-damt* is evidently related to local noun suffix *-dmt* to, FROM. *Qza'damt* here introduces indirect question, and may best be translated as NO MATTER WHERE.

¹⁶ = *gayu'ya*. Final vowels are regularly elided when following word begins with vowel. For analysis of form, see note 4.

¹⁷ *t-* as in note 5. *-knim* = noun stem CANOE. This stem can be only secondarily monosyllabic, for otherwise we should have **wiknim* (see note 33); its Chinook cognate *-kanim* shows original dissyllabic form. See also note 37.

¹⁸ *ga-* = tense prefix as in note 4. *-t-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to following *itc!E'xyan* as subject. *-t-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *ikn!m* of preceding clause as object. *-g-* = verb prefix of adverbial force, TOWARD (with purpose, intent to reach); it here replaces directive *-a-* of most transitive verbs. *-ga* = verb stem TO GET HOLD OF, SEIZE; it is possibly to be identified with verb stem *-ga* STICK TO, its particular active significance being gained by use of transitive pronominal prefixes and verb prefix *-g-*.

¹⁹ *ga-t-* as in note 17, *-t-* here referring to following *dan*. *-u!at!a'melq'* as in note 11.

²⁰ *ka'nawi* ALL, EVERY is most probably compounded of *kana-* ALL TOGETHER (found in such numeral forms as *ka'nacimókci* ALL-TWO = BOTH and, with unexplained *-m-*, in *kan'Emu'nik* ALL THREE PEOPLE) and old 3d per. masc. demonstrative pronoun **wi* (cf. note 6) now no longer preserved as such (except in such petrified words as *wi'ta* and *ka'nawi*), but specialized, like its corresponding fem. *wa-*, as 3d per. noun prefix (see note 33). These old pronouns **wi* and **wa* are best explained as substantivized from pronominal elements *-t-* (masc.) and *-a-* (fem.) by means of demonstrative element *wa-* (or *w-*); this latter element is probably identical with *-u-* in demonstrative stem *da'u-* THIS (found also as *da-*; see note 54), and with Chinook *-u-* in demonstratives near 3d per. (*x'óla*, *x'ócta*, *x'óta*). *ka'nawi* must originally have meant something like ALL (OF) THAT (masc.), but, like *wi'ta*, was later generalized in significance. *ka'nawi* is here, as often, rhetorically lengthened to *ka'nawi* to emphasize its meaning of TOTALITY.

²¹ Interrogative and indefinite pronoun referring to things, WHAT, ANYTHING, SOMETHING. Though not provided with any sign of gender, it is always construed as masculine, hence *-t-* in *gaciu!at!a'melq'*. Its correlative *can* (Kathlamet *lan*) referring to persons, WHO, ANYBODY, SOMEBODY, is always neuter in gender; HE SWALLOWED EVERYBODY DOWN would be *gaciu!at!a'melq' ka'nawi can*.

²² Elided from *na'it/a* (see note 15). Composed of 1st per. sing. pronominal stem *na-* (seen also in *na'ika* 1) and emphatic suffix *-t/a* TOO, ALSO (see note 6). All independent pronouns in *-ka* can be changed to emphatic pronouns by merely replacing *-ka* by *-t/a* (e. g., *ga'pka* HE becomes *ga'p't/a* HE TOO). Syntactically *na'it/a* here anticipates *-n-* in following verb (see note 23) as 1st per. sing. obj.

²³ = *a'ga* (see note 15). This particle is very frequently used before future verb forms in conversation.

²⁴ *a-* = tense prefix of future time. *-t-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. *-n-* = 1st per. sing. tr. obj. *-a-ta'ic-melq'* as in note 11 (*-E* before *-g-* is inorganic). *-Em-* = connective before future suffix *-a-*; verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form regularly use this connective *-Em-* before certain suffixes (such as future *-a*, cessative *-ick*, usitative *-nib*). *-a* = tense suffix of future time; in Wishram verbs regularly form their future by prefixing *a-* or *al-* (before vowels) and suffixing *-a*. It is somewhat difficult to see why this form should be frequentative; one would rather expect *atcnulat!a'melq'wa*.

²⁵ *gal-i* as in note 9. *-i-* = reflexive element; literal translation of verb would be (TO) HIMSELF THOUGHT. *-tuz(w)-* = verb stem TO THINK. *-a-it* = verb suffix of rather uncertain significance here; it is found in all tenses of verb but present, where it is replaced by *-an* (*ixlu'xwan* HE THINKS).

²⁶ *ga-* = *i-ga*. *i-* = masc. noun prefix, determining gender of noun stem *-gal*. *-ga-* = 3d per. masc. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to masculine noun *ikla'munaq*. *-gal* = abstract noun stem BIGNESS. *yapail ikla'munaq* THE TREE'S BIGNESS may, like all other possessive constructions, be construed either attributively (THE BIG TREE) or predicatively (THE TREE IS BIG). Its attributive character is here determined by presence of true verb (*gacig'e'lga*) as predicate.

²⁷ *t-* as in note 5. *-ka'munaq* = noun stem TREE, STICK, WOOD. This word is difficult of etymological analysis, yet can be no simple stem; *-ka-* is undoubtedly to be regarded as noun prefix (cf. *ikla'kama* ROCK, perhaps from verb stem *-la* TO MOVE). *-ka-* is most plausibly considered as "diminutive" form of verb stem *-ga* TO FLY, UP IN AIR (as first element in compound verbs); cf. *ituk!wa'la* HE WHETTED IT WITH *itci'ula* HE FILED IT, and *ixlu'guala'da-ulp* I THREW IT UP ON TOP (OF SOMETHING) WITH *ixinda'da-ul* I THREW IT UP.

'x ²⁷	gali'xôx. ²⁸	Gatcige'lga	itcl'e'x̄yan,	gaqiulat!a'meleq. ²⁹	
fight	he made him- self.	He got hold of him	merman,	they (Indef.) swallowed him down.	
Nā'wit	iltcqô'ba ³⁰	gi'gwal ³¹	isklu'lya	galixi'maxitam ³²	wi'l̄xba. ³³
straightway	in the water	below	Coyote	he arrived falling	on the ground
ḡa	kwô'pt	gatcugi'kel ³⁴	lgabla'd ³⁵	ide'l̄xam;	lgabla'd ³⁶
w	then	he saw them	their multitude	the people;	their multitude
u'xt ³⁸	kwô'ba ³⁹	gi'gwal	iltcqô'ba.	Aga	kwô'pt
they are ad together	there	below	in the water.	Now	then
clu'lya	itcl'e'x̄yan	yagô'meni ⁴¹	qxwôl ⁴²	iki'ax. ⁴³	Aga
Coyote	Merman	his heart	hanging	it is.	Now
					then

¹ Particle verb. Though verbal in force, it is purely adverbial morphologically, having no grammatical m of its own. In regard to tense and person it is defined by following verb, which serves as its forming auxiliary.

² gal-i as in note 9. -x- = reflexive element. -ō- (modified from -u- because of preceding and following ar consonants) = directive prefix; ordinarily reflexive -x- replaces directive -u-, but there are several -bs that retain it even when reflexive in form. -x- = verb stem TO DO, MAKE. -x-u-x TO DO TO ONE'S SELF, MAKE ONE'S SELF, is regularly used to mean BECOME. For other forms of verb stem -x see notes 53, 64, and 66.

³ ga- as in note 4. -q- = indefinite tr. subj. -t- = 3d per. masc. tr. obj. -u-ta-ta-m̄leq as in note 11. rns with indefinite -q- subject are very commonly used in Wishram in lieu of passives.

⁴ i- = 3d per. neut. noun prefix. -t- = inorganic consonant, serving as glide between i and c. -cō- -cō-; a is velarized to ɔ by preceding g) = noun stem WATER; its shorter form -c- is seen in i-ta-cq E WATER OF THE TWO (Wishram Texts 190.14). -ba = local noun suffix IN, AT (see also notes 33, and 60).

⁵ Adverb; -al is probably not part of stem, for it is found also in correlative ca'-z-al ABOVE.

⁶ gal- as in note 9. -t- = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to preceding i-sk-lu'lya. -xima- = verb stem PUT DOWN, PUT ON GROUND, LAY DOWN (as tr.); LIE DOWN (as intr.); probably composed of -x- ON GROUND(?) and -ima- PUT (cf. ga-ya-x-i-ta-iz HE PUT HIMSELF INTO THE WATER [Wishram Texts 2.5]); whenever indirect object with -k- ON is introduced, -xima- becomes -xa-ima- (e. g., ga-k-t-a-k-xa-ima E LAID IT DOWN ON IT [Wishram Texts 2.11]). -t̄it- = quasi-passive suffix; -x-ima-t̄it- = BE LAID DOWN, Y ONE'S SELF DOWN, FALL DOWN TO GROUND. -am- = verb suffix ARRIVE — ING (cf. note 8).

⁷ wi- = 3d per. masc. noun prefix; masc. noun stems that are non-syllabic or monosyllabic require wi- (note 55); those that have more than one syllable have i- (see notes 5, 13, 16, 26); for probable origin of -see note 19. In Chinook wi- has entirely given way to i-, except as archaism in some place-names d in songs. -t- = noun stem LAND; seen also in wi'l̄yam VILLAGE, ide'l̄yam PEOPLE (see note 12); obably also in wa'l̄pi FISHING STATION and ice'l̄t̄i STAGING FOR FISHING. -ba as in note 30.

⁸ ga- as in note 4. -t- = 3d per. masc. tr. subj. -u- = 3d per. pl. obj., referring to following ide'l̄yam efore verb prefix -gal- 3d per. plural obj. -t- is replaced by -u-, -gal- then becoming -g(u)t-; in other words, before gal- is treated analogously to when it comes before -gal-. -t̄it- = plural form of -gal- (see note,) OUT FROM ENCLOSED SPACE (cf. ga-l-a-gal-t̄it-ba IT FLOWED OUT OF HER [Wishram Texts 94.4]); analogously to -gal- (see note 17) directive -u- is here replaced by -gal-. -kel- = verb stem TO KNOW (cf. l-k-d-u- I HE KNOWS THEM [Wishram Texts 176.10]); -gal-kel- = TO KNOW FROM OUT ONE'S (EYES), hence TO E, GET SIGHT OF.

⁹ t- = 3d per. neut. noun prefix, defining gender of abstract noun stem -blad. -ga- = 3d per. pl. possessive pronominal prefix, referring to ide'l̄yam. -blad- = noun stem MULTITUDE, GREAT NUMBER. igabla'd e'l̄yam is construed like ga'gal ik/a'munaq (see note 25).

¹⁰ As in note 35, except that -ga- = 3d per. fem. possessive pron. prefix (merely homonymous with -ga- note 35), referring to aknī'm.

¹¹ a- = 3d per. fem. noun prefix; though many fem. dissyllabic stems have wa- (e. g., wa-la'la POND), is here replaced by analogy of iknī'm (see note 16), as in related nouns t- and a-, wi- and wa- generally dr off respectively. -knim as in note 16. Logically aknī'm CANOES is plural, morphologically it is m., being so referred to in aḡu'zi (note 38); another example of fem. as plural is wa'mwa MAGGOTS, masc. f'mwa MAGGOT.

¹² a- = 3d per. fem. intr. subj., referring to aknī'm. -t- = verb prefix ON GROUND, ON BOTTOM (?) -u- = rective prefix. -xt- = verb stem TO LIE, SIT, BE PLACED, corresponding in use to Chinook -c. This verb em allows of no formal modification by means of tense affixes.

¹³ Composed of demonstrative stem kwō- (see note 3) and local suffix -ba (see note 33): THAT-IN = THERE.

¹⁴ As in note 34, except that incorporated obj. is t- = 3d per. masc., referring to yagō'menit, and that t- is unmodified.

¹⁵ ya- = i-ga- as in note 25, i- defining HEART as masc. In gender, while -ga- refers to i-c'e'x̄yan. -pōm̄enit EART seems to be verbal in form, -enit being usitative suffix; yagō'm̄enit may also be used predicatively) mean HE IS ALIVE.

¹⁶ Particle verb, for which iki'ax serves as auxiliary.

¹⁷ t- = 3d per. masc. intr. subj., referring to yagō'm̄enit. -kiaz TO BE is another tenseless verb (cf. note 38). t- is best, though somewhat doubtfully, explained as composed of verb prefix -kt-, which shows lack of

gaqiu'l^{43a} isku'l^{43b} ya: "Ya'x^{43b} dau itc'e'x^{43b} yan yagó'menil." Aga
 they (indef.) told Coyote: "That Merman his heart." Now
 him
 kwó'pt Lq'ló'p^{43c} gatci'ux,^{43d} Lq'ló'p^{43c} gali'xóx^{43e} itc'e'x^{43b} yan yagó'menil
 then cut he made it; cut it made itself Merman his heart
 Aga kwó'pt ká'nawi gatkxeni'yutck⁴⁴ sá'q⁴⁵ akn'm kwó'dau⁴⁶
 Now then all they each floated up out entirely the canoes and
 of water

ide'l^{43a} xam kwó'dau isku'l^{43b} ya.

the people and Coyote.

Aga kwó'pt gali'kim⁴⁷ isku'l^{43b} ya: "Ega⁴⁸ pu⁴⁹ qá'ma⁵⁰ ma'ima⁵¹
 Now then he said Coyote: "Perchance would how you alone
 itc'e'x^{43b} yan qxi'dau⁵² amdu'xwa⁵³ ide'l^{43a} xam? Da'uya⁵⁴ wi'gwa⁵⁵ aga
 Merman thus you will do to them the people? This day now

object of ordinarily trans. verb, and verb stem -x to DO (cf. Eng. HE DOES WELL, i. e., gets along well: -a- would then have to be explained as inorganic glide vowel (cf. Chinook i-k'-x HE IS and Wishram i-k'-i-x HE IS, HAS BECOME). For syntactic construction, as subordinated to gatci'ux, see note 1.

^{43a} ga- as in note 4. -q- = indef. tr. subj. (cf. note 29). -t- = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to isku'l^{43b} ya. -u- = directive prefix. -lam = verb stem TO SAY TO with personal object. This verb form is logically passive.

^{43b} Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 2d person, composed of simple form of independent 3d personal pronoun + demonstrative element -r- (cf. also ordinary forms of independent 3d personal pronoun ya'-ka and similarly for other genders) + demonstrative stem -dau (= -da + -u), for which see note 54. Syntactically ya'x^{43b} dau, here used substantively, agrees in gender with yagó'menil, to which it refers. There is no expressed predicate in this sentence, yagó'menil (IT IS) HIS HEART being so used.

^{43c} Particle verb, to which following verbs gatci'ux and gali'xóx, both from verb stem -x TO DO, serve as auxiliaries. Lq'ló'p doubtless has onomatopoeic force.

^{43d} See note 64.

^{43e} As in note 28. CUT IT-MADE-ITSELF = IT BECAME CUT.

⁴⁴ ga- as in note 4. -t- = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to akn'm, ide'l^{43a} xam, and isku'l^{43b} ya as combined plural subject. -k- = regular replacement of directive -u- whenever intr. subj. -t- would theoretically be expected to stand before it. -xeni- (or -xini-) = verb stem TO FLOAT, DRIFT. -ya- = distributive suffix EACH SEPARATELY (gatkxeni'tck would mean THEY FLOATED UP IN ONE BODY). -tck = local verb suffix UP TO SURFACE, UP FROM POSITION OF REST (cf. also gal-i-t-ik'-tck HE MOVED HIMSELF UP FROM SITTING POSITION, HE AROSE [Wishram Texts 4.6]; gal-i-tka-tck HE ROSE (STICKING HIS HEAD) OUT OF WATER [op. cit., 10.5]); combined with -ba OUT OF INTERIOR, -tck appears as -ptck FROM WATER OUT TO LAND (gatkxeni'yutck THEY EACH FLOATED ON TO LAND; for change of -ba to -p cf. galag'sda with logrip [Wishram Texts 94.7]). This -tck should be distinguished from -tck of cessative significance, whose function it is to deprive verbs that are continuative or frequentative in form of their continuative force (e. g., yuwi'la HE IS DANCING, gayuwi'la tck HE WAS DANCING (but is no longer doing so)).

⁴⁵ Adverbial in force. Logically sá'q⁴⁵ (rhetorically lengthened to sá'q⁴⁵ to emphasize idea of totality often seems to be used attributively with nouns (translated as ALL), but grammatically it is best considered as adverbial, even when there is no expressed predicate.

⁴⁶ Composed of demonstrative stems kwó- (see note 3) and dau- (see note 54). Its original significance was evidently THAT (which precedes) and THIS (which follows).

⁴⁷ gal-i- as in note 32. -kim = verb stem TO SAY (without personal object; cf. note 58).

⁴⁸ Adverb of modal significance, serving to give doubtful coloring to verb.

⁴⁹ Adverb of potential and conditional significance; in formal conditions introduced by cme'six IF, it often has contrary-to-fact implication. This use of modal particles in lieu of verb modes is characteristic of Chinookan.

⁵⁰ Evidently contains interrogative stem qa- WHAT, seen also in qxa'dam (note 14). -ma can not be explained. This word has been found only in such passages as here, and is very likely felt to be archaic. lpa pu qá'ma occurs as stereotyped myth-phrase in transformer incidents (cf. Wishram Texts 6.13, 38.6, for similar passages).

⁵¹ Forms in -ma ALONE may be formed from simplest forms of personal pronouns (subject intr. incorporated); e. g., na'ima I ALONE, ma'ima YOU ALONE, ya'ima HE ALONE. It is doubtful, however, whether these forms should be considered as intransitive verbs from verb stem -ama. Since personal plurals in -dike (e. g., la'imadike THEY ALONE) occur, it seems preferable to consider them as formed by suffixed -ma ALONE? (cf. qá'ma note 50) from independent pronoun stems in -ai- (as in na'ika, note 5, and na'it'a, note 21); this -ai- is in these forms found also in 3d persons (e. g., la'ima IT ALONE, as contrasted with la'zka and la'z't'a). Chinook na'mka I ALONE, analyzed by Boas as intr. subj. pronoun + verb stem -amka, is probably best explained as simple independent pronoun in -a- (na, ma, and corre-

ô'pt⁵⁶ qxi'dau amdu'xwa idɛ'lɣam. Na'ika⁵⁷ iskl'u'lya yamu'lɣam.⁵⁸
 at far thus you will do to the people. I Coyote I have told you.
 them

ʔa'ic⁵⁹ da'uyaba⁶⁰ wi'lɣ atgadi'mama⁶¹ idɛ'lɣam. Kwô'pt
 soon in this land they will arrive coming the people. Then

gwagi'ma,⁶² 'Qxi'dau 'Eɣ⁶³ gatci'ux⁶⁴ iskl'u'lya itc!ɛ'ɣyan.⁶⁵
 they will say, 'Thus exercising he did to him Coyote Merman.'
 supernatural power

vô'pt a'ga itc!ɛ'ɣyan pla'l'⁶⁶ amxu'xwa.⁶⁶
 'hen now Merman being quiet you will make yourself."

Adding forms for other persons occur not rarely in Wishram) + -m(a) + -ka JUST, ONLY (cf. *ku'nka* JUST EE).

Adverb composed of relative particle *qxi-* (cf. *qxi* as relative pronoun in Wishram Texts, 188.1) and demonstrative stem *dau-* THIS (cf. note 54). *qxi'dau* thus means literally AS, LIKE THIS.

a- = tense prefix of future time. *-m-* = 2d per. sing. tr. subj. *-d-* = 3d per. pl. tr. obj., referring to *idɛ'lɣam*. *-u-* = directive prefix. *-x-* = verb stem TO DO (TO). *-w-* = inorganic consonant induced by preceding *k*-sound. *-a-* = future suffix.

Demonstrative pronoun, showing location near 1st person, composed of demonstrative stem *dau-*, as in *da'ba* HERE + *-u-*, see note 19) and simple form of 3d per. independent pronoun in *-a* (masc. fern. *a*, neut. *ka*, du. *cda*, pl. *da*). Forms without *-u-* (e. g., *da'ga*) occur, though much less frequently; *etc* *-x* may be added without material change in meaning (e. g., *da'uxar* or *da'gar*). *-dau* also occurs second element in demonstrative pronouns showing location near 2d person (e. g., *ya'pda* THAT MASC., see 43b). *da'uya* is here masculine because in agreement with masc. noun *wi'gwa*. Chinook seems to serve *da-* only in isolated adverbs like *ta'ke* THEN (= *da'ka* JUST THIS or THAT [cf. Wishram *da'uka* IT SO]).

⁵⁶ *wi-* = masc. noun prefix, with *-w-* because noun stem is monosyllabic. *-gwa* = noun stem DAY. *uya wi'gwa* THIS DAY is regularly used as stereotyped phrase for TO-DAY; *dau' apn'kar* THIS SUN is so so used.

⁵⁷ Analysis given in note 3. Here *kwô'pt*, with well-marked stress accent, preserves its literal meaning THAT FAR, THUS MUCH, *apa kwô'pt* being regularly used, outside of narrative, to mean ENOUGH. (*hiok kap'et* ENOUGH is doubtless related, but *ka-* can not be directly equated with *kwô-*, which corresponds rather to Chinook *gô* (see note 3).

⁵⁸ Ordinary form of independent personal pronoun, composed of stems in *-ai-* (for 1st and 2d persons) or *-i-* (for 3d persons) and suffixed particle *-ka* JUST, ONLY, found also suffixed to numerals. *na'ika* is here grammatically unnecessary, but is used to emphasize subject of following verb form.

⁵⁹ = *iyamɛ'lɣam*. *t-* = tense prefix of immediate past time. *-yam-* = combination of 1st per. sing. subj. and 2d per. sing. obj. *-u-* = directive prefix. *-ɣam* = verb stem TO SAY TO with expressed personal object.

⁶⁰ Temporal adverb referring to action just past or about to occur, either JUST NOW, RECENTLY, or SOON. seems to be Kilekitat loan-word.

⁶¹ *da'uya* as in note 54; masc. because in agreement with masc. noun *wi'gwa*. *-ba* = local noun suffix IN regularly suffixed to demonstrative pronoun preceding noun instead of to noun itself.

⁶² *a-* as in note 53. *-t-* = 3d per. pl. intr. subj., referring to *idɛ'lɣam*. *-ga-* = element regularly introduced after 3d per. pl. intr. *-t-* before *-d-* TO COME and, before verb stems beginning with *k*-sounds, after 3d per. pl. intr. *-u-* (cf. note 62). *-d-* TO COME consists of *-d-* = directive prefix HITHER, TOWARD PEAKER, correlative to directive *-u-*, and *-t-* = verb stem TO GO. *-mam-* = form of *-am-* (see notes 8 and 2) used after vowels. *-a* as in note 53.

⁶³ *ai-* = tense prefix of future time employed before vowels (*ai-* and *a-* used analogously to *gal-* and *ga-*). *-t-* = 3d per. pl. intr. subj. used, instead of *-t-*, before verb stems beginning with *k*-sounds (as here *im-*). *-gwa-* = *-ga-* as in note 61, *-w-* being inorganic, due to influence of *-u-* preceding *k*-sound (cf. note 53). *-gim-* = verb stem TO SAY; *-kim* (as in note 47) is used when accent immediately precedes, *-gim-* then suffix (here *-a*) is added and accent is pushed forward. *-a* as in note 53. In Chinook *-ugwa-* appears as *-ogo-* (*gwa* regularly becomes *go*); *ahugwagi'ma* is paralleled in Chinook by *ogogo'ma*.

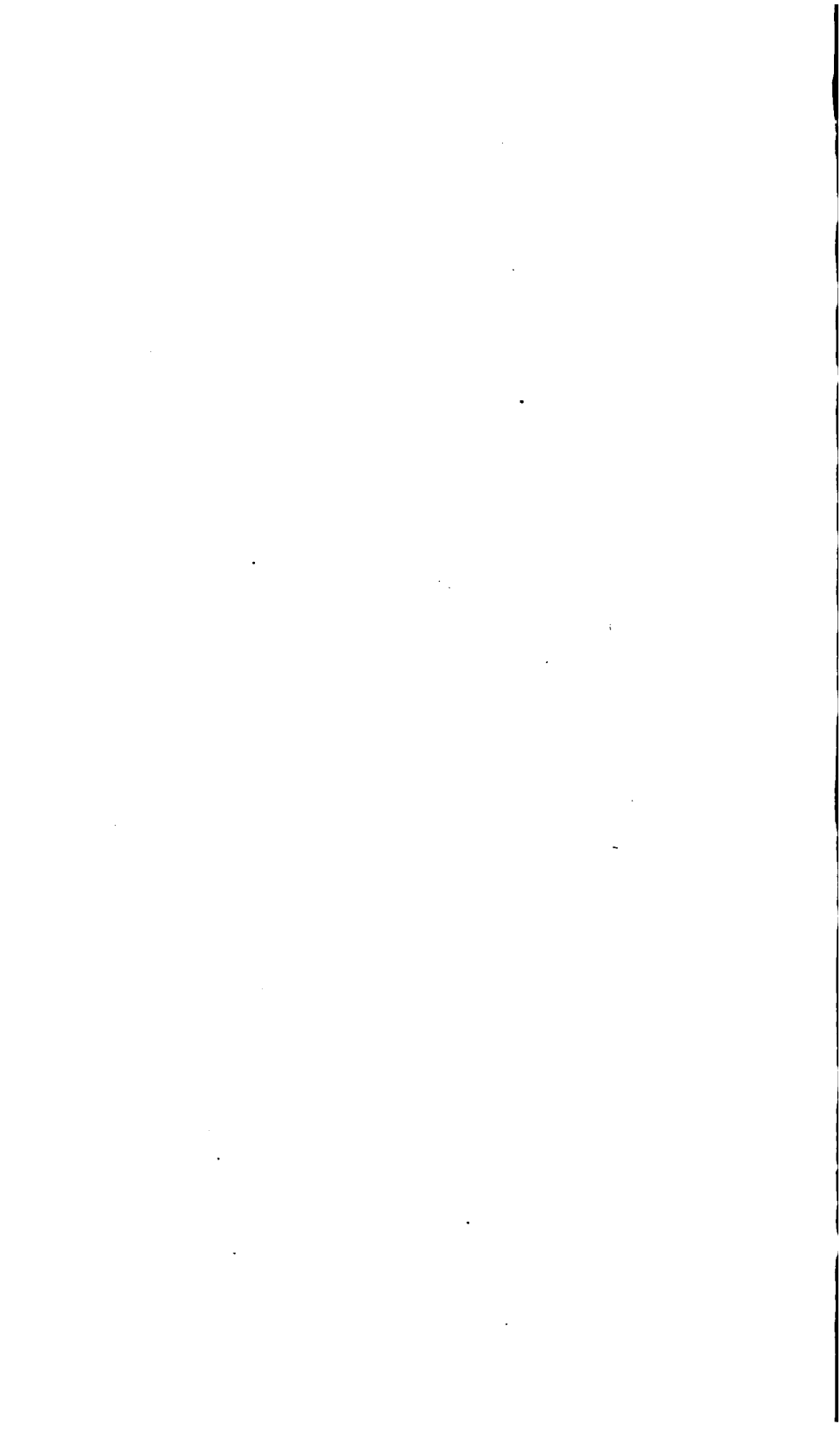
⁶⁴ Particle verb TO USE SUPERNATURAL POWER, TRANSFORM, to which following *gatci'ux* serves as auxiliary. It is one of those very few Wishram words in which glottal catch is found (other words are *-tci'* 12, *'tci'* BLUEJAY, *dala'a't* PERHAPS).

⁶⁵ *ga-* as in note 4. *-t-* = 3d per. masc. tr. subj., referring to *isk'u'lya*. *-t-* = 3d per. masc. tr. obj., referring to *itc!ɛ'ɣyan*. Observe that subject noun regularly precedes object noun, their order being thus analogous to that of incorporated pronouns with which they stand in apposition. *-u-* = directive prefix. *-x-* = verb stem TO DO (TO).

⁶⁶ = *p/a'la*. Particle verb, with which following *amxu'xwa* is used as auxiliary. *p/a'l'* *amxu'xwa* QUIET ROU-WILL-BECOME (i. e., you will stop, desist).

⁶⁷ *a-* as in note 53. *-m-* = 2d per. sing. obj. with following reflexive element (see *-t-* in notes 9 and 28).

⁶⁸ *-x-* as in note 28. *-u-x-w-a* as in note 53.



MAIDU

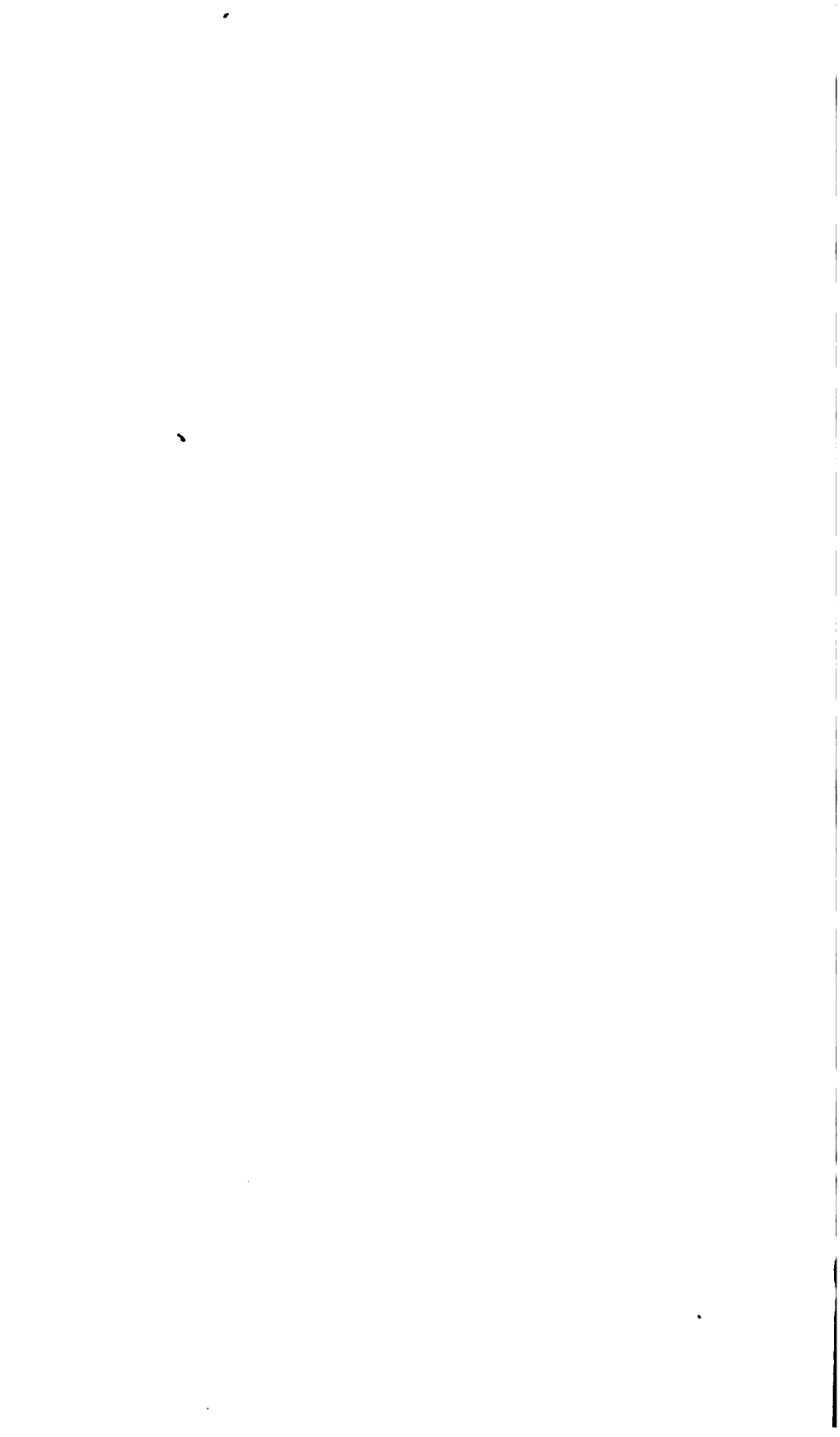
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MAIDU

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MAIDU

By ROLAND B. DIXON

§ 1. DISTRIBUTION AND DIALECTS

The Maidu (or Pujunan) stock comprises the various dialects of the language spoken by a body of Indians in northeastern California. The region occupied by these Indians is a continuous single area, lying partly in the Sacramento valley and partly in the Sierra Nevada mountains. It may be roughly described as extending from the Cosumnes river in the south to a line drawn from Chico, through Lassen's Butte, to Susanville in the north, and from the Sacramento river eastward to the eastern base of the Sierra. The neighboring languages are, on the north the Achomawi-Atsugewi (Shastan) and Yana, on the west the Wintun (Copehan), on the south the Miwok (Moquelumnan), and on the east the Washo and Paiute (Shoshonean). Of these the Wintun and Shoshonean show the clearest morphological resemblances to the Maidu.

The Maidu language is spoken in three dialects, differing from one another more morphologically than lexically or phonetically, although differences of this sort, of course, occur. In general these morphological differences are in the direction of the morphological type of the languages of the other stocks with which the Maidu are in contact; the northwestern dialect most resembling the Wintun; the northeastern, the Achomawi-Atsugewi; and the southern, the Miwok. The northwestern dialect is spoken in that part of the Sacramento valley occupied by the stock, which lies north of the Yuba river, and also in the foothills adjoining, up to an elevation of about three thousand feet. It shows some minor variations within itself in the way of subdialects, these differences being as a rule, however, very slight. The northeastern dialect is spoken in the region of the high, flat-floored mountain valleys extending from Big Meadows in

the north to Sierra valley in the south. It has fewer variants than the other two dialects. This dialect is the one whose grammar is here given. The southern dialect comprises a number of slightly varying subdialects occupying the remainder of the area covered by the stock. In most respects this southern dialect is closer to the northwestern than to the northeastern.

With the exception of a few general statements in an article on the languages of California,¹ no account of the grammar of the Maidu has ever been given. Its grammar is, however, of interest, in that it may be taken as to some extent typical of a considerable group of central Californian languages, which in many important particulars are quite different from the majority of American Indian languages.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

The phonetic system of the Maidu is only moderately extensive. It possesses but one series of *k*-sounds, of which only the *k* is frequent, and is lacking in velars and lateral (*l*) sounds. The consonant system includes palatals, alveolars, dento-alveolars, labials, and laterals. The sonants and surds are as a rule not very clearly differentiated, and it is sometimes difficult to determine in a given case which is intended. Surds are more common than sonants in the pairs *g-k* and *d-t*, *g* in particular being quite uncommon. Although in most groups of consonants there is a sonant, surd, and fortis, yet the fortis is often by no means strongly marked, and is difficult to separate from the surd. The glottal catch is but little used. A peculiar feature of the Maidu is the existence of two weak inspirational sonant stops *ɸ* and *ɓ*. The exact method of formation of these sounds is not clear. However, it is certain that inspiration proceeds no further than the soft palate; the peculiar quality of the sound being produced by a "smack" formed by a slight vacuum in the mouth. The *ɸ* and *ɓ* occur only as a rule before *ö*, and the difference between them and the ordinary *b* and *d* is, in the case of some speakers and in some words, very slight; in other words, or in the same words by other and generally older speakers, the difference is strongly marked. The consonant system of the Maidu may be shown in tabular form as follows:

¹ Roland B. Dixon and Alfred L. Kroeber, The Native Languages of California, in *American Anthropologist*, n. s., v, 1-26.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Inspirant	Nasal
Palatal	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k!</i>	<i>x</i>	—	<i>ñ</i>
Alveolar	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t!</i>	—	<i>D(ö)</i>	<i>n</i>
Dento-alveolar	—	<i>ts</i>	—	<i>s, c</i>	—	—
Labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p!</i>	—	<i>B(ö)</i>	<i>m</i>
Lateral	<i>l</i>	—	—	—	—	—
Glottal catch	(')					

h, y and *w*.

The vowels are quite variable. One of the most characteristic features of the use of vowels is the fondness for the *ö, ä*, and *ü* sounds. The vowels are as follows:

	<i>ü</i>	
<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	
<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	
<i>e</i>	<i>ē</i>	
<i>ä</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>ö</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>o</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>â</i>	<i>ō</i>

§ 3. Phonetic Character of Stems and Sound-Grouping

Stems are with few exceptions monosyllabic and consonantal, and consist as a rule either of (1) consonant, vowel; (2) consonant, vowel, consonant; or (3) vowel, consonant. Words may begin with a vowel, *h, y*, or *w*, or with any consonant except *x* or *ñ*. By far the greater number, however, begin with a consonant, most commonly *t, k, b* or *p*, with *h* and *w* also very common. The most frequent initial vowels¹ are *a, o*, and *e*. Whereas initial combinations of two consonants are impossible, such clusters are common in the middle of words. Groups of more than two are, however, unknown. In combinations of two consonants, sonants, except *l*, are never found as the first member of the group. Except for this restriction, the possible combinations are comparatively unrestricted, the only ones which are avoided being those of two spirants, a nasal and lateral, or those in which *x* is the second or *ts* the initial member. The following combinations are most frequent:

<i>ld, lb, lt, lp, lk, lts, ls</i>	<i>xb, xl, xk, xts, xp</i>
<i>kd, kb, kl, kt, kts, kp, ks, kn, km</i>	<i>sd, sb, sl, sk, sts, sn, sm</i>
<i>td, tk, tp, tn, tm</i>	<i>nd, nb, nk, nt, nts, np, ns, nm</i>
<i>pd, pb, pk, pt, pts, ps, pn</i>	<i>md, mb, mt, mts, mp, ms, mn</i>

¹ Verbal stems of the second class (§5, b), like the words themselves, tend very strongly to begin and end with surds. The larger number also of this class have *a, o*, or *u* for their vowel.

All words must end in a vowel, or in *m*, *n*, *p*, *t*, or very rarely in *l*. The great majority end in a vowel (most commonly *i*); and of the consonantal endings, the nasals are by far the most common. The phonetic structure of the Maidu is thus quite simple, and, owing to the prevailingly vocalic character of the language and to the comparative lack of consonant combinations and phonetic changes, the whole structure is unusually transparent, and the component parts of any word are easily recognized.

§ 4. Laws of Euphony

Euphonic laws require sound-changes in some instances. These laws are mainly retroactive, and apply to consonants only in the case of *m*. Where *m* is followed by *k* or *w*, the *m* is changed to *ñ*; as,

amam that one (subj.) + *-kanand* = *amañkan* and that one
möm he + *wete* = *möñwete* he alone, he himself

There appears to be more or less of a tendency toward vocalic harmony in the Maidu. It is obscure, however, and never is more than a tendency, the exceptions to the rule being often very numerous. As will be pointed out more fully in § 12, the Maidu possesses a number of stems, which are ordinarily dependent on others, as prefixes, but which may in some instances stand as independent stems by themselves. These semi-independent stems are all composed alike of a consonant in combination with a vowel. The larger proportion of them seem to be grouped in series, with variable vowel; as,

ba-, *be-*, *bo-*, *bö-*, *bu-* *wa-*, *we-*, *wi-*, *wo-*, *wö-*, *wu-*, etc.

The significations of these are in most instances general, and in some cases very obscure; but it is probable that in each series, the *a*, *o*, *ö*, and *u* prefix-stems, at least, are alike in meaning, or closely related. Similar, although less complete, series of wholly independent stems occur; such as,

hap, *hop*, *höp*, *hup* *tas*, *tes*, *tos*, *tus*, etc.

and here again, in the *a*, *o*, *ö*, and *u* stems there seems to be often a close correspondence in meaning. Where these or other independent stems are combined with the prefix-stems, there seems to be a tendency to similarity of vowel-sounds; the vowel of the prefix being either the same as that of the stem, or of the same class; as, for instance, *bahap-*, *bohöp-*, *wököt-*, *yedip-*, *bapus-*, *böyöl-*, etc. This

tendency is most marked in the case of the *ö*-stems. The *o*-stems take preferably either *o* or *a* prefix-vowels; the *a*-stems, either *a* or *;*; the *e*-stems, either *e* or *a*; the *i*-stems, either *e* or *a*; and the *u*-stems are very variable. In every case, however, except in the case of the *ö*-stems, any vowel may occur in the prefix, those noted being merely the most frequent. In all cases, *i*-prefixes are abundant, because the prefix *wi-* is one so important that it is used with practically every stem, and appears to suffer no phonetic change. In the case of other prefix-stems, whose meaning is more precise, which do not occur in series, and which generally refer to parts of the body as instruments in the action of the verb, no such tendencies toward vocalic harmony are apparent. Traces of a similar tendency toward vocalic harmony are also to be seen in the use of the general verbal suffix *-n*. This, in the case of *o* and *a* stems, has generally *o* for a connecting vowel; with other stems, however, it has *i*; as, for example,

yok-on, ok-on, pin-in

In a few instances, progressive euphonic changes occur, as where *ö* after *ä* becomes *ü*:

pä'küpem instead of *pä'köpem*

or in the change of *p* to *b* after *n*:

öpe'kanbem instead of *ope'kanpem*

There are also several instances of the insertion of *t* or *i* for euphonic reasons; as, for example,

yaiyō'tsopin instead of *yayō'tsopin*

tē'tyollebüssin instead of *tēyollebüssin*

kō'doidi instead of *ko'dodi*

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

(§§ 5, 6)

§ 5. Composition

Of the different grammatical processes employed in Maidu, composition is by far the most important and widely used. It will be most conveniently considered by dividing it into—

- (1) Nominal composition, and
- (2) Verbal composition.

Nominal Composition

Composition, in the case of nouns, occurs in its simplest form in the formation of compound nouns. Where the initial component ends in a vowel, a connective is usually employed. This connective is always *m* (changing to *ñ* before *k* or *w*; see § 4). As a nominal suffix, this *m* indicates syntactic relationship. With nouns which do not end in a vowel, the compound is formed by the mere juxtaposition of the two words. Composition is further used with nouns to express diminutives, superlatives, collectives, privatives, etc., all of which are indicated by unchangeable suffixes added to the nominal stem. The most important use of composition in the noun is, however, its use in indicating local and instrumental, as well as syntactic relations. These locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by suffixes added to the nominal stem (§ 30). Syntactic relations are also expressed by suffixes, there being a subjective and a possessive case-ending. Finally, composition is employed, although in a very small number of cases, to indicate ideas of number, a few animate nouns taking suffixes which indicate duality or plurality.

Verbal Composition

In verbal composition there are three elements to be considered—the stem, the prefix, and the suffix. In Maidu there are two classes of stems. In the first class, which includes all but a few out of the total number, the stem is wholly independent and is always used as a stem, never being subordinated to another stem as prefix or suffix. These stems are predominantly of the consonant-vowel-consonant type; and although they normally seem to be, as just stated, entirely independent, some are at times combined with others to form double stems, the double stem taking the regular prefixes just as if it were simple. The second class, which includes only about a half dozen or so, consists of stems which are sometimes independent and sometimes dependent, being subordinated to other stems as prefixes. In the case of these latter stems, we have what might be called co-ordinated composition. The true prefixes, on the other hand, are always subordinate to some stem, and never stand alone or as stems. There are but a small number of these prefixes, and they indicate as a rule the agent or instrument of the action, referring chiefly to parts of

the human body, as hand, foot, head, etc. In other cases, the prefixes point out the shape of the object.

Suffixes express a much wider variety of ideas, and are very much more numerous than prefixes. They indicate direction of motion, modal and temporal ideas, negation, etc., and, like the true prefixes, are (with one possible exception) always strictly subordinate to the stem, and can under no circumstances stand alone.

One feature of composition in Maidu which is very clear is the slight degree of coalescence between the component parts of the compound; prefix, stem, and suffix each keeping its separate individuality. With few exceptions there are no phonetic changes resulting from composition; no contractions, elisions, or assimilations between affix and stem taking place. The most important exceptions are the case of an *m* coming before a *k* or *w* (in which case the *m* changes to *ñ*), and the retention of the euphonic terminal *i* before the subjective suffix *m* in nouns whose stem ends in *m*. A few other exceptions are noted in § 4.

§ 6. Reduplication

Maidu makes use of duplication and reduplication to only a slight extent in expressing grammatic concepts.

Simple duplication is restricted largely to the noun, where it is used, in connection with a suffix, to indicate the distributive. Very few nouns, however, appear to form such distributives. With verbs, it gives an iterative meaning, and the duplication may include both stem and prefix; as,

witöswitösönaitsoia he went about picking here and there

Reduplication is quite frequent in verbs, both reduplication of stem and of prefix or suffix. In all cases the vowel of the reduplicated stem, prefix or suffix, is the same as that of the original, and the reduplication conveys the idea of iteration, or, in the instance of some suffixes, apparently gives the idea of A LITTLE, SLIGHTLY.

The reduplication or duplication is, in the majority of cases, initial, but there seem to be a number of instances of inner or terminal reduplication or duplication; as, for example,

paka'nkanto springs (distributive), from *paka'ni* spring

yaha'ham mai'düm good men (*yaha'm* good), the reduplication here expressing the plurality of the noun

oki'kidom getting home one after another (*oki'tdom* getting home)

In the first two instances neither the noun nor the adjective can be analyzed into components, as may be done in the case of several other apparent instances of terminal reduplication.

§ 7. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES AND FORMS

Nominal and verbal stems are, in all but a few cases, distinct. There are a few nominal stems which also serve as verbal stems, but the number of such instances is small. With few exceptions also, the suffixes in use are confined strictly either to nouns or verbs.

Local relationships and directive ideas are expressed by suffixes, which are different for nouns or verbs. The nominal suffixes express such ideas as IN, OUT OF, TOWARD, FROM, IN COMPANY WITH, etc. The verbal forms point out the direction of motion; as, UP, DOWN, ALONG, THROUGH, etc. Instrumentality and agency are indicated in the noun by suffixes, but in the verb by prefixes. In the latter, the series includes terms designating actions performed by the various parts of the body, by objects of different shapes, or the method of action, as by force or pulling, etc.

The formal relations of the parts of the sentence are expressed by nominal suffixes, in so far as the subject, object, and possessive relations are concerned. Modal and temporal ideas are also expressed by suffixes; the latter in some cases, however, being so loosely connected to the verb that they may at times stand alone or precede the verb entirely.

There are in Maidu no generic classifications of nouns, unless we consider the half-dozen cases known, where a few nouns designating human beings take regular dual or plural suffixes. These are the only instances, however, of any such classification, for none is apparent in the case of the few distributives.

Ideas of plurality are but little developed in the noun. Here a dual and plural, formed regularly, as in the pronoun, is found only for the words WOMAN, CHILD, HUSBAND, and DOG. Distributives as opposed to plurals also occur with but few words. Indefinite plurals, expressing such ideas as A PILE OF, MANY, etc., and duals, are, however, common, and are indicated in both cases by suffixes. In the pronoun, ideas of number are abundantly developed, there being a regular dual and plural. As will be seen from § 28, the dual and plural are quite regular in form, and are strictly used. Both the dual and plu-

al are indicated by suffixes. In the verb, plurality, or rather iteration, is expressed by duplication or reduplication. In the pronoun the dual and plural forms are derived in each case from the corresponding singular.

Diminutives, imitatives, inchoatives, desideratives, etc., are all indicated by suffixes, but are in general little used.

The pronoun indicates each of the three persons by a separate formal element, all of which possess both dual and plural forms. An inclusive and exclusive form of the first person plural exists, but the distinction is not commonly made. The third personal pronoun is frequently used as a demonstrative; but there exist regular demonstrative forms as well that are never used in the personal sense.

The demonstrative possesses really but two forms, corresponding to our **THIS** and **THAT**, and denoting relative distance from the speaker. The demonstrative is thus comparatively undeveloped in so far as regards number of forms and accuracy of the expression of location, and, even in its simple contrast of nearness or remoteness, is not always strictly used.

The Maidu sentence is characterized by the definiteness with which the agent of action, the direction of motion, or the qualification of the action is expressed, and by the extent to which ideas of plurality are strictly carried out in all pronominal sentences. In its formal characters, the chief features of the sentence are its flexibility, openness, and clarity, the independence of the noun and pronoun, and the absence of the process of incorporation, well marked in many Indian languages. The expression of verbal ideas in nominal form is also a rather common feature.¹

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 8-37)

Composition (§§ 8-27)

§ 8. *Nominal Composition*

As has been stated in § 5, nominal composition is much less developed than verbal composition in Maidu. Its uses, apart from those expressing syntactic relations, are

- (1) In the formation of compound nouns.
- (2) In the formation of diminutives.

¹ *nis'ki head'timenmapem*, literally, OUR WHAT-NOT-SHALL-DO (our nothing shall do), instead of WE SHALL DO NOTHING, CAN DO NOTHING.

(3) In the formation of collectives.

(4) In the formation of privatives.

(5) In the formation of terms, such as are expressed in English by words like ONLY, MERELY, etc.

1. *Connectives*. In the formation of compound nouns a connective may or may not be used. Where the stem of the primary component ends in a consonant, the connective is very generally omitted; as in—

hös-bini spider-web (*hös*i buzzard; *bini* net)

ba't-sāwi head-plume (*bat* [ʔ] *sā'wi* grass)

In other cases, the euphonic *i* is retained, as in—

tolī'-waka calf of leg (*tolī'* leg; *wakā'* meat)

When a connective is used, this is invariably *m* (or *ñ*, see § 4), and it may be used either with a noun whose stem ends in a vowel, or with one ending in a consonant, but retaining the euphonic *i*; as,

sü'-m-bukū dog-tail (*sü* dog; *bu'ku* tail)

hī'nī-m-butū eye-lash (*hī'nī* eye; *butū* fur)

Inasmuch as *m* is the regular nominal suffix of the subjective case, it may be regarded here as expressing a weak syntactic relation between the two components of the compound word.

2. *Diminutives*. These are, on the whole, little used in Maidu. In the dialect here discussed, the formation of the diminutive is by means of the suffix *-bě*; as,

ōbě little stone (*ō* stone)

sü'bě little dog (*sü* dog)

The suffix is added directly to the stem, and is applied indiscriminately apparently to animate or inanimate objects.

3. *Collectives*. These express such ideas as A PILE OF, A CROWD OF, A LOT OF, and are quite commonly used. The most frequently used is the suffix *-nono* added directly to the stem; as,

kūlo'k-nono a lot of women, all the women

mai'dü-nono the men as a body

Beside this suffix, there are two others that are frequently used as such, although they may be used alone, and stand before the noun. These other forms are *-bomō* and *-loko*; as,

mai'dūmbomō all the men, the crowd of men

tsā'mloko a bunch of trees, cluster of trees

In the case of both these latter forms the connective *m* is always used.

4. *Privatives*. These are used only in connection with the suffix *-pe(m)*, the various uses of which will be found discussed in § 22. There are three suffixes indicating privation, and each is added directly to the stem, and is followed by the suffix *-pe(m)*; as,

bu'k-mul-pe(m) tailless (*bu'kū* tail)

hi'n-kol-pe(m) eyeless (*hi'nī* eye)

pai'-wī-pe(m) foot-less (*pai*, *paiyi'* foot)

The last of these suffixes, *-wī*, is simply the stem of the negative *wīn* NO. The stem *-kol-* also appears in the word *ko'lon* NONE.

5. *The suffix -dökö* is used to express the idea of ONLY A, MERELY, etc. It is generally added directly to the stem, but occasionally requires the connective *m*; as,

onō'-dökö merely a head

tsakā'-m-dökö only pitch

Verbal Composition (§§ 9-27)

§ 9. CHARACTERISTICS OF VERBAL COMPOSITION

In verbal composition we have to deal with three component factors—prefixes, stems, and suffixes. As a class, the prefixes are not numerous; whereas the suffixes, at least in comparison, are abundant, there being between fifty and sixty of them in use. Nearly all the prefixes are composed of consonant and vowel, or a single vowel. The suffixes, however, are not so regular.

PREFIXES (§§ 10-14)

§ 10. Groups of Prefixes

Verbal prefixes may in the first place be divided into two types, according as they are or are not arranged in series, as stated in § 4. As pointed out in § 5, prefixes are also of two different types, according as they are wholly subordinated to the stem, or co-ordinate with it, and able sometimes to appear as stems themselves. About half the prefixes are of this latter class, although it is possible that many not as yet noted as of this type may eventually be found to belong to it. In the majority of cases the prefix indicates the agent by which the action is performed. In a limited number of instances, however, the prefix appears to point out the object of the action; as, for example, the prefix *tē-*, which normally indicates actions done WITH the foot, may in some cases refer to actions done TO the foot. Classified

according to their meaning, the prefixes fall into two groups; the smaller and more definite referring to different parts of the body as the agents (or objects) of action, the other and more numerous pointing out the general shape or character of the thing or agent by which the action is performed.

§ 11. Prefixes Referring to Parts of the Body

1. *ha(n)* actions performed with the shoulder or the back (also used as stem).

ha'n-dak-dau-dom prying off board with shoulder
ha-la'p-no-dom dragging along (by rope over shoulder)
ha-yō'-sip carry it out on back!
ha'-kīn to lay down a load (carried on back)

2. *hī-* actions performed with the nose or snout.

hī'-tul-sip-dom breaking a pane of glass in window by pressing with nose

3. *īn-* actions performed by sitting on.

i'n-bat-o-dom breaking stick by sitting on
i'n-no-ti-moto bend together by sitting on

4. *is-*, *ic-* action performed with the foot.

is-dot-sono-tsoia he kicked it over
is-wa-wa-koi-tsoia he scraped away with feet
ic-dot-o-kō foot-ball

5. *ka-* actions performed with the flat hand, or sometimes with the flat side of something (also used as stem).

ka'-bak-dau-dom prying off shingle with hand
ka'-dak-kin to shut a pocket-knife
ka'-dek-to to shove hand through something
ka'-not-kit-dom bending down with the hand
ka'-moto to place the hands together

6. *kī-* actions performed with the fingers.

kī'-bak-dau-dom picking off scab with finger
kī'-tus-to to break twig in fingers
kī'-ūsū-pi rub (with fingers)

7. *ō-* actions performed with the head (also used as stem).

o-ba't-to-dom breaking a stick with the head
o-pō'-pōk-dom shaking water out of the hair
ō'-pul-don to root up (as a hog), to dig up with horns
ō'-moto to put heads together
ō'-mit-on to look into a house; i. e., stick head down in through smoke hole

8. **sō-** actions done with the arms (also used as stem).

sōhu'n-bök-tsoia he jumped at to seize in his arms

sō'-wo-dom lifting in arms

9. **tě-** actions performed with or upon the foot (also used as stem).

tě'-as-pin to pull toward one with the foot

tě'-hul-dom stamping upon

tě'-lap-sito to shove something sharp through the foot

tě'-pes-ton to step on and mash something soft and wet

tě'-sin to step out of; i. e., put the foot out from

In the case of two of these prefixes, there is apparently a very clear relation to nominal stems — *ō-* with *o'no* HEAD, and *hī-* with *hī'ku* NOSE. The others show no such connection.

§ 12. Prefixes Indicating the Shape or Portion of the Agent by which the Action is Performed, or the Character of the Action Itself

10. **ba-, be-, bo-, bö-, bu-** actions performed in connection with a rounded or massive thing. This series of prefixes is one of the most puzzling, as they seem on the whole to express but a single idea, yet many of the forms are quite erratic. In this series the influence of vocalic harmony makes itself strongly felt, and there are many instances of sympathetic variation of the vowel in both stem and prefix without change of meaning, as well as cases where the change in vowel of the stem forms a new stem with different meaning. The following examples will make the use of this series of prefixes clear. Only *ba-* and *bo-* may stand alone as independent stems.

(a) Examples illustrating the regular use of these prefixes:

ba-da'k-dau-dom knocking a board off wall with a rock or hammer

ba'-pes-ton to crush something soft and wet with fist

ba'-pol-don to dig up something rounded, as potato, stone

ba'-yau-kīn to throw a stone through the floor

ba'-sin to scrape dirt out of a hole

be'-dek-kīn to throw a stone downward and pierce something

be'-ke't-sito to throw past; i. e., throw, and not hit

bō'-dak-dau-dom knocking something out of a tree with a stone

bo'-kot-dau to cut a snake in two with a heavy rock

bo'-lok-don to make a snowball

bo'-kīn to put down something round or bulky

bö'-töi-don to bounce up, as a ball, rock

bö'-le'k-wo-doi-dom reaching the top of a mountain

bö'-tul-to-dom breaking a window with a stone

bü'-dut-min to force a stone into the ground by stepping on it

(b) Examples illustrating change of vowel in prefix only:

ba'-pol-don to dig up something rounded, as potato

bo-po'l-don to wash or dig a gopher out of a hole

ba'-top-to to break small stick with fist

bo'-top-kin to break stick with stone, throwing it downward

(c) Examples illustrating change of vowel in both prefix and stem:

ba'-kap-kin to force a peg into the ground by pressing

bo'-kop-kin to stick needle in floor

bö'-köp-kin to force a stake into the ground

ba'-yal-dau to split or break to pieces with wedge and hammer

bo-yo'l-kin to smash a cup with a stone

bö-yö'l-kin to split or break up fine by a blow

In the first examples in this last group, there seems to be a departure from the otherwise general meaning of something rounded or bulky. As these variations from the general meaning occur, however, only with three stems (*k-p*, *l-p*, and *h-p*) which always seem to carry with them the idea of something long and slender, the prefix in these cases would seem to refer to the massiveness of the whole upper part of the body by which the pressure was exerted, or something of that sort. There are, however, a number of forms like the following, where the meaning of the prefix is obscure:

ba'-ta-don to drive up cattle

ba-tsa'p-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil

bö-töi'-sito to pierce sheet of paper with a pencil

11. *ho-*, *hu-* actions performed with the edge of a long thing, generally by a steady, continuous motion (*hu-* also as stem).

hō-yö't-dau-dom taking off a fine shaving with knife

hū'-bak-dau to cut off a piece of bark, sole off shoe

hū'-de'k-to-dom piercing with sharp knife

hū'-no't-kin to bend down by means of a stick used as lever

hū'-tu'l-to to break pane of glass by pressing with a stick

As stem, *hu-* seems to have a very general meaning.

hū'-mit-dom taking something into the house

hū'-sito to take a horse across river

hū'-tso-pin to take something off a high shelf

12. *sī-*, *sü-* actions performed with the end of a long thing.

sī'-dak-dau to scrape out a basket

sü'-dak-dau to poke away with a stick

sī-kē'-yo-dom drying meat (cutting it in slices?)

sü-tā'-no-dom shoving along with a stick
si-kes-tsoi-a she cooked.
si'-sup-dom falling, slipping from the hand
si-to'k-dom drying meat
si-wa'-wai-to-weten having dug it apart
si-dak-dau scrape something dry out of a basket
si-ka'la-ma-kökan they would bother me

13. *wa-, we-* actions performed with the edge or side of a thing, often by a sudden motion or blow.

wa-a'p-dau to scrape off with edge of a knife
wa-ba't-on to break a stick by a blow with the butt of an axe or with a club
wa'-das-ton to split with an axe
wa'-hap-kin to insert a stick into a bunch of sticks
wa'-kat-sito to bat across, knock across, with side of pole
wě'-kut-to-dom biting in two with teeth
we'-pit-in to pinch with thumb and fingers
we'-tsap-dau-dom tearing off with teeth

14. *wō-, wö-, wu-* actions performed with the end of a long thing, generally by a blow. The preceding prefixes *wa-* and *we-* are so close to these that it seems probable they all belong together in one series, as in the case of *ba-, be-, bo-, bö-, bu-*. *Wo-* is used also as a stem.

wō'-bak-dau to pry off shingle with stick
wō'-das-dau to split or pry piece off a log
wō-do't-sito to bat across
wō'-kot-dau to chop off end of log
wō-to'k-dom clapping together (the hands)
wō'-kīn to lay down a stick or long thing (cf. *bō'-kīn*)
wō'-pō-pök-dom shaking one's self (cf. *o'-pō-pök-dom*)
wō'-töi-dom bouncing up, as a stick (cf. *bō'-töi-dom*)
wü'-su-wala-ka-no to knock over backwards with a club.

15. *yā-, ye-, yo-, yō-, yu-* actions performed with the end of a long thing, endways, or in a direction parallel to the length of the thing (*yo-* also as stem).

yā'-ās-dau to strike a thing with end of spear and slide it along; to hit with fist, and move
yā'-bak-dau to knock bark off tree by stroke with arrow or bullet
yā'-dat-kīn to put knife in sheath
yā'-moto to pile up boards on end
ye-ā's-sito to drag one's self across on a pole
yě'-dek-ton to shoot through anything, and pierce

yě'-hap-kit-in to lower a window

yě'-sito to take a boat across a river (?)

yo-do't-sito to knock across with end of stick, as ball with a billiard cue

yo-ho'p-doi-dom shoving a pole up through a crack

yō-kot-tōn to cut in two with edge of shovel

yō'-nōn to flow, as water in a ditch

yō-tōi'-to to drive the fist through a curtain

yū'-lūp-sito to stick a knife or nail into one

yū'-tu-no-dom shoving along with shoulder (considered apparently as end of body)

This class of prefixes, as a whole, is one of the most obscure features of the language, and can not yet be considered as satisfactorily explained.

§ 13. Prefixes Indicating the General Character of the Action

16. *he-* actions occurring spontaneously or by accident. Although this prefix would seem to be part of a series (*ha-*, *he-*, *ho-*, *hu-*), its meaning is apparently not at all related to the others. It is often very obscure. It occurs also as a stem.

hě'-as-dau-dom snow sliding off roof

hě'-dak-dau a shingle or leaf pulled off by some agency unknown

he'-kot-sito to break up of itself, to crack, as a glass

he'-poi-dom bending by falling of itself

he'-tsap-dau-dom knocking off hornet's nest with stick (?)

he'-min to brush flour into a hole

he'-dan to comb the hair, brush clothes

17. *wi-* actions performed by force, very frequently by pulling.

This is the most common prefix of all, and seems to have a very general meaning. It occurs with every stem, seems to suffer no phonetic changes, and may also be used as a stem itself. Its uses are so varied that only a few can be given. As in the case of the last prefix, *he-*, although *wi-* would form part of the series *wa-*, *we-*, *wi-*, *wo-*, *wō-*, *wu-*, it seems to be really independent, and to have no relations to any of the others in the series.

wī'-ās-pin to pull toward one

wī'-bak-dau-dom wrenching off a board or shingle

wī'-bat-kīn to pull down and break, as a branch of tree

wī'-dek-kīn to tear in strips downward

wī'-hap-sito-dom pulling a rope through a hole

wī'-hus-doi-dom pulling on socks

wi'-kot-doi-dom breaking off a piece of something soft, like
 bread, by upward motion
wi'-not-kîn to pull and bend down
wi'-pol-dau to pull brick out of wall
wi-tâ'-tâ-moto-pi to hug in arms
wi-tö'k-dau to pull off a button
wi'-yal-kîn to pull off a sliver downwards
wi'-moto to gather together, as a crowd

§ 14. Composition of Prefixes

In a few instances, prefixes of the classes described in §§ 11 and 12 may be used together, although this is rare. An example of such use is the form

wō-wō'-han-o-dom carrying on the shoulder a man extended at length (i. e., head-first)

§ 15. STEMS

In §§ 3 and 4 the phonetic features of stems were pointed out, and their tendency to occur in incomplete series with variable vowel was illustrated. As in the case of the prefixes, the pairs or series appear to have, for the most part, similar meanings, although a considerable proportion differ radically in their significance, as do the prefixes. The less noticeable feature of a variable consonant in the stem was also pointed out. Further discussion of verbal stems will be found in the analysis of the vocabulary (§ 41).

SUFFIXES (§§ 16-26)

Verbal suffixes are, as already stated, numerically far more important than prefixes. Their range of meaning is also much greater, and, unlike the prefixes, they may be compounded one with another to a considerable extent. They do not, moreover, show any tendency toward occurrence in pairs or series, as is characteristically the case with many of the prefixes.

§ 16. Groups of Suffixes

The various suffixes may be divided, according to their meaning, into the following groups:

- (1) Suffixes expressing direction of motion.
- (2) Modal suffixes.
- (3) Temporal suffixes.
- (4) Suffixes indicating relative success or completion of action.

- (5) Suffixes indicating number, iteration, reciprocity.
- (6) Nominalizing suffixes.
- (7) Participial suffixes.
- (8) Suffixes giving general ideas of motion.
- (9) Suffixes indicating negation, inability.

§ 17. Suffixes Expressing Direction of Motion

Of the different classes of suffixes, that which includes those indicating direction of motion is decidedly the most numerous. The following examples will illustrate the use of these directive suffixes:

1. **-da** downward, to the end.
wo-dā'-kas I fell (from a tree)
mē'-da-to-tsoia he took down, it is said
2. **-dau** separation, off from.
bā'-kas-dau to knock a shingle off with a hammer
yē'-dis-dau-tsoia she slid off, it is said
3. **-dik(no)** against, up to, alongside of.
lök-diknō-mā'-kas I shall crawl up to
sü-ta-dī'kno-dom pushing or rolling it up against something
4. **-doi** upward.
ka-pwi'lim-doi-no-dom rolling a log up hill
o-no'-doi-tsoia he went along up, it is said
5. **-kit(t)** down, on ground.
hu-ko't-kit-dom cutting to pieces (by bearing down on knife)
sō'-wō-kit-tsoia he carried a long thing and laid it down, it is said
6. **-koi** away, away from.
i'c-dot-koi-dom kicking away something
ö-koi'-tsoia he went away, it is said
7. **-mit(t)** down into a hole, into a house, into a box.
ha's-mit-asi I slid into a hole
ö-mi't-dom going into the house
8. **-moto** together, toward each other.
ka-ta'-moto-dom squeezing between hands
ö'-moto-dom coming together, approaching each other
ka-tsik-i-moto-bos-weten having completely surrounded on all sides
9. **-pai** against, at.
hit-pai-dom throwing water at some one
hom-pai-to-dom boxing, fighting

10. *-pin* toward the speaker.
ö-pi'n-tsoia he came toward
hu'n-moi-pi-pin-kit-toi-tsoia they came by degrees back down
 toward from hunting, it is said
hë'-ap-pin-pin-tsoia she slid toward, little by little, it is said
11. *-si(p)* out of, out from.
ö-si'p-tsoia they got out (of the boat)
has-si'p-asi I slid out (of the house)
12. *-sito* across, through.
la'p-sito-dom crawling through (a hole in the fence)
ö-si'to-yë-wë'-büs-ma-pem one who shall continually travel back
 and forth across
13. *-ta* on top of, off the ground.
tus-bö-tä'-dom standing by the smoke hole on the roof
wö'-ta-nü it lies on top of, said only of a long or flat thing
töp-ta-tsoia he jumped upon
14. *-tso* round and round, over and over, over.
la'p-tso-no-ye-dom crawling around something
lö'k-tso-pin-wë-bissim they kept crawling over toward speaker
15. *-wai* apart, asunder, stretching out.
hë'-sas-wai-to-ti-dom causing to fall apart
ka-tä'-wai-to-dom flattening out by patting between hands

§18. Modal Suffixes

These suffixes may be divided to good advantage into two subclasses,—those which are modal in the general sense of the term, and those which are temporal.

16. *-n* infinitive.
bü'sin to be
dön to seize or hold in mouth
ö'sip-in to go out
17. *-us* reflexive.
pë-bo's-us-tsoia he ate himself entirely up
yapai'-to-us-dom talking to himself
wa's-wëye-us-tsoia he swore at himself
nï'-us I myself
18. *-ti* causative.
wile'-u-kit-ti-koi-tsoia he caused to run away down
bu-dut-no-ti-pai-kan he made water to rise
wö'no-ti-dom killing (causing to die)
19. *-p, -pa, -pada* imperative.
ö-nö'-p go!

mē-p give (me)!

ö-nō'-pa go!

hata'm-pada do ye search for!

20. **-ta** future imperative.

wō'no-ta it shall die, let it die!

tse-ta' let them see!

ma-ta'-si let me be!

21. **-bo** future imperative.

yahā'-bo let it be good!

wō'no-kön-kâdo ma-bō' a mortal-world let it be!

22. **-pö, -pě, -pee** exhortative.

ö'-no-pö let us go!

bü's-ta-pě let us stay!

helai'-to-pě let us gamble!

23. **-de** interrogative.

oka'-de möyē'm is he hungry?

wō'no-ti-ma-ka-de-s shall I kill?

suda'ka-de is it sweet?

24. **-beně(e)** obligation, must.

ö-koi'-bēně mintsē'm ye must go away

so'-doi-ben must bring, carry on shoulder

ö-noi'-ben-ma-p do not go away!

25. **-lut** obligation, compulsion, intensive.

ö-nō'-lut-ma-ka-s I must go along

ya'k-tse-ti-lut-weten looking exactly like

It is used also with adjectives, as *tetē'-luti* VERY LARGE, and with nouns sometimes, as *e's-to-luti* THE VERY CENTER.

26. **-yaha** ought, should.

ö-koi'-yaha-ka-ankano you ought to go away (*yaha* GOOD, although an independent adjective, seems in such cases as this to be fully incorporated as a suffix into the verbal structure)

27. **-nats** can.

wō'no-men-atse-s I can not die

wi-wo'-doi-natse-no can you lift it (a long thing)?

wile'-no-natse-n mo'-yě can he run?

28. **-bö** might.

ö'n-no-ti-bö-si I might swallow

ya-tai'-bö-nö you might miss (with arrow)

29. **-helu** may, perhaps (?).

yo-do't-pa-nu-to-helü'-kö-kan he may have tied them up to

ok-he'lu-kö-enkesi we all may be hungry

This seems also to be used independently, when it means **SOME, A FEW**. It would appear probable from this, that its use in the verb would indicate the plurality of the object, as in the case of *woli* **MANY**, which is used similarly for this purpose. The examples available, however, only indicate its meaning as above.

§19. Temporal Suffixes

30. **-ka** incompleted action (present).

ö-koi'-ka-si I am going away
o'kasi (ok-ka-si) I am hungry
wë'ye-don-kö-ka-n he is talking

This suffix is still somewhat uncertain. It is used in the great majority of instances, but is occasionally omitted in direct statements of immediate action; as *ö-koi-s* I GO, *tse-s* I SEE. It is probably intimately related to the auxiliary verb *ka* TO BE, seen in such forms as *ka-s* I AM; *ka-an-ka-no* YOU ARE; *ka-ti'-ka-s* I CAUSE IT TO BE, I DO, etc.

31. **-ma** incompleted action (future).

ö-koi'-ma-ka-s I shall go away
ö-yë'-ma-dom will be going
ko-bë'-bek-ti-men-ma-pem one who shall not cause to cry aloud

As indicated in the first example, this suffix is often combined with **-ka**. Like the latter, it also is extensively used as an independent auxiliary verb; as *ma-ma-ka-s* I SHALL BE; *kul-dom ma-mä'-pem* ONE WHO SHALL BE MOURNING; *hesä'dom ma-ka-de-s* WHAT SHALL I BE, DO?

32. **-as, -has** completed action (past).

ok-ä's-asi I was hungry
yok-ä's-has min I struck you
adom as ö-koi-ka-s so I went away
nik as kai'-kö-kan me she was calling

This may be used, as shown in the last two examples, separately before the verb, which is then in the usual present form. It is not, however, as in **-ka** and **-ma**, used as an auxiliary verb.

33. **-paai** completed action (remote past).

ok-paai'-kan he was hungry long ago
ä-paai'-kan he said long ago

34. **-tsoi** completed action (mythic past, known indirectly).

ö-koi'-tsoi-a he went away, it is said
wi-dö'k-dau-tsoi-a he tore off, it is said

35. **-wea, -ea** incompleted action. Used only in direct quotation, as a sort of historical present; also with the idea of the action being customary.

la'p-ti-kinu-wea-s I sit beside
tse-wē'ano you see
tō's-bo-kit-eam he stands

36. **-weu, -yeu, -eu** completed action. Used only in direct quotation.

tse-hē'-ye-weu-kan he looked around
kai-yē'u-ka-si I called
tse-me'n-eu-ka-s I did not see

37. **-yak** completed action. Generally, but not always used in direct quotations.

dōnī'-no-men-yak-es I did not hold
ok-ya'k-eno ai'sōi you were hungry, I think
homō' ö-koi'-yak-en whither they had gone

38. **-büs, -bis** continuative.

so'lle-büs-im kept on singing
hi'sse-büs-tset while continuing to weave
tso'-wē-büs-pe-di into the still burning one

This suffix is identical with the stem of the verb *büsin* TO LIVE, STAY, REMAIN.

§ 20. Suffixes Indicating Relative Success or Completion of Action

39. **-bos** to do a thing thoroughly, completely, and hence, derivatively, an action done by or to all of a number of persons or things without exception.

tso'-bos-poto-tset while almost wholly burned
tui'-bos-no-tsoia she slept soundly, it is said
wē'yē-bos-weten after having told everything
wilē'-koi-bos-tsoia they every one ran away

40. **-kanim** to finish doing, to bring the action to an end. It is related clearly to *kani*, meaning ALL.

so-ha'n-oñ-kanim he carried him there, i. e., finished the act of carrying
ö-dikno-ñ-kanim he arrived

41. **-hēkit** inchoative, to just begin.

pī'yē-to-hēkit-dom just beginning to bathe

42. **-hudoi** almost, nearly.

wö-kö't-dau-hudoi-as I almost cut off
tē'-dis-doi-hūdoi-ye-bis-im (her feet) were all the time almost slipping up

3. *-hehē* only, just.*kūlū-nan-na-mōni-hehē'* only when nearly dark*bō-yōk-sip-dom-hehē'* only selecting4. *-poto* almost, nearly.*batā'-potō'-tset* nearly catching up with her

§ 21. Suffixes Indicating Number, Iteration, Reciprocity

15. *-to*. This suffix, of general and very frequent use, is somewhat puzzling. It is used in some cases to indicate iteration; in others, reciprocal action; at times it seems to point to a plural object. It occurs frequently in combination with other suffixes, particularly the directive suffixes. It is also used as a nominal suffix in connection with the reduplicated distributives. Examples of its use in these various ways will show its variability.

mo'-tōn to drink repeatedly (*mon* to drink)*yo'k-ō-tōn* to strike repeatedly with fist (*yo'k-ōn* to strike)*yapai'-to-to-dom* talking to each other*si'mak-to-dom* talking to each other*hē'-sas-wai-to-ti-dom* causing to fall apart*tsā'-tsa-to* trees*si-kala-to-to-men-wet* not bothering each other

§ 22. Nominalizing Suffixes

46. *-pe* forms nomina actoris, and also indicates place of action.

ho'm-pai-to-pe a fighter (*ho'mpaito* to fight with the fists)*mōng kū'lē hē'-doi-pem* a runner after that woman, one who runs after that woman*tus-wō'-ye-pe-nan* from the standing-place, from where he stood
o'k-pem mai'dū hungry man

This use of verbal nouns to take the place of true adjectives is very common in Maidu. Adjectival stems, most intransitive verbal stems, and many transitive verbal stems, form verbal nouns of this sort, which are used in place of regular adjectives. In many instances both forms are in use,—the more strictly adjectival and the verbal noun.

la-la'm-pem tsa, la'-lam-im tsa long stick*opi't-pem wolo'm, opi't-im wolo'm* full basket

47. *-kō* indicates the quality of being or having, and seems to be identical with *kō-*, the stem of the verb TO POSSESS.

pē'-kō food (*pē* to eat)

ti-yū'k-sip-men-köm mai'düm a man who does not come out; i. e., one who has the quality of not coming out
ok-helū'-kō-kasi I may be hungry; i. e., I am one who has the quality of perhaps being hungry
piye'-to-kō bathing place; i. e., having the quality of being appropriate for bathing

This suffix is also much used with nouns, being followed then by pronominal suffixes or participial forms, and indicating possession or ownership.

ha'n-wo-ki-t-kō-di at the place to which he carries people
höbō'-kō-dom a householder; i. e., one who has the quality of having a house
tetē' si'm-kō-dom big-mouth-having; i. e., being one having the quality of having a large mouth
yepō'ni-kō-pem having a chief

48. **-ma** forms verbal nouns.

han-ö'-koi-s-ma what I carry off
niki bi's-ma-s-ma my future abiding-place
wō'no-ti-s-ma what I kill

What relation this suffix bears to the regular future suffix *-ma* is uncertain. The latter is never found following the pronominal suffixes, and yet the nominalizing *-ma* always seems to carry with it an idea of futurity. It is very rarely used.

§ 23. Participial Suffixes

These are largely used in Maidu, and participial construction is a very common feature. Such expressions as AND TRAVELING, HE ARRIVED, OR RUNNING, HE WENT AWAY, are constantly recurring.

49. **-do(m)** present participle.

ö-koi'-dom going away
mū'-hun-e-pin-i-moto-dom gathering together from hunting
tsē-do'm seeing

50. **-tset(e)** when, while.

hesū'pai-ti-tset while, when, dressing (causing to be dressed)
okit-(t)set when he arrived
hi'sse-büs-tset while she stayed there weaving

51. **-möni** when, at the time when.

ö-koi'-s-möni when I went away
lo'l-möni when crying

52. **-wet(e)** after having, having (past participle, immediate past).

o'nkoi-tin-wet having caused to conquer
tsedā'-da-weten having breakfasted

wō' nō-ti-men-wet not having killed; i. e., not having caused to die (*wō' nō* to die; *-ti* to cause; *-men* not)

ā'-weten it having been so or thus

The use of this suffix with pronominal and nominal forms will be described in § 31.

53. *-wono* past participle, more distant past than *-wet*.

wilē'-koi-wonom having run away

pō'p-koi-wono-pem the one that had burst out

tu's-kit-wono-di at the place where he had stood

he-yu'-kit-wono-kō-tsoia (they were such) as had the quality of having fallen down of themselves, it is said

54. *-yatan* past participle, similar in most respects to *-wono*.

wowō'-kinu-yatan having lain down on the ground

bi'i's-yatan having stayed, having lived, after having remained

sol-yatan after having sung

§ 24. Suffixes Giving General Idea of Motion

55. *-no* general idea of motion.

piye'-to-no-tsoia he went to bathe, it is said (*piye'totsoia* he bathed)

ō'-no-tsoia he went along, he traveled, it is said

hoi'-pai-no-ma-kas I shall go last, behind (*hoi'pai* behind)

56. *-ye* general idea of motion.

ō'-yēn to come, come toward

lō'k-doi-ye-bis-im kept crawling up

hu'n-mo-koi-to-ye-tsoia they went away to hunt, it is said

Both of these may be used together, giving the meaning of **HERE**

AND THERE, ABOUT.

be-he's-no-ye-dom scratching here and there

la'p-no-ye-dom crawling about

§ 25. Suffixes Indicating Negation, Inability

57. *-men* general negative, not.

ō-koi'-men-wet not having gone

ba-pol-doi-men-tsono-dom not being able to dig up

tse-me'n-tsoia he did not see, it is said

58. *-tsōi* inability, can not.

wō' nō-ti-tsōi-tsoia he could not kill him, it is said; i. e., could not cause him to die

ōpi'n-tsōi-dom not being able to come home

sol-tsō'i-dom not being able to sing

§ 26. Composition of Suffixes

Examples of the extent to which these various suffixes can be combined are shown in the following:

wile'-no-ye-tsöi-büss-ma-pem one who shall be unable to be always running about

han-wo-tso-no-wē-bis-dom continuing to carry over

wo-hop-mit-hudoi-to-we-bisim kept almost inserting long thing into

lap-no-ye-wē-bis-kö-tsoia continued to sit about

§ 27. COMPOSITION OF STEMS

Stems may be combined into compound verbs with considerable freedom. Such compounds may consist of single stems, or of stems with affixes. This method of treatment of prefixes in compounds increases the impression of independence of these elements, which is conveyed by the occurrence of many of them as independent stems.

sō-hu'n-bök-tsoia he jumped at it to seize it in his arms (*sō-* action done with arms [§ 11 no. 8]; *hun-* to capture [?]; *bök* to seize; *-tsoia* it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

dō'n-wi-kap-pin-tsoia she dragged toward in her mouth (*dōn* to seize or hold in mouth; *wi-* action done by force [§ 13 no. 17]; *kap* to move with friction; *-pi[n]* [§ 17 no. 10]; *-tsoia* it is said [§ 18 no. 34])

§ 28. Number

Ideas of number are unequally developed in Maidu. In nouns, the exact expression of number seems to have been felt as a minor need; whereas, in the case of pronominal forms, number is clearly and accurately expressed. In the degree to which the expression of number in nouns is carried, the dialects differ. In the northeastern dialect here presented it is less marked than in the northwestern. Not only are true plurals rare in nouns, but distributives also seem to have been but little used. Where these forms occur, they are formed by reduplication or duplication, with the addition of a suffix (see § 21); as,

sēu'sēuto each, every river (*sē'wi* river)

höbo'boto every house, or camp (*höbo'* house)

ya'manmanto every mountain

tsa'tsato every tree (*tsa* tree)

Distributives appear not to be used in ordinary conversation to any extent, and are rare in the texts. The above are practically all the forms that have been noted.

The existence of a real plural seems to be closely associated with a dual, and all of the few nouns taking plural suffixes take dual forms as well. The use of either is, however, rare. The dual is more common than the plural. The dual is formed by the suffix *-tso*; as,

ama'm yě'pitsom those two men

möpä'tso my two daughters

möing kü'letsoki those two women's . . .

This dual suffix is the same as that used with the third person of the personal pronoun (see § 31). The use of the dual suffix seems to be restricted to a very few terms of relationship and words for human beings only.

Plural forms are equally if not more restricted. In the few examples noted in which the plural is used, the noun takes indifferently *-söm* or *-sem*, the suffixes used for the plural of the second person and of the first and third persons of the pronoun, respectively (see § 31). The suffixes are added in all cases directly to the stem.

yě'psöm men, husbands (*yě'pi* man, husband)

mai'düsem men (*mai'dü* man)

kü'lesem women (*kü'le* woman)

As regards nouns, thus, the ideas of number are but little developed; the development, however, is greater in the northwestern than in the northeastern dialect, and it is altogether lacking apparently in the southern dialect. In the first two cases, the degree of development of the expression of number in the noun is parallel to the regularity of the development of its expression in the pronoun.

In pronouns, the feeling for the necessity of exactness seems to have been more strongly felt. On the whole, the forms may be said to be developed regularly, and, as opposed to the fragmentary nature of these ideas in the case of the noun, we have a full series of dual and plural forms in the independent personal pronoun. In the suffixed form of the pronoun, however, this completeness is lost, and distinctions of number are made only in the first person. As will be seen by referring to the paradigm of the subjective independent personal pronoun (§ 31), there is some little confusion in the series, the dual suffix of the second person being identical with that of the plural suffix of the first and third persons. The dual suffixes, again, are varied for the different persons (*-sam*, *-sem*, *-som*), although the plural suffixes are more uniform, the first and third persons being alike, with the second quite similar. In com-

parison with this northeastern dialect, the forms in the other dialects are interesting:

	Northwestern	Southern
First person singular	<i>nī</i>	<i>nī</i>
Second person singular	<i>mī</i>	<i>mī</i>
Third person singular	<i>mōm</i>	<i>mōm</i>
First person dual	<i>nīsām</i>	<i>nās</i>
Second person dual	<i>mīmām</i>	<i>mām</i>
Third person dual	<i>mōsām</i>	<i>mōsām</i>
First person plural	<i>nīsēm</i>	<i>nēs</i>
Second person plural	<i>mīmēm</i>	<i>mēm</i>
Third person plural	<i>mōpām</i>	<i>mōsēm</i>

It will be seen that in the northwestern dialect greater regularity prevails, the dual forms for the first and third persons being alike, and that of the second keeping the same vowel. In the plural, however, while the characteristic vowel-change in the first and second persons is preserved, the third takes a wholly new plural suffix. In the southern dialect this irregularity disappears, in spite of the considerable coalescence and contraction which the pronoun in its subjective form has suffered. It seems not improbable that this greater regularity of the dual and plural pronominal forms in the northwestern dialect may be connected with the still greater regularity which prevails in this particular among the Wintun stock, on which the northwestern Maidu border. In Wintun, the pronominal forms are perfectly regular throughout dual and plural. On the other hand, the northeastern dialect, with its smaller degree of regularity, is in contact with the Achomā'wi and Atsugē'wi, dialects of the Shasta, which, on the whole, have a still less regular development of dual and plural, and form a transition to the Shasta proper, which has no dual at all. Variations of this sort are found also in other Californian languages.

As stated above, the suffixed forms of the pronoun are much less clear in their expression of number, dual and plural forms existing for the first person only, as may be seen from the following:

First person singular	-s
First person dual	-as
First person plural	-es
Second person singular, dual, and plural . .	-no
Third person singular, dual, and plural . .	-n

The method of differentiation is apparently that which lies at the basis of the expression of number in the pronoun; i. e., the vowel-change of *a* to *e* to distinguish the plural from the dual. Co-ordinate with the greater regularity of the northwestern dialect in the independent pronoun is its greater regularity in the suffixed form, although this form is much less used than in the northeastern. In the southern dialect suffixed forms of the pronoun are not found. The lack of definite expression of number in the suffixed forms of the pronoun in the dialect here presented necessitates the use of the independent forms of the pronoun, in connection with the verbal form, to distinguish dual from plural; as,

mi'ntsem okmā'nkano ye two will be hungry

minsö'm okmā'nkano ye all will be hungry

§ 29. Case

The Maidu differs from many American languages in that it lacks any development of incorporation as a means of expressing syntactic relations. In common with most of the languages of central California, subjective and objective as well as possessive relations are expressed by regular case-endings, suffixed to the noun or independent form of the pronoun, both of which stand separate and independent, outside the verb. That the marking of both subject and object by means of a separate case-suffix is, for purposes of clearness, not a necessity, seems to have been recognized by all these languages. The Maidu is among those which distinguish by a special suffix the subjective, leaving the objective form unchanged. To designate the subjective, the Maidu uses the suffix *-m*. The following examples will render the use of the subjective as used with nouns sufficiently clear:

sü nī has *wō'kas* I hit the dog (with a stick) (*sü* dog; *nī* I)

süm has *nik dō'kan* the dog bit me

mai'düm a *o'kōn* the man is hungry

nīsā'm has *mai'dü wō'nōtīankas* we killed the man

mī kulū'di ōnō'bene atso'ia thou must travel at night, she said

i'cyōkas mīn I am kicking you

While all nouns and all independent pronouns, except the first and second persons singular, form the subjective regularly in *-m* (the objective being the simple stem), the two forms referred to reverse the process, and are, besides, irregular. As shown in the

above examples, the subjective and objective forms of the pronoun in the first and second persons singular are, respectively, *nī*, *nīk* and *mī*, *mīn*. In the dialect here presented the independent subjective forms of the pronouns above mentioned are somewhat rarely used, the subject being, as a rule, expressed by the suffixed form instead. That the *-m* used is really a subjective and not an agentive case is shown by the fact of its universal employment with intransitive as well as with transitive verbs.

The possessive relation is shown analogously to the subjective by a case suffix *-ki*. In this instance there is no irregularity, and all nouns and all forms of the independent pronoun alike take the suffix:

sū'ki bukū' dog's tail
mōim mai'dūmbomōki ī'tusyo those people's roast
niki hōbō' my house
mī'nki sū has wō'nōtias I have killed your dog
nīsā'ki kâ'dō our country

The suffix is added always to the objective form of the noun or pronoun (i. e., the simple stem), and, at least in this dialect, is with few exceptions *-ki*. In the case of the interrogative form *WHOSE*, however, we find simply *-k*; as,

homō'nik sūm makā'dě whose dog is this?¹

This possessive suffix may in some cases be added after a previous locative, as in the form

sā'-wono-na-ki from-behind-the-fire's; i. e., belonging to the one who comes from behind the fire

§ 30. Locative and Instrumental Suffixes

In Maidu, locative and instrumental ideas are expressed by regular suffixes, continuing logically the indication of real syntactic relations by the same means. The development of these locative and instrumental suffixes in Maidu is not very great, there being but three locatives, an instrumental, and a comitative. The following examples will illustrate the use of these different forms:

-di general locative, in, on, at.

mo'mdi in the water

betē'itōdi in the olden time

¹ In the northwestern dialect the possessive is the same as here; but in the southern form there seems to be a distinct tendency to its partial or complete abandonment. It there frequently becomes reduced to *-k*, and in the most southerly of all the dialects seems to disappear completely, the subjective form of noun or pronoun being used instead.

höbō'di in the house, at home
kau'di on the ground
noko'm nī'kdī ka the arrow is in me
tu'skitwonōdi at the place where he had stopped
ōng kanai'di underneath the rock

-na, -nak illative, to, toward; sometimes reduplicated.

o'lōlokna toward the smoke hole
ūnī'na hither (this-toward)
mi'na toward you
kūlū'nana just before dark, toward night

-nan ablative, from, away from.

höbō'nan öko'i'tsoia he went away from the house
tiktetē'nan from a little distance
tuswō'yepenān from the place where he stood

-ni instrumental, with, by means of.

sū has tsā'ni wō'kas I hit the dog with a stick
mō'ki ono'mbutū'ini wōma'ktikōtsoia she measured with her hair

-kan comitative, in company with, together with.

nī'ki sūkan öko'i'as I went away with my dog
kū'lēkan ödi'k notsoia he arrived in company with the woman
mi'nkan öko'i'as I went off with you

There is some question as to this being a regular comitative suffix, its identity with the conjunction *kan* suggesting that the apparent suffix is merely the conjunction closely combined with the noun.

§ 31. Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Maidu are characterized by their independence. In discussing the ideas of number, the independent forms of the pronoun have already been given; but for purposes of comparison, the subjective, objective, and possessive forms are here given in a single table:

	Subject	Object	Possessive
First person singular .	<i>nī</i>	<i>nīk</i>	<i>nī'ki</i>
First person dual . .	<i>nīsā'm</i>	<i>nīsā'</i>	<i>nīsā'ki</i>
First person plural . .	<i>nīsē'm</i>	<i>nīsē'</i>	<i>nīsē'ki</i>
Second person singular.	<i>mī</i>	<i>mīn</i>	<i>mī'nki</i>
Second person dual . .	<i>mī'ntsem</i>	<i>mī'ntse</i>	<i>mī'ntseki</i>
Second person plural .	<i>mī'nsöm</i>	<i>mī'nsö</i>	<i>mī'nsöki</i>
Third person singular .	<i>mō'yem</i>	<i>mō'ye</i>	<i>mō'yeki</i>
Third person dual . .	<i>mōi'tsom</i>	<i>mō'tso</i>	<i>mō'tsoki</i>
Third person plural . .	<i>mō'sem</i>	<i>mō'se</i>	<i>mō'seki</i>

The third person is in reality more a demonstrative than a true personal pronoun; but its use is predominantly that of a personal pronoun, and the corresponding demonstrative *unī* THIS is not used in either the dual or plural forms. As has already been pointed out, these independent forms of the personal pronoun take all the locative and instrumental suffixes, and are in every respect treated as nouns. The personal pronouns also, in their independent form, may take the suffix *-wet(e)*, used chiefly with verbal stems in a participial sense, but here giving forms like

nī'wete I myself, I alone

mō'ñwete he alone

In speaking of the development of ideas of number, the fact was referred to, that there were two forms of the personal pronoun—one independent and one suffixed to the verb. The two series show little in common, except that the first person dual and plural are differentiated in both series by the same vowel-change from *a* to *ε*. The suffixed forms are always subjective, and are suffixed directly to the verbal stem or to the various modal, directive, temporal, and other suffixes which the verb may have, the pronominal suffixes, with few exceptions, always coming last. In the singular the resulting forms are clear enough without the addition of the independent form of the pronoun; in the dual and plural, however, these are usually added, although here the first person is always sufficiently distinct. When the sense of the sentence renders the person clear, this independent pronoun is frequently omitted. The following indicates the use of the pronouns with the intransitive verb:

nī o'kasi or *o'kasi* I am hungry

mī oka'nkano or *oka'nkano* thou art hungry

mōyē'm oka'n or *oka'n mōyē'm* he is hungry

nīsā'm oka'nkas or *oka'nkasi nīsā'm* we two are hungry

mī'ntsem oka'nkano or *oka'nkano mī'ntsem* ye two are hungry

mō'tsom oka'n or *oka'n mō'tsom* they two are hungry

nīsē'm oke'nkes or *oke'nkesi nīsē'm* we all are hungry

mī'nsöm oka'nkano or *oka'nkano mī'nsöm* ye all are hungry

mō'sem oka'n or *oka'n mō'sem* they all are hungry

As will be seen from the above, the position of the independent pronoun is variable, it being placed either before or after the verb at will. It will also be seen that the suffixed form is by no means as fully developed as is the independent. This condition is instructive, when the forms in use in the other dialects are compared. It then appears that in the northwestern dialect the suffixed form is rare,

with the verbal stem, but is universally added to the auxiliary verb; in the southern dialect the use of the suffixed form of the pronoun disappears. It seems, then, that the northeastern dialect here presented, in the matter of pronominal usage, lies at the extreme, toward the close synthesis of pronoun with verb, the northwestern being less so, and the southern entirely without it. As the northeastern dialect is in close touch with the Achomā'wi, which shows much greater development of the incorporative idea, we may be justified in regarding this greater development of synthesis between the verb and pronoun as in part due to association and contact.

In the transitive verb, precisely the same conditions prevail. The subjective pronoun, in the pronominal conjugation, is suffixed to the verb in the northeastern dialect, the objective standing free and independent.

yō'-kas min I am hitting thee
yō-a'nkano möyě' thou art hitting him
nīsā'm min yō-a'nkas we two are hitting thee
mō'tsom nīk yō'-kan they two are hitting me
yō-a'nkano nīsā' thou art hitting us two

With a nominal object, the method is the same:

sū wō'nōtikas I am killing the dog

With a nominal subject, the pronominal suffix is always used:

sūm has mai'dū dō'-kan the dog bit the man

For emphasis, it is customary to use, in the first and second persons singular of the pronominal conjugation, the independent form in addition to the suffixed; as,

yō'-kas nī min I am hitting you
yō-a'nkano mī möyě' thou art hitting him

Just as in the intransitive the dialect here presented tends more strongly toward synthesis between pronoun and verb than do any of the other dialects, so in the transitive the same conditions prevail, if anything, more strongly marked, as both the other dialects have the subjective as well as the objective pronoun entirely free and separate from the verb which appears in a participial form.

§ 32. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative is not as highly developed in Maidu as in many other American languages. But two forms are commonly

in use, corresponding to THIS and THAT, and indicating position near or remote from the speaker. For the former, *unī'* is used, and for the latter, *amā'*. Somewhat rarely a third form, *anī'*, is employed to indicate position still more remote. The third personal pronoun is often used in place of a demonstrative, and may take the place of any one of the three. All three demonstratives take all the nominal case and locative suffixes. The use of these demonstratives is shown in the following examples:

unī'm mai'düm yahā'maka this man will be good
amā'm süm that dog
anī'm mai'düm that (far off) man
amā'kan wōnōtitsoia and he killed that one
ūnī'nan from here, hence
amā'di there, at that place
amā'ki sū that person's dog
mō'im mai'düm this, that man

§ 33. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns

A relative pronoun seems to be lacking in Maidu, its place being filled by the use of a reflexive suffix with the verb. Such constructions are, however, rare. An example is:

mōm mai'düm has kakā'n i'syōtiusdom this man it was causing to kick himself; i. e., he was the man who was kicked

Interrogative pronouns, on the contrary, are common. WHICH is expressed by *homō'*, and WHO by *homō'ni*, both taking case and locative suffixes, as do other pronouns. WHAT, WHY, and HOW are formed from a different stem, being respectively *hesī'*, *hesā'*, and *hesā'ti*. A few examples of the use of these follow:

homō'mdi makā' bū'spem in which (house) do you live?
homō'nim makā' who are you?
homō'nik süm makā'dě whose dog is this?
hesī'm makā'dě what is it?
hesā'mōni kadī'kmenom makā'dě why doesn't it rain?
hesā'ti eto'spem . . . how strong . . . ?

§ 34. Adjectives

The adjective in Maidu is strongly nominal in character. In many cases it is a true nomen actoris, formed from a verbal stem, with or without duplication or reduplication, by the addition of the

uffix *-pe*. Apparently any verbal stem may thus be used in this form to qualify or describe a noun; as,

o'k-pem mai'düm hungry man (literally, hungerer man)
eto'spem mai'düm strong man (*eto'skasi* I am strong)
dī'pdipem pā'ka smooth board (literally, slider board)
lala'mpem tsa long stick

Many adjectives, however, do not admit of the form in *-pe*, and are formed from the verbal stem by merely adding to them the nominal subjective suffix(?) *-m*. The majority of these forms are made from verbal stems ending in a vowel. Examples of this type of adjective are:

tetē'm süm large dog *kē'yim hōbō'* old house
tēm süm small dog

Most, if not all, of the stems from which the adjectives are formed, are capable of taking the regular pronominal tense and modal suffixes and being used as intransitive verbs; as, *kē'yimakas* I SHALL BE OLD. Some stems, however, appear not to be used, except as forming these nominal forms, as adjectives. Either of the nominal forms of these stems (that in *-pe* or in *-m*) takes all regular nominal locative suffixes, and probably also all case-suffixes as well, although these have at present been noted only in the instance of those ending in *-pe*.

kē'yidi in the old one *lala'mpeki* the long one's . . .
tetē'ni with the big one

In some cases both the *-pe* and the *-m* forms are used with the same stem; as,

la'mim tsa, *lala'mpem tsa* long stick

In these cases, the form in *-pe* is generally, but not always, reduplicated.

§ 35. Adverbs

Adverbs may be formed from adjectival stems by the suffix *-t*; as,

yahā'm good *yahā't* well, nicely
wasā'm bad *wasā't* poorly, evilly
tetē'm large *tetē't* much, greatly, very

Other adverbs, such as those of time and distance, etc., seem to be from independent stems.

tī'kte slightly, somewhat, a little *bēi* again
hadā' far away *bēi'duk* by and by
bē'nek to-morrow *lē'wo* a little, partially

§ 36. Connectives

With the exception of *kan* AND, connectives in Maidu are all formed from the auxiliary verb *ā* TO BE, by the addition of various temporal, modal, and other suffixes. Very often the resulting form is compounded with *kan*, which, while it may stand alone, is generally reduced to an enclitic. The more common of these connectives are:

<i>a-dom</i> , <i>ado'ñkan</i> so, and so.	<i>a-tse't</i> , <i>atse'tkan</i> while, and
<i>a-met</i> but	while
<i>a-mendom</i> if not, and if not	<i>a-we'ten</i> , <i>awete'nkan</i> then,
<i>a-mö'ni</i> , <i>amö'nikan</i> then, and	thereafter, and then
then	

§ 37. Interjections

There are quite a number of interjections in Maidu, the following being those most commonly in use:

<i>hēi</i> halloo!	<i>hō</i> well! all right
<i>sī</i> look! well!	<i>ham</i> an exclamation of rage,
<i>ā</i> exclamation of disgust	practically equivalent to a
<i>ettū'</i> stop!	curse
<i>hmm</i> exclamation of disgust	

VOCABULARY (§§ 38-41)

§ 38. Classes of Stems

In analyzing the vocabulary of the Maidu we may divide the stems into three classes:

- (1) Those which admit of no suffixes, or only such as are neither nominal nor verbal.
- (2) Those which take nominal suffixes.
- (3) Those which take verbal suffixes.

The first group includes merely a few adverbs, interjections, and a connective. The second comprises nouns, pronouns, and most adjectives. The third takes in all verbs (with a few exceptions), some adjectives, and the remainder of the connectives. This grouping, which, on the whole, seems to be the most feasible, breaks down in so far as it is possible, in some cases, to use participial suffixes with stems normally taking only nominal suffixes, and also from the fact that there are cases where noun and verb are formed from a single stem. The latter cases will be considered

speaking of the stems of the second group; and as for the former, that can be said here is that it is the ordinary usage rather than the extraordinary forms which should be given greatest weight.

39. Stems Taking no Suffixes, or Only Such as are neither Nominal nor Verbal

Of stems taking no suffixes at all, there appear to be very few. Interjections include the majority of such stems. A list of these has been given in § 37. Except for these interjections, the only other stem taking no affix is the simple conjunction *kan* AND. This, moreover, although it may, and often does, stand independently, is sometimes so closely connected with the noun as to be enclitic.

Stems taking suffixes other than those taken by nouns or verbs are few also and are only adverbial:

<i>bēi</i> (<i>bēi'bim</i> , <i>bēi'bō</i>) again, also	<i>hū'koi</i> still, yet
<i>bēi'duk</i> by and by	<i>lē'wo</i> a little, partially

A considerable number of adverbs are formed from adjectival stems by the suffix *-t*; as,

<i>yahā'm</i> good; <i>yahā't</i> well	<i>tetē'm</i> large, great; <i>tete't</i> much, greatly
--	---

Adverbial ideas, however, such as CAN, MUST, PERHAPS, ALMOST, HOLLY, ALWAYS, etc., are expressed in Maidu by suffixes added to the verb.

§ 40. Stems Taking Nominal Suffixes Only

These stems may be further subdivided into nominal, pronominal, and adjectival stems.

NOMINAL STEMS

Maidu possesses a large number of true nominal stems showing no relation at all apparently to verbal or other stems. Derivatives formed from verbs exist in considerable numbers; but the greater mass of nouns are derived from purely nominal stems. A few examples of nouns derived from verbal stems may be given before considering the nominal stems proper:

<i>hī</i> to smell; <i>hī'ku</i> nose	<i>mai</i> to speak; <i>mai'dū</i> Indian;
<i>bō</i> to blow; <i>bō'wo</i> wind	<i>mai'ki</i> boy

In other instances noun and verb appear to be formed from the same root; as,

<i>ho'ni</i> heart	<i>ho'nsiptsoia</i> she breathed
<i>ho'nowě</i> breath	<i>ho'nkodom</i> coughing

Nominal stems proper may be divided into three groups:

- (1) Monosyllabic.
- (2) Polysyllabic, duplicated or reduplicated.
- (3) Polysyllabic, without reduplication.

1. Monosyllabic stems are not very numerous, but as a class include some of the most common nouns. They may be grouped under several heads:

RELATIONSHIP TERMS	ANIMALS, PLANTS, PARTS OF BODY
son <i>tē</i>	dog <i>sū</i>
daughter <i>pō</i>	hand <i>mā</i>
younger sister <i>k'a</i>	flower <i>yō</i>
mother <i>nē</i>	bush <i>dō</i>
grandson <i>pē</i>	willow <i>pā</i>
	feathers <i>yē</i>
MISCELLANEOUS	
fire <i>sā</i>	stone <i>ō</i>
salt <i>bā</i>	road <i>bō</i>
cloud <i>yā</i>	raft <i>nō</i>
snow <i>kō</i>	mortar-stone <i>ā</i>

2. Duplicated and reduplicated stems are also not very numerous, and refer chiefly to parts of the body and to animals and birds.

DUPLICATED	REDUPICATED
crow <i>ā'ā</i>	yellow-hammer <i>wolo'loko</i>
eagle <i>kā'kā</i>	robin <i>tsi'statatkō</i>
quail <i>yū^hyū</i>	fly <i>emē'lulu</i>
nest <i>tū'tū</i>	shoulder <i>dā'daka</i>
rib <i>tsi'tsi</i>	star <i>lülü'</i>
breast <i>nā'na</i>	egg <i>pa'kpaka</i>
ankle <i>po'lōpolō</i>	cotton wood <i>wili'li</i>
grass <i>popo'</i>	smoke hole <i>olo'lokō</i>
yellow pine <i>bōbō'</i>	thunder <i>witū'mtūmi</i>
twig <i>tōtō</i>	

Onomatopœia seems to be but little in force in Maidu, being not particularly apparent in these duplicated and reduplicated animal and bird names, where, in other languages, it frequently plays a very important part.

3. Polysyllabic unreduplicated stems, in the case of nouns, form probably a majority of the total number of nominal stems. Although a considerable number of polysyllabic nominal stems are quite clearly descriptive, and hence analyzable into simpler stems, a large majority have so far resisted analysis and must be considered stems. The following are examples of such apparently unanalyzable stem-nouns:

PARTS OF THE BODY

head <i>onō'</i>	back <i>kī'wī</i>
face <i>mūsū'</i>	nipples <i>minī'</i>
eye <i>hi'ni</i>	arm <i>yi'mi</i>
mouth <i>si'mi</i>	armpit <i>kōwō'</i>
teeth <i>tsā'wa</i>	belly <i>kamī'</i>
tongue <i>ē'ni</i>	hip <i>mā'wa</i>
ear <i>bonō'</i>	penis <i>kosi'</i>
neck <i>kū'yi</i>	leg <i>tolī'</i>
foot <i>pai'yi</i>	liver <i>kula'</i>
nails <i>tsibī'</i>	bone <i>bō'mi</i>
blood <i>sēdē'</i>	dung <i>piti'</i>
sinew <i>paka'</i>	fat <i>hō'ti</i>
tail <i>bukū'</i>	skin <i>posā'la</i>

MAMMALS

grizzly bear <i>pā'nō</i>	coyote <i>wē'pa</i>
brown bear <i>mō'dē</i>	field-mouse <i>yosō'</i>
deer <i>sūmī'</i>	ground-squirrel <i>hē'lō</i>
fox <i>hawī'</i>	chipmunk <i>wi'sla</i>
gopher <i>hemē'</i>	mole <i>yū'tdūli</i>

BIRDS, FISH, INSECTS

fish <i>makō'</i>	grasshopper <i>tō'li</i>
salmon <i>māyi'</i>	angle-worm <i>kayī'</i>

MISCELLANEOUS

woman <i>kūlē'</i>	pack-basket <i>wolō'</i>
baby <i>konō'</i>	snowshoe <i>tsūwā'</i>
house <i>ū'yi</i>	meat <i>wakā'</i>
coals <i>hemī'</i>	sun <i>pokō'</i>
smoke <i>sukū'</i>	evening <i>kūlū'</i>
arrow-point <i>bosō'</i>	valley <i>koyō'</i>

As examples of nominal stems which are clearly analyzable, but not yet entirely explained, the following may serve:

forehead *sūn-daka* (perhaps from *sōn-* referring in some way to the head, as in *sō'ntsetso-pindom*, HEAD-FIRST; and *dā'daka* SHOULDER, i. e., head-shoulder)

beard *sim-pani* (perhaps from *sim* MOUTH, and *pan-*, a stem occurring in *pantsoia* THEY MADE ROPE)

wrist *ma-kulū'* (from *mā* hand and [?])

wild-cat *hi'n-tsepi* (from *hi'ni* eye, and [?])

otter *mo'm-pano* (from *mo'mi* water, and *pā'no* grizzly-bear)

rat *ō'm-sape* (from *ō* rock, and [?])

jack-rabbit *tsi'n-kuti* (from *tsi* robe, and *kuti* animal)

shite-poke *wak-si* (from the verbal stem *wak-* to cry)

PRONOMINAL STEMS

A full paradigm of the personal and demonstrative pronouns has been given in §§ 31, 32, and these need not therefore again be referred to here. The interrogative pronouns ought, however, to be noticed. These are *homō'* WHICH, and *homōni* WHO. The interrogative pronoun WHAT is *hesi'*, but, besides taking the regular nominal suffixes, it also may take certain verbal or semiverbal suffixes.

ADJECTIVAL STEMS

Adjectives are of two sorts: (1) those formed from independent stems, with or without reduplication; and (2) those formed from verbal stems, generally with the suffix *-pe*. The first of these classes may be divided according as to whether there is or is not any reduplication.

NO REDUPLICATION

little *tēm*
small *tibi'*
good *yahā'*
bad *wasā'*
short *nū'si*
old *kē'yi*

REDUPLICATION

large *tetē'*
long *lā'lami*

Quite a number of adjectives belonging apparently to this first class have the suffix *-pe*, although the stem shows no relation to any verbal stem, and seems never to be used as such. These are both reduplicated and unreduplicated, and include all color names. In some cases, two forms exist, one with, and one without, the suffix *-pe*.

NO REDUPLICATION

healthy *eto'spe*
heavy *wōhō'lpe*
thick *koī'lpe*
short *nu'spe*

REDUPLICATION

weak *lē'lepe*
light *hehe'kpe*
thin *tōtō'pe*
wide *da'pdape*
sour *tsūtsu'kpe*

COLOR NAMES

black *sēū'sēūpe*
green *titi'tpe*

red *la'klakpe*
white *da'ldalpe*

NUMERALS

The numerals belong to this first class of adjectival stems, and are as follows up to ten:

one *sū'ti*
two *pē'ne*
three *sā'pwi*
four *tsō'yi*
five *mā'wika*

six *sai'tsoko*
seven *to'pwi*
eight *pe'ntcōyē*
nine *pe'lio*
ten *mā'soko*

The numeral adverbs are formed by the suffix *-nini*; as, *sū'tēnini* NCE, *pēnē'nini* TWICE, etc. Distributives are formed by reduplicating the final syllable; as, *sū'titi* ONE EACH, *pē'nēnē* TWO EACH, etc.

§ 41. Stems Taking Verbal Suffixes

Verbal stems may be divided into two groups, according as to whether they are treated always as stems pure and simple, or are sometimes used in connection with other stems, modifying these and serving as prefixes.

Stems of the first type are predominantly composed of consonant-vowel-consonant. Many occur in pairs or groups, with similar or nearly similar meaning, but with variable vowel; whereas a few pairs show not a variable vowel, but a variable consonant. Besides these tri-literal stems there are a number of bi-literal and uni-literal forms and a few as yet unanalyzable dissyllabic stems. The following list shows the tri-literal stems which have at present been determined, and indicates both the systematic character of these stems and also the pairing or grouping spoken of above. In some cases the meaning of the stem is yet uncertain, owing to the small number of instances in which it occurs. Tri-literal stems, as a rule, take modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

- bak*- to detach a flat thing; -*bek*-(?); -*bök*-(?)
- bal*- to mark, paint
- bas*- to sweep(?); -*bis*- to live, stay; *bus*(?)
- bat*- to break; -*bot*- to break
- dak*- to detach a flat thing; -*dek*- to make hole
- dam*- to give
- dip*- to slide
- dis*- to slide
- das*- to split
- dat*-(?); -*dot*- to overturn; -*dut*-(?)
- hak*- to tear; -*huk*- to whistle(?)
- hal*- to lie, cheat; -*hul*-(?)
- hap*- to move with friction; -*hop*- to move with friction; -*höp*- to stretch; -*hup*-(?)
- has*- to slide; -*hes*- to scratch; -*his*- to make basket; -*hös*- to scare(?) -*hus*-(?)
- kal*-(?); -*kel*- to perforate; -*kol*- to bore(?); -*köl*- to roll; -*kul*-(?)
- kap*- to move with friction(?); -*kop*- to move with friction(?); -*köp*-(?)
- kes*-(?)
- kat*- to strike; -*ket*- to graze; -*kot*- to divide; -*kut*- to divide
- lak*-(?); -*lek*-(?); -*lok*-(?); -*lök*- to creep; -*luk*- to creep

- lol-* to cry
- lap-* to crawl (?); -*lep-* (?); -*lip-* to cry out; -*lop-* to move with friction (?)
- los-* (?)
- mak-* to know, count, measure
- mal-* (?)
- not-* to bend
- pok-* to strike; -*pök-* to shake (?)
- pel-* to perforate; -*pol-* dislocate; -*pul-* dislocate, remove
- pin-* to hear
- pes-* to crumble
- pat-* (?); -*pit-* (?)
- sal-* (?); -*sil-* to shake
- tul-* to break flat thing
- tek-* to jump (?); -*tsik-* (?)
- töm-* (?)
- tap-* to squeeze (?); -*top-* to break; -*töp-* to jump; *tup-* to break
- tsap-* to tear, rip
- tas-* to slap (?); -*tes-* to strip off; -*tos-* (?); -*tös-* (?); -*tus-* to break
- tsot-* to rip off
- usu-* to rub
- wak-* to cry out
- yak-* to crush; -*yok-* to strike
- yal-* to split; -*gol-* to break; -*yul-* to rip, split
- yat-* (?)

Bi-literal and uni-literal stems of this first type are quite numerous, and a partial list is here given. They are distinguished from the tri-literal stems as a rule, by the fact that they rarely take any modifying stems or true prefixes before them.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>ā-</i> to say | <i>mō-</i> to drink |
| <i>a-</i> to be (auxiliary verb) | <i>mō-</i> to shoot |
| <i>ap-</i> to slip, slide | <i>o-</i> (?) |
| <i>bō-</i> to blow | <i>ō-</i> to go, travel |
| <i>bōi-</i> to leach acorns | <i>pē-</i> to eat |
| <i>bū-</i> to stink | <i>pū-</i> to sew |
| <i>dī-</i> to swell | - <i>tau-</i> to twist (?) |
| <i>dō-</i> to bite, seize with teeth | <i>tō-</i> to burn |
| <i>hī-</i> to smell (?) | - <i>tōi-</i> to divide in strips |
| <i>hōi-</i> to spread apart (?) | <i>tse-</i> to see |
| <i>kai-</i> to fly | - <i>tsoi-</i> to bend |
| <i>k'ai-</i> to be called, named | - <i>yau-</i> to break flat thing |
| <i>kō-</i> to have, possess (?) | <i>yō-</i> (?) |
| <i>kōi-</i> (?) | - <i>yu-</i> (?) |
| <i>mē-</i> to take, seize | |

Special mention ought to be made, in speaking of stems of this type, of the connectives. The simple connective **AND**, indicated by *kan*, has already been referred to in speaking of the unchangeable stems. All other connectives seem to be formed from the auxiliary verb *a* **TO BE**, by the addition of various verbal suffixes. A list of these connectives, any of which may take the simple connective *kan* as an additional suffix, follows:

ado'm so, thus

amē't but

amō'ni then

atse t the whiles, at this time

awē'bisim continually

awē'te then

Verbal stems which, although dissyllabic, yet appear to be unanalyzable, are not nearly as numerous as the other types. Some of the more common ones follow:

hē'no- to die

kōlō'- to rotate

o'nkoi- to conquer

ōpē'- (?)

pedū'- to steal, to answer

-pōi'li- to roll

-tala- to crush

-tibil- to wind around

wile'- to run

wō'nō- to die

Verbal stems of the second type have already been discussed in §§ 11-13, and need not therefore be taken up in detail here again. The *h*, *w*, and *y* series seem to be the clearest and least doubtful, and to offer the fewest apparent exceptions. The *h* series is quite puzzling; the *i* form (*hi-*), having no apparent relation to the others in the series in meaning, falling as it does into the class of pure prefixes, indicating parts of the body. The *e* and *u* forms (*he-* and *hu-*) are also very irregular. Although the characteristic feature of these stems is, that while they are most commonly used to modify another stem as a prefix, they may yet themselves stand as independent stems on occasion, there are one or more in each series which can not so stand independently, it seems. The reasons for this exception are not yet clear.

TEXT

Sō'tim ¹ One	nenō'mmaidūm ² old people	bū'sstsoia. ³ lived, it is said.	Wiso'tpini ⁴ Big Springs	he'nantē ⁵ on this side of
ku'mmenim ⁶ houseless ones	hōbo'kōdom ⁷ bark hut owning	mai'sem ⁸ they	bū'sstsoia. ³ lived, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and
pākūpem ¹¹ daughter pos- sessing person	nenō'mmaidūm ² old people	matsoi'am. ¹² it is related.	Amā'dikan ¹³ There and	mō'ñ ¹⁴ she
kūlē'm ¹⁵ girl	bū'sstsoia. ³ lived, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and	matsoi'am ¹² it is related	ōpē'kanbenini' ¹⁶ always

¹ sō'tim ONE (-m subjective).

² nenō'mmaidūm OLD PEOPLE; ne'no, ne'nope the usual adjective used for referring to animate things, and standing for OLD PERSON if unaccompanied by a noun; -m the connective, euphonic consonant used in forming compound nouns, etc.; mai'dū MAN, INDIAN, perhaps from root mai- TO SPEAK; -m the suffix of the subjective case.

³ bū'sstsoia LIVED (from the stem būs-, bis- TO LIVE, TO REMAIN, TO CONTINUE IN ONE PLACE); -soi- verbal suffix indicating completed action, quotative, i. e., the knowledge is not obtained by the experience of the speaker, but comes to him merely by hearsay; -a the usual suffix of the third person, -a (-kaa). is rarely used with -soi. This may be a contraction from -soi-an(?).

⁴ wiso'tpini a place known locally as Big Springs, one of the main sources of the North Fork of Feather river, in Big Meadows, Plumas county, California. I am unable to analyze this name satisfactorily.

⁵ he'nantē ON THIS SIDE OF. Analyzable as follows: he- a demonstrative stem (confined chiefly to the northwestern dialect) meaning THIS; -nan- the nominal locative suffix meaning FROM; -tē probably from -di, the general locative suffix AT, IN, etc.; hence the whole meaning THIS-FROM-AT, A SPOT BETWEEN THIS AND THE ONE SPOKEN OF.

⁶ ku'mmenim A HOUSELESS PERSON; kum- the name applied to the semi-subterranean, circular, earth-covered lodges; -men the negative or privative suffix; to this is then added a euphonic i, and finally the subjective suffix -m.

⁷ hōbo'kōdom OWNING A BARK HUT; hōbo' the conical bark huts in which the poorer people lived; kōdō seems to be used as synonymous with DWELLING. ANY SORT OF A SHELTER OR HOUSE; -kō a suffix very commonly used, indicating the quality of possessing, hence hōbo' kō HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING A BARK HUT; -do the suffix of the present participle; -m the subjective suffix. The whole might be rendered OWNERS OF A BARK HUT.

⁸ mai'sem THEY. This is apparently a form synonymous with mō'sem or mōi'sem. The final m is the subjective suffix.

⁹ amā'ñkan AND THAT ONE; amā' the demonstrative pronoun THAT, referring to the old people, here in the subjective case amā'm, the m being changed to ñ before k, in accordance with the regular rule (see § 4. -kan AND).

¹⁰ sō'ti ONE. Here in objective case (cf. note 1).

¹¹ pākūpem A PERSON HAVING A DAUGHTER; pā, po DAUGHTER; -kū the same as -kō, the suffix meaning HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING; -pe the suffix used generally to form the nomen actoris, etc.; -m the subjective suffix.

¹² matsoi'am IT IS RELATED. This frequently appearing form seems to come from a verbal stem ma- TO RELATE, TO TELL; -soi- the quotative suffix of completed action; -a the suffix of the third person, generally used with -soi. The use of -m here is as yet not clear.

¹³ amā'dikan AND AT THAT PLACE; amā' demonstrative pronoun THAT; -di the locative suffix AT; -kaa the conjunction AND.

¹⁴ mō'ñ THE, THAT. The independent form of the third personal pronoun. This is used very frequently almost as a demonstrative. Here mō'ñ, instead of mōm, because of the following k.

¹⁵ kūlē m WOMAN, GIRL (here subjective).

¹⁶ ōpē'kanbenini' EVERY TIME, ALWAYS. It is difficult as yet to analyze this completely or satisfactorily; ōpē' occurring alone means ALL; -kan seems to be derived from kani, meaning also ALL, EACH, EVERY; -be is the same as -pe (the p changing to b after n); the final suffix -nini appears to have a temporal significance; as also in lē'wonini ONCE IN A WHILE (from lē'wo SOME).

kūlū'nanamōnihēhē' ¹⁷ evening-toward-when- almost	piyē'tonokōm ¹⁸ one who went bathing	sō'tim ¹⁹ one	kūlū'nanamaā't ²⁰ evening-toward
wonō'mentsoia. ²¹ missed-not, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and	tū'itsoia. ²² slept, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ nēdī'ustsoia. ²³ That one and dreamed for her- self, it is said.
Nēdī'wēbissim ²⁴ Dreaming kept on	kakā'nim ²⁵ every	pō ²⁶ night	nēdī'wēbissim ²⁴ mōpi'kno ²⁷ dreaming kept on same one
nēdī'dom ²⁸ dreaming	nēdī'ustsoia. ²³ dreamed for her- self, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ That one and	piyē'tonotsoia. ²⁹ bathing went, it is said.
Piyē'tonopeñkan ³⁰ One who has gone bathing and	oki'tmenpem ³¹ one not returning	ē'kdatsoia. ³² it dawned, it is said.	Amā'ñkan ⁹ bē'nektō ³³ That one and morning in

¹⁷ **kūlū'nanamōnihēhē'** WHEN IT WAS ALMOST DUSK; **kūlū'** is the usual term for EVENING, the early part of the night; **-nana-** a reduplicated form of the locative suffix **-na**, meaning TOWARD; **-mōni** a temporal suffix with the force of WHEN, AFTER; **hēhē'** a suffix of somewhat uncertain meaning, usually indicating doubtfulness or approximation.

¹⁸ **piyē'tonokōm** ONE WHO WENT BATHING (from **piyē'**, **piyē'to-** TO SWIM OR BATHE); **-no** is probably merely the verbal suffix of generalized motion, although it may perhaps be a contraction from **ō'no-** TO GO, TO TRAVEL, hence TO GO TO BATHE; **-kō** the suffix indicating HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING; **-m** the subjective suffix, this agreeing in case with the **amā'm** in **amā'ñkan**.

¹⁹ **sō'tim** ONE. It is not clear whether this refers to the girl or to the evening. It is probably, however, the former, as, if it meant ONE EVENING, the close connection of the two words would lead to the change of the **-m** to **-ā**.

²⁰ **kūlū'nanamaā't**. The first portion of this is identical with the first portion of the word in note 17. The final suffix is, however, a rather puzzling one. It would seem to mean INDEED, THUS, but its use is obscure.

²¹ **wonō'mentsoia** DID NOT LOSE, MISS; **wonō'** seems to mean TO LOSE, TO MISS, and must be distinguished carefully from **wō'no**, which means TO DIE. The **-tsōi** is the usual quotative, completed action, with the suffixed form of the third personal pronoun.

²² **tū'itsoia** SLEPT (from the stem **tū't-** TO SLEEP); **-tsōia** (see above).

²³ **nēdī'ustsoia** DREAMED FOR HERSELF, IT IS SAID; **nēdī'** is A DREAM, **nēdī'm-maidū** is A DREAMER, one of the two classes of shamans. The use of the reflexive suffix **-us** here is not wholly clear. It probably means SHE DREAMED FOR HERSELF. This construction—a participle followed by a verb, or a continuative followed by a verb—is one of the most frequent.

²⁴ **nēdī'wēbissim** KEPT DREAMING. The reflexive is not used in this case. The suffix **-bissim** is formed from the verbal stem **bis-** TO REMAIN, TO CONTINUE, and is the usual continuative suffix employed, giving the sense of TO KEEP ON. It is very generally joined to the verbal stem by **-wē**, which is of uncertain meaning.

²⁵ **kakā'nim** EVERY. A reduplicated form of **kani'm** EACH, ALL.

²⁶ **pō** NIGHT. This term is generally used in reference to the whole period of darkness, or, if restricted, applies more to the middle of the night. **pō'esto** MIDNIGHT.

²⁷ **mōpi'kno** THAT SAME ONE; **mō** is the independent form of the third personal pronoun. The suffix **-pi'kno** seems to be an intensive, and to mean THE SAME, THE VERY. It is here objective.

²⁸ **nēdī'dom** DREAMING (here the present participle, formed with **-dom**).

²⁹ **piyē'tonotsoia** WENT TO BATHE, IT IS SAID (cf. note 18).

³⁰ **piyē'tonopeñkan** THE ONE WHO HAD GONE BATHING; **piyē'tono-** cf. note 18; **peñg** the suffix of the nomen actoris, **-pem** becoming **-peñ** before **k**; the suffix **-kan** is the common connective.

³¹ **oki'tmenpem** ONE NOT RETURNING, **oki't-** meaning TO RETURN, TO ARRIVE AT A PLACE. Analyzable, perhaps, into **o-** (an hypothetical verbal stem connected with **ō-** TO GO) and **-kit** the regular directive suffix meaning DOWN, DOWN TO. We have, in addition, **-men** the negative, and **-pe** the suffix of the nomen actoris, with the subjective **-m**.

³² **ē'kdatsoia** IT DAWNED. The verbal form **ekda-** is related closely to **eki'** DAY.

³³ **bē'nektō** IN THE MORNING (sometimes merely **bē'nek**). The suffix **-to** in use here is obscure. It occurs in a number of similar cases, with apparently a temporal meaning.

makō' ³⁴ fish	halā'pweten ³⁵ carried having	ōsi'pindom ³⁶ coming out of toward house.	oki'tsoia. ³⁷ Arrived, it is said.	Mōbē'ikōna ³⁸ Her father to
bohū'isitotsoia. ³⁹ handed over to, it is said.	Awete'nkan ⁴⁰ Thus having been and	bū'sstsoia. ³ stayed it is said.	Bōdoi'kinūdōm ⁴¹ Sitting on ground	bū'sstsoia ¹ remained, it is said.
Amā'm ⁴² That one	mayā'ken ⁴³ say they	tsai'men ⁴⁴ by and by	tseme'npe(m) ⁴⁵ one unseen	oki'tkōtsoia ⁴⁶ arriving-quality had, it is said.
Pū'yanan ⁴⁷ Outside, from	mayā'ken ⁴³ it was	okō'kōinpintsoia. ⁴⁸ head lowered down to- ward, gradually, it is said.	A'ñkanim ⁴⁹ Then	mayā'ken ⁴³ it was

³⁴ *makō'* FISH (here objective).

³⁵ *halā'pweten* HAVING CARRIED. We have here the use of one of the troublesome prefix-stems. *ha-* Taken by itself, *-lap-* is a verbal stem signifying TO CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, OR TO SIT, KNEES ON GROUND. Combined with *ha-*, it means TO CARRY, perhaps TO DRAG, generally by a cord or rope, here CARRYING FISH ON A STRING. The suffix *-weten* is a temporal suffix meaning AFTER HAVING.

³⁶ *ōsi'pindom* COMING OUT OF TOWARD THE HOUSE. The verbal stem here is *ō-* TO GO, TO TRAVEL to which are added two directive suffixes, *-si* OUT OF (THE WATER), and *-pin* TOWARD. In *-dom* we have the regular present participle.

³⁷ *oki'tsoia* ARRIVED, CAME BACK. *Okī-* cf. note 31. While this is sometimes heard *oki'ttsoia*, as a rule the second *t* is elided.

³⁸ *mōbē'ikōna* HER FATHER TO. With relationship terms, the simple third personal pronoun is often used in place of the regular possessive case, as here we have *mō-* instead of *mōki'*. *Bē'ikō* FATHER is apparently analyzable into *bē'i-*, a stem meaning AGAIN, ANOTHER (*bē'im* AGAIN; *bē'idō* ANOTHER; *bē'at* NEW), and the familiar suffix *-kō* HAVING THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING. The final suffix *-na* is the locative suffix meaning TOWARD, expressing the motion of the gift from the girl to her father.

³⁹ *bohū'isitotsoia* HANDED OVER TO, IT IS SAID. In *bo-* another of the prefix-stems appears. This usually seems to signify ACTIONS DONE WITH A BULKY OR ROUND OBJECT. Its application here is obscure, unless the fist is thought of as a bulky thing, in which the string on which the fish are strung is held. The main stem, *-hū-*, is uncertain in its meaning, this being the only place where it occurs. In conjunction with *bo-*, however, it has the meaning given above. The suffix *-tso* is one of the directive verbal suffixes, meaning ACROSS, OVER.

⁴⁰ *awete'nkan* AND AFTER HAVING BEEN THUS. All conjunctions, except *kan* AND, are formed in Maidu from the auxiliary verb *a* TO BE. Here with the suffix *-wete(n)* we get the idea of sequence, usually expressed in English by AND THEN. The *-kan* is, of course, the simple conjunction AND.

⁴¹ *bōdoi'kinūdōm* SITTING. In this case the initial syllable *bō-* is in all probability the same prefix-stem which appeared in *bohū'isitotsoia*, in this case changed in accordance with some obscure vowel-harmony. *bō-* as a simple verbal stem means, on the other hand, TO BLOW, as the wind. The prefix-stem *bō-* here is used as a stem, taking the suffix *-doi*, a verbal directive meaning UPWARD, and often appears thus without further addition; as *bōdoi'tsoia* HE SAT. It is not clear how the idea of sitting comes from the elements *bō-* and *-doi*, unless we assume that the idea is of a round thing (the knees?) sticking up (as one sits on one's haunches). The suffix (or suffixes) *-kinū* is not clear. It is of quite frequent occurrence, but is still uncertain. *-dom* is the usual present participle.

⁴² *amā'm* THAT ONE (subjective form of the demonstrative).

⁴³ *mayā'ken* IT WAS. This frequently-appearing form seems to be derived from the stem *ma-* TO BE, with the suffix *-yak-*, which indicates past time.

⁴⁴ *tsai'men* AFTER A WHILE. Derived from *tsai* ANOTHER, and the suffix *-men*,—not the negative, with which it is identical in form, but a suffix indicating TIME OF, which is used in the names of seasons, etc. (*yō'men* SUMMER, FLOWER-TIME; *ku'mmen* WINTER, EARTH-LODGE-TIME, i. e., the period during which the people live in the earth-lodges).

⁴⁵ *tseme'npe(m)* ONE WHO IS NOT SEEN. The verbal stem here is *tse-* TO SEE, with the negative suffix *-men*, and the *-pe* of the nomen actoris. It would seem to mean, therefore, ONE NOT SEEING, but is emphatically declared, in this instance, to be passive. No formal distinction of the passive has yet been noted in Maidu.

⁴⁶ *oki'tkōtsoia* HAD THE QUALITY OF ARRIVING, IT IS SAID (from *okī-* TO ARRIVE, TO REACH; cf. note 31). The use of the suffix *-kō* has already been sufficiently explained.

⁴⁷ *pui'yanan* FROM OUTSIDE; *pui'ya* means, in general, THE OUTSIDE, WITHOUT THE HOUSE. The suffix *-nan* is the usual locative, meaning FROM, AWAY FROM.

⁴⁸ *okō'kōinpintsoia* LOWERED HEAD LITTLE BY LITTLE DOWN TOWARD, IT IS SAID. In this instance we have the use of the prefix *o-* indicating actions done with the head. The verbal stem is *-kōi-*, meaning TO LOWER, TO DEPRESS (*kōitsomo-* TO SET, as the sun, i. e., to go down over the edge of the world). The reduplication of the stem here indicates that the action took place slowly at intervals. The suffix *-pintsoia* is directive, meaning TOWARD. The *n* before the *p* is probably phonetic.

⁴⁹ *a'ñkanim* THEN. This is a connective formed from the stem *a-* and the suffix *-kanim*, meaning TO FINISH, COMPLETE AN ACTION.

lōkō'npinwēbissim ⁵⁰ crawling in kept	lōkō'npinwēbissim ⁵⁰ crawling in kept	tsā'nwono ⁵¹ one side	t!ōihā'dom ⁵³ coiling around
sāwo'nona ⁵³ fire behind towards	opi'tinodom ⁵⁴ filling up	pū'iyam ⁵⁵ door	i'nkina ⁵⁵ base to
		opi'tsipdom ⁵⁶ filling out.	Awete'n ⁵⁷ Then
mavā'ken ⁴³ it was	kūle'm ⁵⁸ girl	i'nkinan ⁵⁸ beside, from	ono'm ⁵⁹ head
			sō'ntsedōnūdom ⁶⁰ projecting
tsēkō'nwēbisstsoia ⁶¹ looking-straight continued, it is said.	Amā'm ⁴³ That one	bū'ssyatan ⁶² staid after having	lō'ksiptsoia ⁶³ crawled out, it is said.
Lo'ksipēbissim ⁶⁴ Crawling out continued	tsai'men ⁴⁴ by and by	lō'ksipbo'stsoia ⁶⁵ crawled wholly out, it is said.	A'nkanim ⁴⁹ Then
			mō'im ⁶⁶ he

⁵⁰ *lōkō'npinwēbissim* KEPT CRAWLING INTO, TOWARD. The main stem here is *lōk-* TO CRAWL ON HANDS AND KNEES, OR ON BELLY (*lō'kdoi'tsoia* CRAWLED UP). This stem is here apparently combined with *ōno* TO GO, TRAVEL (from *ō*, the simple verb of movement) to form a compound verb, TO GO CRAWLING. The suffix *-pin* is the regular directive meaning TOWARD, INTO (into the house, toward the girl), whereas the *-wēbissim* is the continuative already explained; cf. note 24.

⁵¹ *tsā'nwono* ON ONE SIDE OF THE HOUSE; *tsan-* is a stem referring to the side of anything, as *tsā'na* (*tsan'-na*) SIDEWAYS. The suffix *-wono* is somewhat puzzling. There is a verbal suffix apparently identical, indicating the past participle. Here, and again a few words farther on, it occurs in terms indicating the parts of the floor of the house.

⁵² *t!ōihā'dom* COILING AROUND. The verbal stem is here *t!ōi-* meaning TO COIL, TO TWIST, TO TURN, as in *o'nōtōlōikōm* ONE WHO IS CURLY-HEADED (*o'nō* HEAD). The force of *-da* is not known. The final suffix is the present participle *-dom*.

⁵³ *sāwo'nona* TOWARD THE PLACE OPPOSITE THE DOOR; *sā* is the term for FIRE; the area back of the fire, i. e., the other side of the fire from the door, is called *sāwo'no*, and is the place of honor. The final suffix *-na* is the locative, meaning TO, TOWARD.

⁵⁴ *opi'tinodom* FILLING UP. The stem *opi-*, meaning FULL, seems analyzable into *-pit-*, a stem entering into several verbal forms (as *hopi't-waitodom* FILLING AND BURSTING; *kapi'tdom* PINCHING SOMETHING LIKE A BERRY AND BURSTING IT), and a prefix (?) *o-* of uncertain meaning, possibly the prefix *o-* indicating actions done with the head (?). The suffix *-ino* following is probably *-no*, the suffix of generalized motion, with a euphonic *i*.

⁵⁵ *pū'iyam* *inkina* TO THE THRESHOLD; *pū'iya*, meaning really THE OUTSIDE AS CONTRASTED WITH THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE, is often used for THE DOOR, that which leads to the outside; *-inki* means THE BASE, BOTTOM, of a thing; *-na* is the locative TOWARD.

⁵⁶ *opi'tsipdom* FILLING IT OUT. The stem here is the same as above (note 54), with, however, a different suffix, *-sip*, meaning OUT OF, OUT FROM. The idea would seem to be that of filling the space so completely as to overflow, as it were.

⁵⁷ *awete'n* THEN; cf. note 40.

⁵⁸ *kūle'm* *i'nkinan* FROM BESIDE THE WOMAN. This should probably be written as two words, although in speech the two nouns are very closely run together. *Kūle'* is the usual term for WOMAN, and *-nan* the locative meaning FROM.

⁵⁹ *ono'm* HEAD (the subjective form with the *-m*).

⁶⁰ *sō'ntsedōnūdom* PROJECTING, STICKING UP. As yet not analyzed satisfactorily. *Sō-* appears in a number of verbs as a stem whose meaning is doubtful. The *-n* is probably euphonic, while *-tse* may be the common stem *tse-* TO SEE. The following suffixes appear to be *-dōi*, meaning UPWARD, and the vague suffix *-nū* or *-nō*, usually indicating simple motion (*sōwē'doitsoia* CRAWLED UPWARD; *sōwē'kadoidom* STANDING UPRIGHT).

⁶¹ *tsēkō'nwēbisstsoia* KEPT LOOKING STEADILY AT, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *tsē-* TO SEE, which, with the suffix *-kōn* (perhaps related to *-ko'i* AWAY), has the meaning TO LOOK AT, TO GAZE ON. The continuative suffix *-wē'biss* gives the idea of steadiness and fixity of gaze.

⁶² *bū'ssyatan* AFTER HAVING STAYED. The stem *būss-* has already been referred to. The suffix *-yatan* is best translated by AFTER HAVING.

⁶³ *lō'ksiptsoia* CRAWLED OUT, IT IS SAID. The stem *lōk-* has already been discussed. The suffix *-sip* OUT OF has also already been referred to in note 56.

⁶⁴ *lō'ksipēbissim* KEPT CRAWLING OUT. Here the continuative *-wē'bissim* is shortened to *-ēbissim*.

⁶⁵ *lō'ksipbo'stsoia* CRAWLED WHOLLY OUT. IT IS SAID. The suffix *-bo's* gives the idea always of thoroughness, completion (see § 20, no. 39).

⁶⁶ *mō'im* HE (in the subjective form).

mo'mna ⁶⁷ water to	ō'tnotsoia. ⁶⁸ went into, it is said.	Lō'kmitnowē'bissim ⁶⁹ Crawling down into continued	lō'kmitsoia. ⁷⁰ crawled down into, it is said.	Atse't ⁷¹ Meanwhile		
kūle'm ¹⁵ girl	bū'sstsoia. ³ stayed, it is said	ūnī'di ⁷² this-in	hōbā'di. ⁷ bark-hut-in	Tsai'men ⁴⁴ By and by	wē'yetsōia. ⁷³ spoke, it is said.	
“Ōkoi'tapō ⁷⁴ “Let us go away	ākā'nas ⁷⁵ said (he)	nikī'” ⁷⁶ me-to”	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said she, it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	“Hō” ⁷⁹ “All right.”	
ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (the father), it is said.	“Amā'm ⁴² “That one	be'nēk ³³ to-morrow	ōnō'mākasi ⁸⁰ go-shall-I	bē'nek ³³ to-morrow	ōnō'tapō ⁸¹ go away, let us.	
ākā'nas ⁷⁵ said (he)	nik' ⁸² me-to,”	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said she, it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	mōm ⁸³ he	ne'nommai'dūm ⁸⁴ old man	“Hē'ū” ⁸⁵ “Yes.”
ōnō'benē ⁸⁵ go-ought	sāi' ⁸⁶ ?”	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	tsai'men ⁴⁴ by and by	bū'ssyatan ⁸⁷ stayed after having	

⁶⁷ *mo'mna* TO THE WATER; *mo'mi* IS WATER. The terminal euphonic *i* is dropped always before locative suffixes such as this; *-na* TOWARD.

⁶⁸ *ō'tnotsoia* WENT INTO, IT IS SAID. The stem here, *ōt-*, is apparently a derived stem from the common *ō-* TO GO. (May not this be a contraction from *ōmit-* TO GO DOWN INTO?) The addition of the suffix *-as* of generalized motion does not seem to add strength.

⁶⁹ *lō'kmitnowē'bissim* KEPT CRAWLING DOWN INTO. We have here the suffix *-mit*, meaning INTO, DOWN INTO A HOLE, CAVITY, ETC., which, it was suggested, may appear in contracted form in the preceding verb. Again, the addition of the suffix *-no* seems to add little, although here perhaps emphasizing the continuity of the motion. In *-wē'bissim* we have, of course, the usual continuative.

⁷⁰ *lō'kmitsoia* CRAWLED DOWN INTO, IT IS SAID. Here *-mit-soia* coalesces to *-mitsōia*.

⁷¹ *atse't* MEANWHILE. A connective formed from the auxiliary verb *a-* TO BE by the temporal suffix *-set*, meaning WHILE, AT THE TIME WHEN.

⁷² *ūnī'di* IN THIS; *ūnī'* IS THE demonstrative indicating objects near the speaker; *-di* IS THE locative suffix meaning AT, IN, ON.

⁷³ *wē'yetsōia* SPOKE. Of the many verbs of speaking or saying, *wē'yen* is one of the most commonly used. The stem is in reality *wē-*, often reduplicated as *wē'wē-*. The suffix *-ye* is one of those verbal suffixes of so general a meaning that no definite translation can be given for them.

⁷⁴ *ōkoi'tapō* LET US GO AWAY. Here *ō-* TO GO IS the stem, to which is added the directive suffix *-tai* AWAY FROM; a further suffix, *-ta*, which generally seems to indicate motion upward or along the surface of something; and finally the exhortative suffix *-pō*.

⁷⁵ *ākā'nas* SAID. The stem *a-* TO SAY IS probably related to the stem *ma-* of similar meaning. The suffix *-kan* is the ending of the third person of a verbal form (see § 19, no. 30). The terminal *-as* is the indication of the perfect tense, here suffixed directly to the verbal form, and not standing independent (see § 19, no. 32).

⁷⁶ *nikī'* (TO) ME. Instead of the more usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun, *mī*, what is apparently an emphatic form is here used, distinguished from the possessive *nī'ki* by a different accent and long terminal *i*.

⁷⁷ *ātsoi'a* SAID, IT IS SAID. The stem *ā-* TO SAY here takes the regular quotative past-tense suffix. Instead of the usual ending of the third person, *-a*, as here, the form *ātsoi'kan* is sometimes used. As compared with *ākā'nas* above, the position of the tense and pronominal suffixes is reversed.

⁷⁸ *amō'ni* THEN. Another connective formed from the auxiliary with the suffix *-mōai*, apparently best translated by WHEN; hence WHEN IT WAS SO.

⁷⁹ *hō* WELL! ALL RIGHT! YES!

⁸⁰ *ōnō'mākasi* I SHALL GO. Here, from the stem *ō-*, the general verb TO GO, TO TRAVEL, *ōnō-* IS formed of which the form given is the first person singular of the future, the *-mā* being the suffix of the future tense, the *-ka* a suffix still somewhat obscure (see § 19, no. 30), and the *-si* (the suffix of the first person singular).

⁸¹ *ōnō'tapō* LET US GO (a form parallel to *ōkoi'tapō* [see note 74], but formed from *ōnō-*).

⁸² *nik* (TO) ME. Here the usual form of the objective of the first personal pronoun is used, instead of the emphatic *nikī'* (see note 76).

⁸³ *mōm* HE (THE). The subjective form of the third personal pronoun singular, used here as a demonstrative.

⁸⁴ *hē'ū* YES!

⁸⁵ *ōnō'benē* OUGHT TO GO. The suffix *-ben* or *-benē* conveys the idea of MUST, OUGHT.

⁸⁶ *sai'* (?) I am unable to explain this.

tū'itsoia. ⁸⁷ slept, it is said.	Amā'm ⁴² That one	bē'nekto ³³ morning in	momī' ⁸⁸ water	hēnō'tsoia. ⁸⁹ went to get, it is said.	Amā'm ⁴² That one		
mō'i ⁶⁶ him	mōki' ⁹⁰ her	ye'pi ⁹¹ husband	tsētsoi'a. ⁹² saw, it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	makō' ³⁴ fish	pī'luti ⁹³ many-very	mē'tsoia. ⁹⁴ gave, it is said.
Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	tsā'nan ⁹⁵ on one side	momī' ⁸⁸ water	hēdoi'wet ⁹⁶ carried up having	tsā'nan ⁹⁵ on other side	makō' ³⁴ fish	sō'doi- carried	
tsoia. ⁹⁷ up in arms, it is said.	Oki'tweten ⁹⁸ Arrived after having	momī' ⁸⁸ water	sō'kitsoia. ⁹⁹ set down, it is said.	A'nkanim ⁴⁹ Then	makō' ³⁴ fish		
ha'psitotsoia. ¹⁰⁰ passed across (through), it is said.	Amō'ni ⁷⁸ Then	mē'datotsoia. ¹⁰¹ took, it is said.	Amā'm ⁴² That one	bē'nekto ³³ morning in			
tsedā'bosim ¹⁰² breakfasted completely	kani'm ¹⁰³ all	bū'sstsoia. ³ remained, it is said.	Atse't ⁷¹ Meanwhile	lōkō'npintsoia. ¹⁰⁴ crawled in toward, it is said.			
A'nkanim ⁴⁹ Then	mōka'ndi ¹⁰⁵ same place at	tlo'i'kitsoia. ¹⁰⁶ coiled up, it is said.	Sāwo'nonaki ¹⁰⁷ Farther side's	opi'tinodom ⁵⁴ filling up			

⁸⁷ *tū'itsoia* SLEPT (from the stem *tū't-* TO SLEEP). This presumably refers to the girl only, although of course it might mean all the persons in the hut.

⁸⁸ *momī'* WATER. The objective retains the euphonic *i* (see note 67).

⁸⁹ *hēno'tsoia* WENT TO GET. As it stands, this is obscure. It seems possible, however, that it was misheard for *hanō'tsoia*, especially in view of the occurrence of the form *hēdoi'* two lines beyond, which has the same meaning as the more usual *hādoi'*. It is also possible that *hē-* is really correct, and is the equivalent of *ha-*, in accordance with the system of vowel-shifts in prefix-stems. In either event, the analysis is not easy, as *ha-* seems to mean ACTIONS PERFORMED WITH THE BACK OR SHOULDER. With *-no*, the suffix of motion, it seems to be specialized to mean GOING FOR THE PURPOSE OF CARRYING (ON THE SHOULDER?). The more general use of *hē-* as a prefix-stem is to indicate actions that occur spontaneously.

⁹⁰ *mōki'* HER. This is the regular possessive form of the third personal pronoun in the singular, with the suffix *-ki* (cf. note 66).

⁹¹ *ye'pi* HUSBAND (objective).

⁹² *tsētsoi'a* SAW, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *tsē-*, the usual form for TO SEE.

⁹³ *pī'luti* VERY MANY; *pī* alone means MANY, MUCH; *-luti* is an intensive suffix equivalent to the English VERY.

⁹⁴ *mē'tsoia* GAVE. TO GIVE, TO HAND TO, TO TAKE, is expressed by the stem *mē-*.

⁹⁵ *tsā'nan* ON ONE SIDE (literally, FROM ONE SIDE *tsān-nan*), ON THE OTHER SIDE. *Tān'nan* . . . *tsā'nan* ON THIS SIDE . . . ON THAT SIDE.

⁹⁶ *hēdoi'wet* HAVING CARRIED UP (from water). The more usual form is *hādoi'* - TO CARRY UP, generally on shoulder (see note 89). The suffix *-wet* here apparently gives the idea of sequence, in that, after having taken up in one hand or on one side the water, she then took up the load of fish in the other.

⁹⁷ *sō'doitsoia* CARRIED UP IN ARMS. The prefix-stem *sō-* generally indicates that the action is done with the arms; as *sō'doidom* CARRYING WOOD UP; *sōhā'nōyewē'biastim* KEPT LIFTING HIM ABOUT. The *-doi* shows that the motion was up from the water toward the house.

⁹⁸ *oki'tweten* AFTER HAVING ARRIVED (at the house). See notes 31, 35.

⁹⁹ *sō'kitsoia* SET DOWN, IT IS SAID. Here again the prefix-stem *sō-* appears, this time with the suffix *-kit*, meaning DOWNWARD, i. e., action with arms downward, laying down whatever is being carried.

¹⁰⁰ *ha'psitotsoia* PASSED ACROSS, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *hap-*, meaning TO SEIZE, TO GRIP, TO HOLD FIRMLY; with the suffix *-sito* ACROSS, THROUGH, it comes to mean TO HAND OVER TO SOME ONE, ACROSS OR THROUGH AN OPENING, FIRE, ETC.

¹⁰¹ *mē'datotsoia* TOOK, IT IS SAID. The stem here is *mē-*, apparently meaning both TO GIVE and TO TAKE(?). The use of *-da* here is not clear entirely. It often means MOTION DOWNWARD, and may here mean HE TOOK DOWN, as the girl passed the fish to him through the smoke hole or doorway. The suffix *-to* is probably here indicative of a plural object; namely, the many fish (see § 21, no. 45).

¹⁰² *tseda'bosim* WHOLLY BREAKFASTED; *tseda* is TO BREAKFAST. The suffix *-bos* has already been alluded to as meaning WHOLLY, COMPLETELY. In the present instance an adjectival form seems to have been made. It is subjective as referring to THEY.

¹⁰³ *kani'm* ALL (subjective).

¹⁰⁴ *lōkō'npintsoia* CRAWLED IN TOWARD (he) (see note 50).

¹⁰⁵ *mōka'ndi* AT THE SAME SPOT; *mōka'ni* is always given the meaning of THE SAME.

¹⁰⁶ *tlo'i'kitsoia* COILED UP ON GROUND, IT IS SAID. The stem *tlo'i-* meaning TO COIL, TO TWIST, has already been discussed (see note 52); here, with the suffix *-kit* DOWN, ON THE GROUND, it is clearer than before with *-ha*.

¹⁰⁷ *sāwo'nonaki* FARTHER SIDE'S. As explained before (note 53), *sāwo'no* is the term applied to the portion of the house opposite the door. With this we have here the locative suffix *-na*, meaning TOWARD, and the possessive suffix *-ki*. This use of the possessive is curious, and it would seem that some word like SPACE, AREA, ought to be understood.

pū'īyanaki ¹⁰⁸ doorward	opi'tsiptsoia. ¹⁰⁹ filled completely, it is said.	Awete'nkan ⁴⁰ Then and	bē'ibōm ¹¹⁰ again	mō'īn ¹¹¹ she (the)
kūlē'm ¹⁵ girl	i'nkinan ¹¹² beside-from	tsēkō'nwēbisstsoia. ⁶¹ looked straight continually, it is said.	Awete'nkan ⁴⁰ Then and	
tī'ktena bū'ssdom ¹¹³ little while staying	bū'ssweten ¹¹⁴ staying after	lō'ksiptsoia. ⁶³ crawled out, it is said.	Lō'ksipēbissim ⁴ Crawling out kept	
lō'ksipbo'stsoia. ⁶⁵ crawled wholly out, it is said.	A'nkanim ⁴⁰ Then	lōkdō'nutsoia. ¹¹⁵ crawled up, it is said		
Hanō'leknanteñkā'doidi ¹¹⁶ Honey Lake from country in	amā'nantena ¹¹⁷ that from toward	ōno'doitsoia. ¹¹⁸ went off up, it is said.		
Amō'nikan ¹¹⁹ Then and	mō'īn ¹¹¹ she (the)	kūlē'm ¹⁵ girl	wē'yetssoia. ⁷³ spoke, it is said.	"Sū ¹²⁰ Well!"
ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (she), it is said.	Amō'nikan ¹¹⁹ Then and	mō'im ⁶⁶ he (the)	nenō'm ¹²³ old man	"Hē'ū" ⁸⁴ "Yes"
"Ettū' ¹²³ "Stop!"	min ¹²⁴ (for) you	basā'kō ¹²⁵ staff	yā'tisi" ¹²⁶ make-I"	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.
basā'kō ¹²⁵ staff	yā'titsoia. ¹²⁶ made, it is said.	A'nkaninākan ¹²⁷ Then and	pīwī' ¹²⁸ roots (magic)	kan ¹²⁹ and

¹⁰⁸ pū'īyanaki DOORWARD. A similar construction to that in note 107. For pū'īya, see note 55.

¹⁰⁹ opi'tsiptsoia FILLED UP COMPLETELY, IT IS SAID (see note 54).

¹¹⁰ bē'ibōm AGAIN (from the stem bē'i- meaning AGAIN, ANOTHER, and the suffix -bō of unknown meaning).

¹¹¹ mō'īn SHE (THAT ONE). Subjective of the third personal pronoun singular, here used as demonstrative. Phonetic change of -m to -ā before k.

¹¹² i'nkinan FROM BESIDE; *inkt*, meaning BASE, with the locative suffix -nan, meaning FROM.

¹¹³ tī'ktena bū'ssdom STAYING A LITTLE WHILE; *tiklē* alone has the meaning of SLIGHTLY, SOMEWHAT, A LITTLE; *tī'ktena* has a temporal meaning, A LITTLE WHILE (is this -na the locative?); the verbal stem is būss- TO STAY, TO REMAIN, and has here the present-participle suffix.

¹¹⁴ bū'ssweten AFTER STAYING (from the same stem būss-, with the common suffix -sweten, meaning AFTER, AFTER HAVING).

¹¹⁵ lōkdō'nutsoia CRAWLED UP, IT IS SAID. The directive suffix -dōn here also has the general suffix of motion -no (-nū).

¹¹⁶ Hanō'leknanteñkā'doidi IN THE HONEY LAKE REGION. It is not clear yet whether Hanō'lek is merely the Indian pronunciation of the English name, or a real Indian name itself, of which the English name is a corruption. The suffix -nan is the usual locative FROM, apparently meaning THIS SIDE FROM, i. e., between here and Honey lake. The -te is a suffix of uncertain meaning, apparently nominalizing the locative form preceding it. The -ā is from -m before k, and is the connective. Kā'dō, kodo, is the usual term for PLACE, COUNTRY, WORLD, and frequently takes a euphonic i before the locative -di AT, IN.

¹¹⁷ amā'nantena THAT PLACE FROM TOWARD; amā' the demonstrative THAT, with the locative -nan FROM, meaning THIS SIDE OF THAT PLACE, i. e., between there and here; the same suffix -te, as in the preceding word; and finally the locative (exactly the reverse of -nan) -na TOWARD, i. e., the snake crawled off toward some spot between here and Honey lake.

¹¹⁸ ōno'doitsoia WENT OFF UP, IT IS SAID; ōno- TO TRAVEL, TO GO; -dot the directive UPWARD (north is apparently always up to these Maidu).

¹¹⁹ amō'nikan AND THEN.

¹²⁰ sū WELL! (an exclamation).

¹²¹ ōnō'si I AM GOING (from the stem ōno- TO GO, TO TRAVEL). Here the suffix of the first person singular is suffixed directly to verbal stem, without the -ka which is generally used (see § 19, no. 30).

¹²² nenō'm OLD MAN. Here apparently refers to one or other of the parents; from context later, this seems to be FATHER. See note 2.

¹²³ ettū' STOP A MOMENT! WAIT!

¹²⁴ min FOR YOU. The objective form of the independent second personal pronoun.

¹²⁵ basā'kō A CANE, STAFF. This appears to be from a stem bas-, which seems to mean WIDE SPREADING, SPREADING APART, from which, with the suffix -kō, we have THAT WHICH HAS THE QUALITY OF POSSESSING WIDE SPREAD, i. e., a staff, with which one spreads out one's support. Here objective.

¹²⁶ yā'tisi I AM MAKING. The stem yā- means TO CREATE, TO MAKE (Kō'doydperm THE EARTH-MAKER, CREATOR), and, with the causative -ti, seems to mean about the same, TO PREPARE, TO MAKE. Here, again, we have the suffix of the first personal pronoun singular, without the usual suffix preceding, ka.

¹²⁷ a'nkaninākan AND THEN.

¹²⁸ pīwī' ROOTS (objective).

¹²⁹ kan AND.

basā'kōmostsū'mdi ¹³⁰ staff (cane) end-on	widā'tpaitsoia. ¹³¹ tied-to, it is said.	"Ūni" ¹³² This	ōdi'knodom ¹³³ arriving
o'lolokdi ¹³⁴ smoke hole at	tō'sdadom ¹³⁵ standing up	tsēhē'hētsonoweten ¹³⁶ looking-over (into)-after having	wōdō'minodom ¹³⁷ throwing-into
wōdō'mkitmaā'nkano ¹³⁸ throw-down-you-shall	sāmō'estodi ¹³⁹ fireplace-centre-into"	ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	'Sikā'latset ¹⁴⁰ 'Bother-while (if)
min ¹²⁴ you	ō'hōni ¹⁴¹ something mysterious with	min ¹²⁴ you	opo'ktibōs ¹⁴² headache cause I may.
āā'nkano ¹⁴⁴ say-you"	ātsoia ⁷⁷ said (he), it is said.	Amō'nikan ¹¹⁹ Then and	"Hēū" ⁸⁴ "Yes"
Awete'nkan ⁴⁰ Then and	ōno'doitsoia. ¹¹⁸ went off up, it is said.		ātsoi'a. ⁷⁷ said (she), it is said.

¹³⁰ **basā'kōmostsū'mdi** ON THE END OF THE STAFF. **Basā'kō** STAFF; -*m* the connective; **ostsū'mi** THE END, POINT. The locative -*di* has the force of AT, ON.

¹³¹ **widā'tpaitsoia** TIED TO, IT IS SAID. The prefix-stem *wi-*, indicating actions done by force, generally by pulling, is here combined with the stem -*dat-*, which, in its more common form, -*dot-*, is of frequent occurrence. It has a meaning alone of TO KNOCK, apparently, but with *wi-* has the meaning TO TIE. The suffix -*pai* means AGAINST, UPON, i. e., to tie or affix to, on.

¹³² **ūni'** THIS (objective), the demonstrative pronoun.

¹³³ **ōdi'knodom** ARRIVING, WHEN YOU ARRIVE (from *ō-* TO GO, and -*dikno* AGAINST, UP AGAINST; hence TO REACH, TO ARRIVE); present participle suffix -*dom*.

¹³⁴ **o'lolokdi** AT THE SMOKE HOLE. From *o'loloko* is the smoke hole of the earth-covered lodge. The terminal euphonic vowel (here *o* instead of the more usual *i*, probably depending on vowel-harmony) is dropped before the locative -*di*.

¹³⁵ **tō'sdadom** STANDING UP (present participle). From *tōs-* a stem meaning TO STAND; the suffix -*da* indicates motion upward or position aloft; hence STANDING UP BY THE SMOKE HOLE.

¹³⁶ **tsēhē'hētsonoweten** AFTER HAVING LOOKED OVER INTO. From *tsē-*, the stem of the verb TO SEE, here with a suffix, -*hēhē*, which is obscure. The suffix -*sono*, however, is a common one, meaning OVER EDGE OF, OFF OVER DOWN; hence TO LOOK OVER THE EDGE OF THE SMOKE HOLE INTO THE HOUSE. The -*weten* is the common suffix indicating AFTER HAVING.

¹³⁷ **wōdō'minodom** THROWING DOWN INTO. The prefix-stem *wō-* here refers to the staff, as a long thing; *wōdō'm* meaning TO THROW OR DROP A LONG THING. The stem *dōm-* is obscure. The directive suffix -*mi*, meaning DOWN INTO A HOLE, HOLLOW, ETC., follows, with the -*no* of general motion, and the participial (present) suffix -*dom*.

¹³⁸ **wōdō'mkitmaā'nkano** YOU SHALL THROW DOWN. The same stem as above; *wōdōm* here takes the suffix -*kit*, meaning DOWNWARD, TO THE GROUND. The future suffix -*ma* follows, with the regular ending of the second person coming last (see § 28).

¹³⁹ **sāmō'estodi** IN THE CENTER OF THE FIREPLACE; *sā* is the term for FIRE; *sāmō'* THE FIREPLACE, apparently *sā-m-ō* FIRE-STONE; -*esto*, often used independently, means THE CENTER OR MIDDLE OF ANYTHING, here with the locative -*di*.

¹⁴⁰ **sikā'latset** WHILE, AT THE TIME WHEN HE BOTHERS; *sikā'la-* has the meaning of TO BOTHER, TO TROUBLE, TO HURT, its analysis is not yet clear; *si-* is a prefix of uncertain meaning (*si'kes-* TO COOK, *siket-* TO SEIZE, etc.). The stem -*kal-* is also troublesome. The temporal suffix -*set* here really gives the idea of WHENEVER, IF.

¹⁴¹ **ō'hōni** WITH SOMETHING MYSTERIOUS, BAD (magically); *ō'hō* is anything which is evil in its effects, or by magical means works harm to a person. The instrumental suffix -*ni* requires no explanation.

¹⁴² **opo'ktibōs** I MIGHT MAKE HEADACHE; *opo'k* is a HEADACHE (probably from *o-*, the prefix referring to the head; and -*pok-*, meaning TO STRIKE); *opo'kti-* TO CAUSE A HEADACHE. The suffix -*bō* corresponds to our English MIGHT, the -*s* being the suffix of the first person, without, in this case again, the -*ka*. This -*ka* is, however, never used, I believe, after -*bō*.

¹⁴³ **sikā'lamen** DON'T BOTHER, HURT (*sikā'l-*, cf. note 140). The negative -*men* is often used thus to indicate negative imperative.

¹⁴⁴ **āā'nkano** YOU SAY (from *ā-* TO SAY, with the regular ending of the second person).

[Translation]

There was an old couple. They lived just this side of Big Springs and, having no earth-lodge, lived in a bark hut. These old people had one daughter, who lived with them. Every evening, just at dusk, she always went bathing, and never missed a single night. One night she slept and dreamed of something; dreamed the same thing every night. Then one night she went bathing, but did not return. In the morning she came back, however, coming out of the water toward the house, carrying fish. She handed the fish to her father and then sat down. By and by a great snake came up unseen, lowered his head through the smoke hole, and crawled in. He kept crawling in and coiling around, till he filled all the space between the area back of the fire and the door on one side of the house; then, sticking his head up beside the girl, he looked steadily at her. After a while he began to crawl out, and, crawling entirely out, went down into the water and disappeared. Meanwhile the girl stayed in the house still. After a while she spoke, saying, "That person said to me, 'Let us go away.'" Then her father said, "All right."—"He said, 'I shall go to-morrow, let us go away to-morrow,'" said the girl. Then the old man replied, "Yes; you ought to go." Then they slept. In the morning the girl went to get water. She saw her husband the snake. He gave her a great quantity of fish. Then, carrying fish on one side and the water on the other, she came back to the house. When she arrived, she set the water down and passed the fish through the smoke hole to her father, who took them. That morning, after they had finished breakfast, the snake came again and coiled up in the same place as before. He looked straight at the girl, and then crawled out and went off toward the country between here and Honey lake. Then the girl spoke and said, "Well, I am going now." Then the old man said, "Yes." Then he added, "Stop a moment! I will make a cane for you." Then he made the cane and fastened magical roots to the end of it. "When you arrive at the snake's house, stand by the smoke hole and look over into the house and throw this staff into the center of the fire," he said. "'If you trouble me, I might make your head ache with something mysterious. Don't trouble me.' That is what you must say," he said. Then the girl answered, "All right." Then she went off up north, after the snake.

ALGONQUIAN
(FOX)

BY

WILLIAM JONES
(REVISED BY TRUMAN MICHELSON)

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ALGONQUIAN

(FOX)

By WILLIAM JONES

(Revised by TRUMAN MICHELSON)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The following sketch of the grammar of the Fox was written by Dr. William Jones in 1904. Shortly after the completion of the manuscript Doctor Jones was appointed by the Carnegie Institution of Washington to conduct investigations among the Ojibwa of Canada and the United States, and it was his intention to revise the Fox grammar on the basis of the knowledge of the Ojibwa dialect which he had acquired.

Unfortunately Doctor Jones's investigations among the Ojibwa were discontinued before he was able to complete the scientific results of his field-studies, and he accepted an appointment to visit the Philippine Islands for the Field Museum of Natural History, of Chicago. The duties which he had taken over made it impossible for him to continue at the time his studies on the Algonquian dialects, and finally he fell a victim to his devotion to his work.

Thus it happened that the sketch of the Fox grammar was not worked out in such detail as Doctor Jones expected. Meanwhile Doctor Jones's collection of Fox texts were published by the American Ethnological Society, and Doctor Truman Michelson undertook the task of revising the essential features of the grammar by a comparison of Doctor Jones's statements with the material contained in the volume of texts.

On the whole, it has seemed best to retain the general arrangement of the material given by Doctor Jones, and Doctor Michelson has confined himself to adding notes and discussions of doubtful points wherever it seemed necessary. All the references to the printed series of texts, the detailed analyses of examples, and the analysis of the text printed at the end of the sketch, have been added by Doctor Michelson. Longer insertions appear signed with his initials.

FRANZ BOAS.

MARCH, 1910.

§ 1. THE DIALECT OF THE FOX

The Fox speak a dialect of the central group of Algonquian Indians. By "central group" is meant the Algonquian tribes that live or have lived about the Great Lakes, particularly in the adjoining regions west and south, and now embraced by the territory of the states of Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. The group contains many dialects, some of which are the Ojibwa, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Kickapoo, Sauk and Fox.

The dialects present great similarity in the absolute forms of many words; but marked differences are noticed in the spoken language. Some of the differences are so wide as to make many of the dialects mutually unintelligible. This lack of mutual comprehension is due in some measure to variations of intonation and idiom, and in a certain degree to slight differences of phonetics and grammatical forms.

The extent of diversity among the dialects varies; for instance, Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi are so closely related that a member of any one of the three experiences only slight difficulty in acquiring a fluent use of the other's dialect. The transition from Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi to Menominee is wider, and it is further still to Kickapoo and to Sauk and Fox.

Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking-up is not uniform throughout a dialect: it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force; while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive. The dialect of the Mexican band of Kickapoo is holding its own with great vigor; but not quite the same can be said for Menominee or Sauk. Sauk and Fox are the same speech with feeble differences of intonation and idiom. Kickapoo is closely akin to both, but is a little way removed from them by slight differences of vocabulary, intonation, and idiom. The dialect taken up here is the Fox, which is spoken with as much purity as Kickapoo.

The number of the Foxes is nearly four hundred, and they live on the Fox River at a place in Tama county, Iowa. They call themselves *leskwa'ki'a'g'* RED-EARTH PEOPLE, and are known to the Ojibwa and others of the north as *Utaḡāmī'g* PEOPLE OF THE OTHER SHORE. Among their totems is an influential one called the Fox. It is told in tradition that members of this totem were the first in the tribe to meet the French; that the strangers asked who they were, and the reply was, *Wā'gō'a'g'* PEOPLE OF THE FOX CLAN: so thereafter the French knew the whole tribe as Les Renards, and later the English called them Foxes, a name which has clung to them ever since.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)

§ 2. General Characteristics

There is a preponderance of forward sounds, and a lack of sharp distinction between *k*, *t*, *p*, and their parallels *g*, *d*, *b*. The first set have no doubt as to their being unvoiced sounds: their acoustic effect is a direct result of their organic formation. The same is not true with the second set. They form for voiced articulation, but their acoustic effect is plainly that of surds: when the sonant effect is caught by the ear, it is of the feeblest sort. Sometimes *l* is substituted for *n* in careless speech. Vowels are not always distinct, especially when final. There is weak distinction between *w* and *y*, both as vowel and as consonant.

Externally the language gives an impression of indolence. The lips are listless and passive. The widening, protrusion, and rounding of lips are excessively weak. In speech the expiration of breath is uncertain; for instance, words often begin with some show of effort, then decrease in force, and finally die away in a lifeless breath. Much is one of the tendencies that helps to make all final vowels inaudible: consequently modulation of the voice is not always clear and sharp.

The same indistinctness and lack of clearness is carried out in continued discourse, in fact it is even increased. Enunciation is blurred, and sounds are elusive, yet it is possible to indicate something of the nature of length, force, and pitch of sounds.

§ 3. Sounds

Consonants

The system of consonants is represented by the following table:¹

	Stop	Spirant and affricative	Nasal	Lateral
Glottal	s	ʔ	—	—
Post-palatal	k, g	—	—	—
Palatal	ʔk	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	c, s	—	l
Dental	t, ʔt, d	ts, tc	n	—
Labial	p, ʔp, b	—	m	—
	h, ʔhw, y			

ʔ a soft glottal stop resembling a feeble whispered cough. It occurs before initial vowels: ʔaʔtcʔ lacrosse stick.

[ʔ intervocalic is presumably a spirant with glottal stricture.—T. M.]

ʔ denotes a whispered continuant before the articulation of k, t, and p.

[The closure is so gradual that the corresponding spirant is heard faintly before the stop, so that the combination is the reverse of the fricative. Thus äʔpyātʔ WHEN HE CAME is to be pronounced nearly as äfpyātʔ with bilabial f.—T. M.] It occurs also before h.

h an aspirate sound almost like h in *hall*, *hail*, *hull*. It is soft breath with feeble friction passing the vocal chords, and continuing on through the narrowed glottis: nahʔ hey! listen!

ʔh an aspirate of the same origin as h, but without an inner arrest. The tongue is drawn back and raised high, making the air-passage narrow; it has a sudden release at the moment almost of seeming closure: maʔʔhwäʔwʔ wolf.

hw a bilabial, aspirate glide, starting at first like h, and ending with the air-passage wider and the ridge of the tongue slightly lowered: paʔnaʔhwäʔwʔ he missed hitting him.

k like the k-sound in *caw*, *crawl*. The stoppage makes and bursts without delay on the forward part of the soft palate: kahʔ hist!

¹ It should be pointed out that in the Fox Texts d and t, g and k, b and p, often interchange. This is due to the peculiar nature of b, d, g. Dr. Jones has simply tried to record the sounds as he heard them when taking down the stories. Wherever such fluctuation occurs, the actual sound pronounced was undoubtedly b, d, g. As an example we may give wdpʔ wdbʔ TO LOOK AT.—T. M.

- a** a *k*-sound articulated in the same position as *k*. But the closure is dull and sustained, with a pause between the stop and break, leaving an acoustic effect of almost a medial sonant: *ā'gw'* no.
- k** an outer *k*-sound like the one in *keen*, *keep*, *key*. The articulation is farther front than for *k* or *g*. The spiritus asper is for a hiss of breath that escapes before complete closure: *i''kwā'w^a* woman.
- c** like the voiceless *sh* in *she*, *shame*, *mash*. The sibilant is made with friction between the tongue and upper alveolar. The opening is narrow, and the tip of the tongue is near the lower teeth: *cāsk'* only.
- s** a hissing surd articulated with the tip of the tongue against the lower teeth. The air-passage is narrow and without stop: *wā'sesī'^a* bull-head.
- tc** like *ch* in *chill*, *cheap*, *church*. The articulation is with the ridge of the tongue behind the upper alveolar, while the blade is near the lower alveolar: *tcī'stcā'^e* or *tcistcā'^e* heavens and earth!
- t** a pure dental surd articulated with the point of the tongue against the upper teeth and with sudden stress: *tete'pisā'w^a* he whirls round.
- d** a dental articulated in the same place as *t*, but delayed and with less stress. It leaves the impression of almost a voiced stop: *me'dāsw'* ten.
- 't** a dental surd differing from *t* only in the fact that an audible hiss is expelled just previous to a full stop: *me''tā'* bow.
- l** a lateral liquid sometimes heard in careless speech. It often replaces the nasal *n* after *u*, *a*, and the dull *ɹ*. The point of the tongue articulates softly with the upper alveolar, the friction being so slight that the sound has much the nature of a vowel. It is like *l* in *warble*: *wā'bigulū^a* for *wābigunū^a* mouse.
- n** not quite like the *n* in English, the articulation being with the point of the tongue at the base of the upper teeth: *nī'n^a* I.
- m** a bilabial nasal consonant like *m* in English: *mā'n^a* this.
- p** a surd like the sharp tenuis *p* in English; it is made with complete closure, and the stop usually breaks with a slight puff of breath: *pyū'w^a* he comes.

b a bilabial stop with almost the value of a sonant; it differs from *p* in being dull and having less stress. The lips close and are momentarily sustained, as if for a sonant, but break the stop with a breath: *wá'ban'* morning light.

'*p* like *p*, but with the difference of having first to expel a puff of breath before coming to complete closure: *ä''pyātc'* when he came.

y like the voiced spirant *y* in *you, yes*. It is uttered without stress: *wä'tciyā'ni* whence I came.

w bilabial liquid like the English *w* in *war, water*: *wāwī'gewā'g'* at their dwelling-place.

Vowels

ū like the vowel-sound in words like *loon, yule, you, and clue*. It is long and slightly rounded; the ridge of the tongue is high and back, and the lips and teeth have a thin opening: *ū'wiyā'* somebody.

u like the *u*-sound in *full* and *book*. The vowel is short, open, and faintly rounded. It is the short of *ū*: *pyä'tusä'w^a* he comes walking.

ō like *o* in words like *no, slope, rose*. The vowel is long and slightly less rounded than *ū*; the ridge of the tongue is not so high and not so far back as for *ū*: *ā'mōw'* honey.

o like *o* in *fellow* and *hotel*. It is the short sound of *ō*: *nōtā'gosi'wa* he is heard.

a like the short vowel-sound in words like *not, plot, what*. The vowel suffers further shortening in final syllables; it is uttered with the ridge of the tongue drawn back; the lips are passive: *na'husä'w^a* he can walk.

ɛ like the vowel-sound in *sun, hut*; it is short, dull, unrounded, and made with the ridge of the tongue slightly lifted along the front and back: *mɛ'n'* this.

ɔ as in the broad vowel-sound of words like *all, wall, law, awe*. The ridge of the tongue is low, and pulled back almost to the uvula; the lips make a faint attempt to round: *wá'bamōn'* mirror.

ā like *a* in *father, alms*. The tongue lies low, back, and passive; the lips open listlessly and only slightly apart: *māhan'* these.

ä longer than the *a* in *sham, alley*. The *ä* in German *Bär* is probably more nearly akin. It is broad, and made with the tongue well forward; the opening of the lips is slightly wider than for *ā*; the quantity is in fact so long as to be diphthongal. The first part of the sound is sustained with prolonged emphasis, while the second is blurred and falling. The character of this second sound depends upon the next mould of the voice-passage: *mā'nāw^a* there is much of it.

ē like the *a*-sound in *tale, ale, late*. It is made with the ridge of the tongue near the forward part of the palate; the lips open out enough to separate at the corners, but the rift there is not clear and sharp: *nahē'^t* hark!

e like the vowel-sound in *men, led, let*. It is a shorter sound of *ē*: *pe'm^t* oil, grease.

ī with much the character of the diphthong in words like *see, sea, tea, key*. It is the most forward of all the vowels; the opening of the lips is lifeless: *nī'n^a* I.

i like the *i* in *sit, miss, fit*. It is the short of *ī*; it is even shorter as a final vowel: *āi'cimi'tc^t* just as he told me.

§ 4. Sound-Clusters

Consonantic Clusters

The language is not fond of consonant-clusters. In the list that follows are shown about all of the various combinations. Most of them are with *w* and *y*, and so are not types of pure clusters of consonants:

Consonant Combinations

<i>kw</i>	<i>kwī'yen^a</i> exactly
<i>gw</i>	<i>ā'gw^t</i> no
<i>'kw</i>	<i>i'kwāw^a</i> woman
<i>kw</i>	<i>keci''kahwā'w^a</i> he stabs him
<i>'hw</i>	<i>ma''hwāw^a</i> wolf
<i>sw</i>	<i>me'dāsw^t</i> ten
<i>cw</i>	<i>me'cwā^a</i> rabbit
<i>tw</i>	<i>ā'twī'</i> ouch
<i>mw</i>	<i>ā'mwāw^a</i> he eats him
<i>nw</i>	<i>nō'tenw^t</i> wind
<i>pw</i>	<i>pwā'w^t</i> not

'pw	u'pwāga'n ⁱ	pipe
bw	a'bwātciga'n ⁱ	roasting-spit
ky	kekyä'nena'mw ^a	he holds it
gy	u'gyän ⁱ	his mother
'ky	a'kyän ⁱ	lands
cy	me'tegumicyä'n ⁱ	oaks
my	myä'w ⁱ	road
ny	nyä'w ⁱ	four
py	pyä'w ^a	he comes
'py	ä'pyātc ⁱ	when he comes

The following true consonantic clusters occur:

sk	cä'sk ⁱ	only
ck	ma'cicki'w ⁱ	grass
stc	tcistcä'°	my stars!

Diphthongs

Not more than two vowels combine to form a diphthong. Stress is stronger on the leading member, and movement of the voice is downward from the first to the second vowel.

ai like the diphthong in *my*, *I*; aiyäni^a opossum

ai like the diphthong in *turn* with the *r* slurred; a'sai skin

ēi like the diphthong in *day*, *play*; nahēi' now then!

äi' like the diphthong in *soil*, *boy*; mā'inähwa'w^a he went at him

au like the diphthong in *shout*, *bout*; hau halloo!

ōu like the diphthong in *foe*, *toe*; pyānō'u come here!

§ 5. Quantity

Vowels vary in length, and in the analysis of sounds they have their phonetic symbols indicating quantity. A vowel with the macron (—) over it is long, as *ō*, *ū*, *ā*, and *ī*, and a vowel without the sign is short. Some vowels are so short that they indicate nothing more than a faint puff of breath. The short, weak quantity is the normal quantity of the final vowel, and for that reason is in superior letter, as *a*, *i*. Rhetorical emphasis can render almost any vowel long—so long that the vowel-sound usually develops into a diphthong, as *āgwē'i* WHY, NO, OF COURSE! (from *ā'gwⁱ* NO).

Change of quantity is often due to position. Long vowels are likely to suffer loss of quantity at the beginning of long combinations: *nā'k^a* AGAIN becomes *na'ka* in the phrase *na'katcāmegutāt^agi* AGAIN

IT CERTAINLY SEEMED AS IF. Long vowels also shorten when placed before a stressed syllable: *a''kīg'* ON THE GROUND becomes *a'kīgä'hi-nābi'tc'* WHEN HE LOOKED DOWN AT THE GROUND.

Diphthongs undergo change of quantity. The accent of a diphthong slides downward from the first vowel, and the loss when it comes is in the breaking-off of the second member: *a'sa'* BUCKSKIN, *ne'tasā'm'* MY BUCKSKIN.

Consonants show evidence of quantity also. In general, the quantity is short; but the length of time between the stop and break in *g*, *d*, and *b*, is noticeable, so much so that the effect of a double sound is felt. As a matter of fact, *g* stands for a double sound. The first part is an articulation for an inner *k*, and in gliding forward comes to the place for *g* where the stoppage breaks. Assimilation tends to reduce the double to a single sound. Nasal sonant *m* and *n* sound double before accented *i*: *mī'mīw^a* PIGEON, *nī'na* I.

A syllable consists (1) of a single vowel-sound, *ä*; (2) of two or more vowels joined together into a diphthong, '*wai*' WHAT?; and (3) of a vowel-sound in combination with a single consonant or a cluster of consonants, the vocalic sound always following the consonant: *nī'tci* MY KIND. Two or more vowels coming together, no two of which are in union as a diphthong, are broken by an interval between: *ähi'owä'tci* SO THEY SAID.

§ 6. Stress

Force is but another name for stress, and indicates energy. It is not possible to lay down definite rules for the determination of stress in every instance, and it is not always clear why some syllables are emphasized at the expense of others. Generally, in words of two syllables, stress-accent falls on the first, *kī'n^a* THOU; for words of three syllables, stress falls on the antepenult, *kwī'yen^a* SUFFICIENTLY. Beyond words of three syllables, only the semblance of a rule can be suggested. The chief stress comes on the first or second of the initial syllables, and the secondary stress on the penult; the syllables between follow either an even level, or more often a perceptible rise and fall alternating feebly up to the penult. In accordance with its rising nature the principal stress can be considered as acute ('), and in the same manner the fall of the secondary stress can be termed as grave ('). The sonorous tone of the voice on the penult is marked,

due perhaps to the extreme brevity of the final, inarticulate vowel. The feature of the sonorous penult is apparent in extended combinations like phrases and sentences, especially when movement is swift at the start, and, gradually slowing up on the way, brings up at the syllable next to the last with a sustained respite which ends with a sudden break into the final vowel. The arrival on the penult creates one or two effects according as the syllable is long or short. If the quantity is long, the vowel is sung with falling voice; if short, the vowel is brought out with almost the emphasis of a primary stress-accent.

This makes a fairly normal order for stress in a single group standing alone; but it suffers interference in the spoken language where the measure of a syllable for special stress often becomes purely relative. The stress on one syllable brings out a certain particular meaning, and on another gains an effect of a different sort. Stressing the stem of *wâ'baminu* LOOK AT ME exaggerates the idea of LOOK; stressing the penult *-mi'*, the syllable of the object pronoun, centers the attention on that person; and stressing the final member *-nu'* THOU makes the second personal subject pronoun the object of chief concern.

Special stress often splits a vocalic sound into two vowels of the same or a different kind. This is common in the case of pronouns, in words of introductive import, in vocatives of spirited address, and in cries calling at a distance: *i'in'* for *i'n'* THAT; *nahēi'* for *nahi'* HARK; *nenīwetigē'i* for *ne'nīwetig'* OH, YE MEN! *pyāgō'u* for *pyā'g'* COME YE.

§ 7. Pitch

This Algonquian dialect does not fall wholly in the category of a stressed language. Pitch is ever present in a level, rising, or falling tone. The effect of pitch is strong in the long vowels of the penult. Temperament and emotion bring out its psychological feature. For instance, pride creates a rising tone, and a feeling of remorse lets it fall. In the sober moments of a sacred story the flow of words glides along in a musical tone; the intonation at times is so level as to become a tiresome monotone; again it is a succession of rises and falls, now ascending, now descending, and with almost the effect of song. In general, the intonation of ordinary speech is on a middle scale. The tone of men is lower than that of women and children.

Sound-Changes (§§ 8-12)

§ 8. Accretion

In the course of word-formation, phonetic elements are taken on **that** have the impress of mere accretions. The additions are the **result** of various causes: some are due to reduplication; some to **accent**; and others act as glides between vowels, and as connectives **between** unrelated portions of a word-group. Instances of the **accretion** of some of these phonetic elements are next to be shown.

Syllabic Accretion

A syllable, usually in the initial position, is sometimes repeated by **another** which precedes and maintains the same vowel-sound. The repetition is in fact a reduplication:

ī'ni wāyātu'geme'g^u and so in truth it may have been, for *ī'ni yātu'geme'g^u*

It is not always clear whether some accretions are but glides passing from one sound to another, or only additions to aid in maintaining stress-accent on a particular syllable. The syllable *hu* is a frequent accretion in dependent words, and occurs immediately after the temporal article *ä*:

ähugu'kahigäwā'tc' WHEN THEY MADE A BRIDGE is the conjunctive for *ku'kahigäwā'g'* THEY MADE A BRIDGE

ähuke'piskwätawähönīwe'tc' WHICH THEY USED AS A FLAP OVER THE ENTRY-WAY [cf. 354.22] is a subordinate form of *ke'piskwätawä'hönāmō'g'* THEY USED IT FOR A FLAP OVER THE ENTRANCE

[I am convinced that *hu* is not a glide nor an addition to maintain the stress-accent on a particular syllable, but is to be divided into *h-u*, in which *h* is a glide, but *u* a morphological element. In proof of this I submit the following: There is an initial stem *wīgi* TO DWELL (*wīge* also; cf. *kīwe* beside *kīwi* [§16]). Thus *wīgiw^a* HE DWELLS 220.22 (*-w^a* §28). Observe that we have *wīhuwīgewāt^{c'}* WHERE THEY WERE TO LIVE 56.5 (future conjunctive, §29) beside *ähuwīgewāt^{c'}* WHERE THEY LIVED 56.23 (for *-wāt^{c'}*; aorist conjunctive, §29); *ähuwīgīwāt^{c'}* WHERE THEY LIVED 94.21; *ähuwīgīyāg* WHERE WE (excl.) WERE LIVING 216.1 (aor. conj. §29); *ähuwīgīt^{c'}* WHERE HE LIVED 42.20 (§29); *ähuwīgīnit^{c'}* WHERE HE WAS STAYING 182.8 (§34). That is to say, *hu* is

found after *w̄-* as well as *ä-*. Now, it should be observed that we have *hu* after *ä-* in some stems regularly; in others it never occurs. As *h* is unquestionably used as a glide, we are at once tempted to regard the *u* as a morphological element. But a direct proof is *wāwiginicis*¹ HE WHO DWELLED THERE 80.9, 12, 20; 82.10, 22; 84.10, 21; 86.2, 20. This form is a participial (§ 33), showing the characteristic change of *u* to *wä* (§ 11). Hence the *wä* points to an initial *u*, which can not be a glide, as nothing precedes; and *h* is absent. Now, this *u* is found in *ä'k̄wi-t̄wigewāt̄c* WHEN THEY WENT TO LIVE SOMEWHERE 66.15 (*ä-wāt̄c*, § 29; *k̄wi* is an extended form of *k̄i*, an initial stem denoting INDEFINITE MOTION, § 16; 'k for *k* regularly after *ä*).—T.M.]

Other additions, like *h*, *w*, *y*, are clearly glides:

ä'hutci'tc WHENCE HE CAME, the independent form of which is
u'tciw^a HE CAME FROM SOME PLACE
ä'hunāpāmi'tc WHEN SHE TOOK A HUSBAND, a temporal form
 for *unā'pāmi'w^a* SHE TOOK A HUSBAND
o'wīw^a'n^t his wife (from *owī-ani*)
owī'tāw^a'n^t his brother-in-law (from *owī'tā-ani*)
ketāsi'yūtā'w^a he crawls up hill (from *ketāsi-ūtāwa*)
kī'yāwā'w^a he is jealous (from *kī-āwāwa*)

Consonantic Accretion

A frequent type of accretion is *w* or *y* with *k*, forming a cluster:

tca'kwīwinā'w^a he is short-horned (from *tcaḡi-wināwa*)
tca'kwāpyā'w^t it is short (from *tcaḡi-āpyāwi*)
sāsī'gā'kyā'w^a he scattered it (this is just the same in meaning
 as *sāsīgā'kāw^a*)

Intervocalic Consonants

The most common accretion is *t*.¹ It falls in between two vowels, each of which is part of a different member in a word-group.

Examples:

Between *i* and *e*: *a''kwitepyā'g^t* top of the water
 Between *e* and *ɛ*: *net^a'pānā'n^t* I laugh
 Between *ɛ* and *ō*: *ā'watō'w^a* he carries it away
 Between *ā* and *u*: *pyā'tusā'w^a* he came walking
 Between *ō* and *ä*: *pī'tōtā'w^a* he crawls in

¹ *t* serves as a connective in an inanimate relation, and will be mentioned again.

[In so far as *-ōtā-* is a secondary stem of the second order (§ 19), the *-t-* can not be an intervocalic inserted phonetically. The same applies to the *s* in *-isā-* cited below.—T. M.]

When the vowel of the second member is *i*, then *t* usually becomes *tc*:

Between *ī* and *i*: *pī'tcisā'w^a* it (bird) flew in

Between *ā* and *i*: *kepa'tciḡā'n^t* cork, stopper

Between *ū* and *i*: *kugwā'tcisā'w^a* it (bird) tries to fly

Between *ā* and *i*: *kiwā'tcitāhā'w^a* he is lonely

Sometimes *n* has the value of an intervocalic consonant. It often occurs immediately after the temporal particle *ā*:

tcāḡānā'towātci'ḡ^t PEOPLE OF ALL LANGUAGES, a participial with the elements of *tcā'ḡ^t* ALL, *ā* having the force of the relative pronoun WHO, and *ā'towāwā'ḡ^t* THEY SPEAK A LANGUAGE.

ānāpatag^t WHEN HE SAW THEM 206.18 as contrasted with *ātāpāpatag* HE HAD A FEEBLE VIEW OF IT IN THE DISTANCE 206.16

[Is *āpa-* TO SEE related with *wāpa-* TO SEE, TO LOOK AT?—T. M.]

ānā'pawātci^t HE DREAMED 206 TITLE; 210.17 (*ā—tc^t* [§ 29]) contrasted with *inā'ā'pawātci^t* THEN HE HAD A DREAM 212.3; *ā'ā'pawātci^t* SHE HAD A DREAM 216.1

Sometimes *n* occurs between vowels much after the fashion of *t*:

Between *ā* and *e*: *myā'negā'w^a* he dances poorly

Between *ā* and *e*: *upyā'nesiw^a* he is slow

Between *ā* and *ā*: *myānā'pawāt^a* he that dreamed an ill omen TITLE 210; 212, 17, 20; 214.1, 10 (*myā+ā'pawā-* TO DREAM; participial [§ 33])

See, also, 212.4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 214.20 .

Between *i* and *a*: *ā'peminawatenag^t* then he went carrying it in his hand 194.12 (*ā—ag^t* [§ 29]; *pemi-awa-* (*āwā*) [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

Between *i* and *ā*: *ke'tcināpyāyāwātci* when they drew nigh 152.2 (*ke'tci-* intensity; *pyā-* motion hither; *yā-* to go; *ā—wātci^t* [§ 29]; *-t* lost by contraction [§ 10])

Between *i* and *ā*: *ā'icināpameḡutci* as he was thus seen 76.6 (*-tc* for *-tc^t* [§ 10]; *ā—tc^t* [§ 29]; *ici-* THUS; *āpa-* same as *āpa* TO SEE; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]); *petegināpi'kan^t* thou shalt (not) look behind at me 382.9 (*peteg^t* BEHIND; *-i'kan^t* [§ 30])

[Is *ā'panāpamāwātci* THEY LOST SIGHT OF HIM 180.19 for *ā'panānāpamāwātci^t* (§ 12)? The analysis would be *ā—āwātci^t* (§ 29); *panā-* (§ 16) TO MISS, TO FAIL TO; *āpa-* TO SEE; *-m-* (§ 29). Similarly

ä'panāpatāmātisuyan' YOU HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE SIGHT OF YOUR BODILY SELF 382.7 (*ä—yan'* [§ 29]; *-tis-* [§39]).—T. M.]

While these consonants seem to be inserted for purely phonetic reasons, others, that appear in similar positions, seem to have a definite meaning, at least in some cases.

[Though I also think that in a few cases intervocalic consonants are inserted for purely phonetic reasons, yet I am convinced that in bulk we have to deal with a morphological element. Take, for example, *pyätcisäw^a* HE CAME IN FLIGHT. Here *-tc-* and *-s-* are regarded as intervocalics. Such is not the case. It stands for *pyätci* + *-isä-* + *w^a*, as is shown by *pyätcine'kawäw^a* HE COMES DRIVING THEM HOME (§ 16). The secondary stem *-ne'ka-* follows (§ 19) *pyätci-*. A vowel is elided before another (§ 10); hence the final *-i* of *pyätci-* is lost before *-isä-* (§ 19). Similarly *-te-* seems to be added to *pyä-*. Note, too, *ä'pītīgāt'* WHEN HE ENTERED THE LODGE, compared with *pītcisäwag'* THEY CAME RUNNING IN (*pīt-*: *pīt-*: *pī-* = *pyät-*: *pyät-*: *pyä-*. In short, *pīt-* stands for *pītci-*). I can not go into this further at present.—T. M.]

It looks as if *s* plays the same rôle as *t*, *tc*, and *n*, but on a smaller scale. Instances of its use are:

Between *e* and *i*: *asä'wesi'w^a* he is yellow

Between *i* and *ä*: *pyä'tcisä'w^a* he came in flight (*isä* [§ 19])

Between *a* and *ō*: *ne'masō'w^a* he is standing up

Between *u* and *ä*: *pyä'tusä'w^a* he came walking (*usä* [§ 19])

In these examples *s* has an intimate relation with the notion of animate being. It will be referred to later.

The consonant *m* is sometimes an intervocalic element:

nanāhi'cimä'w^a he carefully lays him away

pa'nem'amw^a he dropped it

Other functions of *m* will be mentioned farther on.

[It would seem that *me* is substituted for *m* when a consonant-cluster would otherwise be formed that is foreign to the language. (For such clusters as are found, see § 4.) Contrast *kewāpame'n^c* I LOOK AT THEE, with *newā'pamāw^a* I LOOK AT HIM; *äwāpamāt^c* HE THEN LOOKED AT HER 298.20; note also *newāpamegw^a* HE LOOKED AT ME 368.19; contrast *wāpame'k^u* LOOK YE AT HIM 242.19 with *wāpamin^u* LOOK THOU AT ME 322.3. Other examples for *me* are *kepyätciwāpamen^c* I HAVE COME TO VISIT YOU 242.11; *äwāpawāpamegut^c* WAS SHE WATCHED ALL THE WHILE 174.17; *pūnime'k^u* CEASE DISTURBING HIM (literally, cease talking with him [see § 21]) 370.18.

here is some evidence to show that a similar device was used in conjunction with *t* and *n*, but at present I have not sufficient examples to show this conclusively.

On further investigation it appears that the device of inserting a vowel to prevent consonant-clusters foreign to the Fox runs throughout the language. The vowel is usually *e*, but always *a* before *h* and *hw*. There is an initial stem *nes* TO KILL; compare *ānesātc*ⁱ THEN HE KILLED HIM (*ā—ātc*ⁱ § 29). Contrast this with *ānesegutc*ⁱ THEN HE WAS SLAIN (*-gu-* sign of the passive [§ 41]); *nesegwā* 190.3 HE HAS BEEN SLAIN (independent mode, aorist, passive [§ 28]; *-wā* lengthened or *-w^a*); *nāsegut^a* HE WHO HAD BEEN SLAIN 190.8 (passive participial; *-gu-* as above; *-^a* [§ 33]; change of stem-vowel of *nes* [§§ 11, 33]). Other illustrations are *kusegw^a* HE WAS FEARED 56.14 (*-s-* [§ 21]), contrasted with *kusāw^a* HE FEARED HIM (*-āw^a* [§ 28]), *ku'tamw^a* HE HEARS IT (*'t* [§ 21]; *-amw^a* [§ 28]); *ā'to'kenātc* THEN HE WAKENED HER 104.18 (for *-tcⁱ*; *-n-* [§ 21]; per contra *ā'tō'kītⁱ* THEN HE WOKE UP 108.11); *ā'tāgenātc* HE TOUCHED HIM 158.5; *mī'kemegutcinⁱ* HE BY WHOM SHE WAS WOODED 142.6 (passive participial; *mī'k-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; *-tcinⁱ* [§ 33]); *mī'kemāw^a* HE WOOES HER (*-āw^a* [§ 28]); *āmī'kemātcⁱ* WHEN HE WOODED HER 148.6 (*ā—ātcⁱ* [§ 29]); *tāgenāw^a* HE WASHES HIM (*kōg-* [§ 16]; *-āw^a* [§ 28]; contrast *kōgīw^a* HE MIRES). For *a* as the inserted vowel observe *pītahwāw^a* HE BURIES HIM (*pīt-* [§ 16]; *-hw* [§ 21]; *-āw^a* [§ 28]); *kaskahamw^a* HE ACCOMPLISHES AN ACT (*kask-* [§ 16]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *-amw^a* [§ 28]); *ā'pītahwāwātc* THEN HEY BURIED HIM 160.2 (*ā—āwātcⁱ* [§ 29]; *-ⁱ* elided).—T. M.]

§ 9. Variation of Consonants

Some consonants interchange one with another. The process is marked among those with forward articulation. *s* and *c* interchange in:

me'se'kwā'w^a she has long hair

me'cāwⁱ it is large

Māse'sībō'wⁱ large river (name for the Mississippi)

me'cīmī'n^a large fruit (word for apple)

't and *c* interchange:

me''tahwā'w^a he shot and hit him

me'cwāw^a he shot and hit him

't and *s* interchange:

ne'tamawā'w^a he killed him for another

ne'sāw^a he killed him

[For the interchange of sonant and surd stops see § 3.—T. M.]

§ 10. Contraction and Assimilation

Contraction is a frequent factor in sound-change. Instances will first be shown in the case of compounds where the process works between independent words. The final vowel of a word coalesces with the initial vowel of the next, with results like the following:

- $a + \bar{a}$ becomes \bar{a} : *nī'nāci'it^a* I in turn (for *nī'n^a ā'cit^a*)
- $a + \bar{a}$ becomes \bar{a} : *nā''kā'pyā'tc^t* again he came (for *nā''k^a ā''pyāt^c*)
- $i + a$ becomes a : *pyä'wagayō''ⁱ* they came to this place (for *pyä'-wagⁱ ayō''ⁱ*); *nā'garwa'kī'w^t* it is a sandy place (for *nā'garw^a a'kīw^t*)
- $i + \bar{a}$ becomes \bar{a} : *ite'pāhā'tc^t* he goes there (for *i'tepⁱ ā'hāt^c*); *ne'pⁱ nāte'g^t* they go to fetch water (for *ne'pⁱ ā'nāte'g^t*)
- $i + i$ becomes i : *kā'ciw^a?* what does he say? (for *kā'cⁱ i'w^a?*); *i'nipiyō'w^e* so it was told of yore (for *i'nⁱ ipⁱ i'yōw^e*)
- $i + a$ becomes a : *nā'wasku't^e* in the center of the fire (for *nā'wⁱ a'skut^e*); *āgwā'mātcī'nⁱ* he did not eat it (for *āgw^a amwātcī'nⁱ*)
- $i + \bar{a}$ becomes \bar{a} : *āē'gāpe'^e* and often (for *āē'gⁱ ā'pe'^e*); *wātcā'gwi'nenā'n* the reason why I did not tell thee (for *wā'tcⁱ ā'gwi'nenā'nⁱ*)
- $i + u$ becomes u : *negutu''kāte'g^t* on one of his feet (for *ne'gⁱ u''kāte'g^t*); *tcī'gepyāgu'tc^t* away from the edge of the water (for *tcī'gepyā'gⁱ u'tc^t*)

The two vowels in contact may assimilate into a diphthong:

- $a + a$ becomes ai : *ne'ci'kaiyo''ⁱ* alone here (for *ne'ci'k^a a'yō''ⁱ*)

The result of the assimilation of two vowels may produce a sound different from either:

- $e + a$ becomes \bar{a} : *pyä'nutawitā'y^a* if he should come to me here (for *pyä'nutawi't^e a'yō''ⁱ*)
- $i + a$ becomes \bar{a} : *mā'taci'kitcā'y^a* he might overtake me here (for *mā'taci'ki'tcⁱ a'yō''ⁱ*)

Contraction between contiguous words is usually in the nature of the first sound suffering loss either by absorption or substitution. In much the same way does contraction act between members that make up a word-group. But in an attempt to illustrate the process there is an element of uncertainty, which lies in the difficulty of accounting for the absolute form of each component; for many members of a composition seldom have an independent use outside of the group. They occur in composition only, and in such way as to adjust themselves for easy euphony, and in doing so often conceal

ther an initial or a final part. Nevertheless, hypothetical equivalents are offered as attempts at showing what the pure original forms probably were. Hyphens between the parts mark the places where probable changes take their rise:

- i* + *e* becomes *e*: *pe'megä'w^a* he dances past (from *pemi-egäw^a*)
- i* + *ä* becomes *ä*: *ma'netöwäge'nⁱ* sacred garment (from *manetöwi-ägenⁱ*); *cö'skwäge'nⁱ* smooth cloth (from *cöskwi-ägenⁱ*)
- i* + *a* becomes *a*: *pema'hogö'w^a* he swims past (from *pemi-ahogöw^a*); *ta'gwahötö'w^a* he is trapping (from *tagwi-ahötöw^a*)
- i* + *ä* becomes *ä*: *maci'skiwäpö'wⁱ* tea, i. e., herb fluid (from *maci'skiwi-äpöwⁱ*); *wicku'päpö'wⁱ* wine, i. e., sweet fluid (from *wicku-pi-äpöwⁱ*)
- i* + *ä* becomes *ä*: *a'nemäskä'wⁱ* it fell the other way (from *anemi-äskäwⁱ*)
- i* + *ö* becomes *ö*: *pe'möta'mw^a* she passes by with a burden on her back (from *pemi-ötamw^a*)
- i* + *u* becomes *u*: *pe'musä'w^a* he walks past (from *pemi-usäw^a*)
- i* + *ü* becomes *ü*: *pe'mütä'w^a* he crawls past (from *pemi-ütäw^a*)

[On the other hand, we find *pemipahöw^a* he passes by on the run (from *pemi-pahöw^a*).—T. M.]

Assimilation occurs between sounds not contiguous:

kicwinä'cwihä'w^a after he had two (for *kicinä'cwihä'w^a*)

§ 11. Dissimilation

Vowels often undergo dissimilation. A very common change is *o* or *u* to *wä*. The process takes place in the formation of participles from words having *o* or *u* as initial vowels:

- u'tcīw^a* he came thence; *wä'tcīt^a* he who came thence
- u'tö'ki'mⁱ* his land; *wä'tö'kimī't^a* he who owns land
- u'gwisä'nⁱ* his or her son; *wä'gwisi't^a* one who has a son
- u'kātciⁱ* his foot; *wä'kātci't^a* one that has feet (name for a bake oven)
- u'wīwī'nⁱ* his horn; *wä'wīwīnā'tⁱ* one with small horn

The vowel *u* becomes *wä* when preceded by a consonant:

- ku'sigä'w^a* she plays at dice; *kwä'sigä't^a* she who plays at dice
- nu'wīw^a* he goes outside; *nwä'wīwāpe'e* he always goes outside

The vowel *u* can also become *wā*:

- uwī'gewā'wⁱ* their dwelling-place; *wāwī'gewā'gⁱ* at their dwelling-place

[It should be observed that *ä* appears as *ā* under certain conditions. I can not determine at present whether this is a phonetic process or whether there is a morphological significance. As an example I give *pyāw^a* HE COMES; compare with this *ä'pyāt^c* WHEN HE CAME; *ä'pyāwāt^c* WHEN THEY CAME; *pyānu'* COME THOU! *pyāgō'^a* COME YE!—T. M.]

§ 12. Elision

Elision plays an important part in sound-change. It occurs at final and initial places and at points inside a word-group. The places where the process happens, and the influences bringing it about, are shown in the examples to follow.

In some cases a vowel drops out and a vocalic consonant as a glide takes its place, the change giving rise to a cluster made up of a consonant and a semi-vowel:

i drops out: *ä'wäpwägesⁱ'tcⁱ* then she began to wail (from *äwäpi-wägesit^c*); *ä''kyāwā'tcⁱ* and he grew jealous (from *ä'ki-yāwāt^c*)

o drops out: *äwā'wīswā'tcⁱ* he singed his hair (for *äwāwīso'-wāt^c*)

u drops out: *ä'sīswā'tcⁱ* she fried them (from *äsīsu'-wāt^c*)

Words sometimes suffer loss of initial vowel:

skotä'gⁱ in the fire (for *A'skotä'gⁱ*)

töcko'tämwā'gⁱ at their fire (for *utöcko'tämwā'gⁱ*)

kwi'gägō'ⁱ nothing (for *ä'gwigägō'ⁱ*)

nā'gwāt^c then he started away (for *ä'nāgwā'tcⁱ*)

The loss often includes both initial consonant and vowel:

cwā'cig^a eight (for *ne'cwāci'g^a*)

a'ka'niḡice'gwⁱ all day long (for *ne''kanigīce'gwⁱ*)

The second member of a consonant-cluster frequently drops out:

ä'pā'wināwā'tcⁱ when he did not see him (for *ä'pwā'wināwā'tcⁱ*)

pe'muta'mw^a he shot at it (for *pe'mwuta'mw^a*)

The elision of *n* takes place before some formative elements:

ä'pā'gici'gⁱ when it (a bird) alighted (a subordinate form of *pā'gici'nw^a* it [a bird] alighted)

nānā'hicimā'w^a he laid him away carefully; *nānā'hici'nw^a* he fixed a place to lie down

To slur over a syllable frequently brings about the loss of the syllable. In the instance below, the stressed, preserved syllable moves into the place made vacant, and becomes like the vowel that dropped out:

A'c' take her along (for *a'wac'*)

ä'wäpata'hogu'tc' then he started off carrying her on his back
(for *ä'wäpawata'hogu'tc'*)

The second part of a stem often suffers loss from the effect of having been slurred over:

kīwa'iyatci'tc' after he had gone (for *kīciwa'iyatci'tc'*)

kī'ke'kā'nemā'tc' after he had learned who he was (for *kī'cike'kā'nemā'tc'*)

ä'pwā'nāwā'tc' when he did not see him (for *ä'pwā'wināwā'tc'*)

ä'pwā'camā'tc' when he did not feed him (for *ä'pwā'wicamā'tc'*)

To slur over part of a pronominal ending causes loss of sound there:

uwī-'nemō'' his sisters-in-law (for *uwīne'mōha''*)

Removal of the grave accent one place forward causes elision of final vowel:

ne'ka'nitepe''k' all night long (for *ne'ka'nite'pe'kī'w'*)

Suffixes help to bring about other changes in the pronominal endings. A frequent suffix causing change is *-gi*: in some instances it denotes location, in others it is the sign for the animate plural. The suffix conveys other notions, and wherever it occurs some change usually happens to the terminal pronoun. One is the complete loss of the possessive ending *ni* before the suffix with the force of a locative. At the same time the vowel immediately in front of the suffix becomes modified:

ō'san' his father; *ō'seg'* at his father's (lodge)

u''kāta'n' his foot; *u''kāte'g'* at or on his foot

Another change before *-gi* is that of a pronoun into an *o* or *u* with the quantity sometimes short, but more often long. The change is usual if the pronoun follows a sibilant or *k*-sound:

u'wānA'gw' hole; *uwā'nAgō'g'* at the hole

ma''ka'kw' box; *ma''ka'ku'g'* at or in the box

me'tegw' tree; *me''tegu'g'* at the tree

kī'cesw^a sun; *kī'cesō'g'* at the sun, suns

ne'nusw^a buffalo; *ne'nusō'g'* buffaloes

The suffix *-gi* affects inanimate nouns ending in the diphthong *ai*. The first vocalic member lengthens into *ā*, and the second drops out:

u'piskwa' bladder; *u'piskwā'g'* on or at the bladder

utA'wawga' ear; *utA'wagā'g'* at or in the ear

The change of the pronominal ending into an *o* or *u* occurs in a similar manner before *n'*, a suffix sign of the inanimate plural:

u'wānA'gw' hole; *uwā'nAgō'n'* holes
ma''ka'kw' box; *ma''ka'kō'n'* boxes
me'tegw' tree; *me'tegō'n'* trees

A *k*-sound stands before the terminal *wa* of some animate nouns. To shift an *ō* into the place of the *w* is a device for creating a diminutive:

mA''kw^a bear; *mA''kō^a* cub
A'caskw^a muskrat; *A'caskō^a* a little muskrat
ce'gāgw^a skunk; *ce'gāgō^a* should be the proper diminutive, but it happens to be the word for ONION, while KITTEN SKUNK is *cegā'gōhā^a*, a sort of double diminutive.

The substitution of *o* or *u* for *w* occurs with great frequency:

pä'gwāw' it is shallow; *pä'gōne'g'* the place of shallow water (the name for St Louis)
nīcwī''kwāwA'g' two women; *nīcō''kwāwā'w^a* he has two wives
me'ckw' blood; *me'ckusi'w^a* he is red
wī'pegwā'w' it is blue; *wīpe'gusi'w^a* he is blue

§ 13. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word-unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word. Phonetic influences between the component elements are not marked.

The unit of composition is always the stem, and the word, even in its simplest form, possesses always a number of formative elements which disappear in new compositions. Examples of this process are the following:

pe'nāmū'w^a he imitated the turkey-call (from *penāwa-mūwa*)
ma''hwāmū'w^a he imitated the cry of the wolf (from *ma'hwāwa-mūwa*)
kīutū'gimā'mipe'n^a thou wilt be our chief (*ugimāw^a* chief)
nātunā'hwātu'g^a he may have sought for him (independent mode *nātu'nāhwāw^a* he seeks for him)

pyä'gwän' he must have come (independent mode *pyä'w^a* he came)

Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes. Those groups that may be considered in a more specific sense as grammatical formatives, such as pronouns, elements indicating the animate and inanimate groups, are largely suffixed to groups of co-ordinate stems.

Another process extensively used by the Algonquian is reduplication, which is particularly characteristic of the verb. It occurs with a variety of meanings.

Modification of the stem-vowel plays also an important part and occurs in the verbal modes.

§ 14. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.

It seems that, on the whole, initial stems predominate in the expression of subjective activities, and that they more definitely perform the function of verbs; while, on the other hand, secondary stems are more intimately concerned with the objective relations. It is true that both initial and secondary stems sometimes refer to similar notions, like movement and space; but it is possible to observe a distinction in the nature of the reference. A great many initial stems define movement with reference to a particular direction; as, hither, thither, roundabout. Secondary stems, on the other hand, indicate movement; as, slow, swift, or as changing to rest. Secondary stems denoting space seem to lack extension in the sense they convey; as, top, cavity, line, and terms indicating parts of the body. Initial stems refer to space in a wide general sense; as, distance, dimension, immensity, totality.

Every stem is stamped with the quality of abstract meaning: the notion of some stems is so vague and so volatile, as they stand in detached form, as to seem almost void of tangible sense. Some stems

can be analyzed into elements that have at most the feeblest kind of sense; it is only as they stand in compound form that they take on a special meaning. It is not altogether clear how these stems, so vague and subtle as they stand alone, came to convey the sensuous notions that they do when thrown together into a group; how, for example, an initial stem introduces a general notion, and forms a group complete in statement but incomplete in sense, as when in composition it terminates with only a pronominal ending. Yet such a group can be of sufficiently frequent use as to become an idiom; in that case it takes on an added sense, which is due not so much perhaps to the inherent meaning of the combined stem and pronoun as to an acquired association with a particular activity. The psychological peculiarity of the process is more marked in the wider developments, as when initial and secondary stems combine for the larger groups. The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But, whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group, but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations: out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed. Some stems precede and others follow, not with a freedom of position and not in a haphazard manner, but with a consecutive sequence that is maintained from beginning to end with firm stability.

The following examples illustrate these principles of composition. A general summary of the process can thus be put in illustration:

pōni is an initial stem signifying NO MORE, NO LONGER: its original sense comes out best by adding the terminal animate pronoun, and making *pō'nīwa*. The group means that one has previously been engaged in an activity, and has now come into a state of cessation, making altogether a rather vague statement, as it stands unrelated to anything else. But travel has made a figure of speech of it, and so it has come to be the particular idiom for ONE CAMPS, ONE GOES INTO CAMP. So much for the simpler form of a combination.

An initial stem, *paq-*, has the general sense of STRIKING AGAINST SOMETHING; *-ā'kw-* is a secondary stem denoting RESISTANCE,

and so *pagā'kw-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE. The stem *-tun-* is a mobile secondary stem denoting the special notion of PLACE ABOUT A CAVITY, and has become a special term indicating THE PLACE ABOUT THE MOUTH; and so *pagā'kwitu'nā-* is TO STRIKE AGAINST A RESISTANCE AT A POINT ON THE MOUTH.

Again, *-cin-* is a secondary co-ordinative stem, and refers to change from motion to rest, but leaves the character and the duration of the change to be inferred from the implications of the stems that precede; furthermore, it indicates that the performer is animate, and serves as a link between the terminal pronoun and what precedes; and so *pagā'kwit-u'nāci'nw^a* is a definite statement meaning that one strikes against a resistance and is brought for a time at least to a condition of rest. HE BUMPS HIMSELF ON THE MOUTH and HE BUMPS HIS MOUTH would be two ways of putting the same thing in English.

A rigid classification of the objective world into things animate and things inanimate underlies the whole structure of the language. Thus the terminal *-a* indicates an object possessing the combined qualities of life and motion, and the terminal *-i* designates an object without those attributes. Thus:

pyä'wa he comes; *pyä'migA'twi* it comes

i'neni'wa man, he is a man; *i'neni'wi* bravery, it has the quality of manhood

A'nemō'a dog; *a'ki* earth

Every verb and noun must fall in one or the other class. Forms ending in *-a* are termed ANIMATE, and those ending in *-i* INANIMATE. The distinction between the two opposing groups is not rigidly maintained, for often an object regularly inanimate is personified as having life, and so takes on an animate form. But permanent forms of lifeless objects having an animate ending can not always be explained by personification. The breaking-down of the contrast is best seen in the names of plants; logically they fall into the inanimate class, but many are used as animate forms, like *A'dāmi'n^a* CORN, *A'sāmā'w^a* TOBACCO, *me'cimi'n^a* APPLE.

The idea of plurality is expressed both in the noun and in the verb. Subjective and objective relation of the noun are distinguished by separate endings. A vocative and a locative case are also expressed.

In the pronoun the three persons of speaker, person addressed, and person spoken of, are distinguished, the last of these being divided into an animate and an inanimate form. Exclusive and inclusive plural

are expressed by distinct forms, the second of which is related to the second person. In the third person a variety of forms occur by means of which the introduction of a new subject, and identity of subject and of possessor of object (Latin *suus* and *ejus*), are distinguished.

The pronouns, subject and object, as they appear in transitive verbs, are expressed by single forms, which it is difficult to relate to the singular pronominal forms of the intransitive verb.

While tense is very slightly developed, the pronominal forms of different modes seem to be derived from entirely different sources in declarative, subjunctive, and potential forms of sentences. The discussion of these forms presents one of the most striking features of the Algonquian languages.

In the participial forms, the verbal stem is modified by change of its vowel.

Ideas of repetition, duration, distribution, are expressed by means of reduplication.

A number of formative affixes convey certain notions of manner, as—

-*tug'* in *pyä'tug'* HE PROBABLY CAME, which conveys the notion of doubt or uncertainty; while -*äpe'ε* in *pyä'wäpe'ε* HE IS IN THE HABIT OF COMING, expresses the frequency or repetition of an act

Formatives are also instrumental, not merely in the formation of nouns, but in giving to the nouns they form the quality of distinctive designation. Thus:

-*mina* in *ä'dä-mi'n^a* CORN denotes FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY; and -*gani* in *pä'skesigä'n^t* GUN (literally, exploder) is expressive of TOOL, IMPLEMENT, INSTRUMENT

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§ 15. TYPES OF STEMS

The verbs and nouns of the Fox language are almost throughout composed of a number of stems, the syntactic value of the complex being determined by a number of prefixes and suffixes. Setting aside

these, the component parts occur rarely, if at all, independently; and only some of those that appear in initial position in the verb are capable of independent use. In this respect they appear as more independent than the following component elements. On the other hand, the latter are so numerous that it seems rather artificial to designate them as suffixes of elements of the first group. There is so much freedom in the principles of composition; the significance of the component elements is such that they limit one another; and their number is so nearly equal,—that I have preferred to call them co-ordinate stems rather than stems and suffixes.

Accordingly I designate the component parts of words as—

1. Initial stems.
2. Secondary stems of the first order.
3. Secondary stems of the second order.
4. Co-ordinative stems.
5. Instrumental particles.

§ 16. INITIAL STEMS

Initial stems are capable at times of standing alone, with the office of adverbs. Some instances are—

u'tc' whence
i'c' hence
tagw' together

Furthermore, an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative, and express an independent statement, though not always with exact sense:

u'tcīw^a one has come from some place

Two or more initial stems follow in a definite order:

wä'pusä'w^a he begins to walk (*wäpi-* to begin [initial stem]; *-usä-* to walk [secondary stem])

wä'pi pyä'tusä'w^a he begins to approach on the walk (*pyä-* movement hither [initial stem between *wäpi-* and *-usä-*; -*t-* § 8])

wä'pi pyätcitete'pusä'w^a he begins to approach walking in a circle (*tetep-* movement in a circle [new initial stem]); initial stem conveying the notion of movement in a circle

The consecutive order of initial stems with reference to a secondary stem depends much on the sort of notions they convey. An initial stem takes its place next to a secondary stem because the notion it

implies is of such a nature as to combine easily with the notion of a secondary stem to form an added sense of something more definite and restricted. It is as if both initial and secondary stems were modifiers of each other. An initial stem coming before another initial stem in combination with a secondary stem stands toward the group in much the same relation as if the group were a simple secondary stem. The place of an initial stem is at the point where the idea it expresses falls in most appropriately with the mental process of restricting and making more definite the sense of the whole group.

[Before proceeding to the examples of initial stems, it seems to me important to point out that a large proportion of them terminate in *i*. Thus *awi-* TO BE; *āpi-* TO UNTIE; *agwi-* TO COVER; *anemi-* YON WAY; *api-* TO SIT; *cawī-* TO DO; *hanemi-* TO CONTINUE TO; *kaski-* ABILITY; *kīci-* COMPLETION; *kīwi-* (an extended form of *kī*) MOVEMENT IN AN INDEFINITE DIRECTION; *mā'kwi-* FUTUERE; *mātcī-* TO MOVE; *māwī-* TO GO TO; *meci-* LARGENESS; *nagi-* TO HALT; *pemi-* MOVEMENT PAST; *pyātcī-* (an extended form of *pyā*) MOVEMENT HITHER; etc. It is therefore likely that this *i* is a morphological element. But it would require a comparison with other Algonquian languages to determine its precise value. It may be added that *-i* also occurs with the function of *-i*, and that the two sometimes interchange. Apparently this *-i* always drops out before vowels.—T. M.]

Following is a selection of examples of initial stems which are quite numerous and express ideas of great variety:

aski- early, soon, first.

ä'a'skime'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (*ä-* temporal augment; *me-* initial stem common with words for SNOW, ICE, COLD; *me'pu-* to snow; *-g* for *-gi* suffix with a location sense; *-i* lost before initial vowel of following word)

ähaskānwīg^t while the snow was first on 70.10 (*ä-* as above; *h* glide; *-i* of *aski-* lost before vowel; *-ānw-* secondary stem, denoting STATE, CONDITION; *-gi* as above)

cā- freedom of movement, passage without friction or impediment.

cā'pawāw^a he cries out sending his voice through space

cāpu'nīgā'n^t a needle (literally, an instrument for piercing through with ease)

cōsk- is used in several ways. In a special sense it denotes HORIZONTALITY, STRAIGHTNESS.

cō'skā'kusā'w^a he walks erect [*-usä* § 19]

cōskā'pyāci'nw^a he lies at full length (-*cin*- secondary connective stem [§ 20]; -*w^a* [§ 28])

cō'skāpyā'wⁱ is it straight (-*wⁱ* § 28)

Another sense, closely related to STRAIGHTNESS, is that of SMOOTHNESS, LACK OF FRICTION, EASE OF MOVEMENT.

cō'skwāwⁱ it is smooth, slippery

cō'skwici'nw^a he slips and falls

cō'skonā'w^a he slips hold of him

ācōskonātc he slips hold of him 182.11

hanemi to continue to.

āhanemipyānātcⁱ he continued to fetch them home 38.6 (*ā*- as above; *pyā*- initial stem meaning MOVEMENT HITHER; -*n*- intervocalic, instrumental [see § 21]; -*ā*- objective pronominal element; -*tcⁱ* 3d person singular subject; the form is an aorist transitive conjunctive [see § 29])

āhaneminesātcⁱ he continued to kill 38.5 (*ā*- as above; -*nes*- initial stem TO KILL; -*ā*- objective pronoun; *tcⁱ* 3d person singular subject)

wīhanemicimesānetamuwātc they will continue to derive benefit from them 376.10 (*wī* — *amuwātc* [§ 29])

āhanemūmeguwātcⁱ they kept riding 192.7

āhanemāmūwātcⁱ they continued to fly for their lives (-*ā*- [§ 19]; -*m*- [§§ 21, 37]; -*u*- [§ 40]; *ā*—*wātcⁱ* [§ 29])

āhanemi'a'gōsipahōmī'ga'kⁱ he continued to climb up hurriedly 96.19

āhanemitete petcāsānātcⁱ he continued to whirl over and over 288.14 (*tetepe*- [for *tetepi*-] allied with *tetep*- BELOW; -*tc*- [§ 8]; -*āsā*- from -*āsā*- [= -*isā* § 19]; -*nātcⁱ* [§ 34])

pācāhanemine'kwā'taminātc gradually the sound grew faint 348.22

āhanemiwāpusāwātcⁱ then they continued to start off on a walk 108.8 (*ā*- as above; *wāpi*- initial stem, meaning TO BEGIN, loses terminal *i* before vowel; -*usā*- secondary stem of second order, meaning LOCOMOTION BY LAND WITH REFERENCE TO FOOT AND LEG [§ 19]; -*wātcⁱ* 3d person plural animate subject; the form is an aorist intransitive conjunctive [see § 29])

kask(i)- implies potency, ability, efficiency, and gets the meaning of SUCCESS, TRIUMPH, MASTERY.

ka'skīhā'w^a he succeeds in buying him (-*āw^a* [§ 28])

ka'skimenō'w^a he is able to drink

ka'skinī'mānā'mw^a he can lift it (-*amw^a* [§ 28])

ka'skimā'w^a he succeeds in persuading him (-*m*- [§ 21.6]; -*āw^a* transitive independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [see § 28])

kā'skināwā'w^a he can see him (-*nāw*- to see, cf. *ānāwātē* then [the man] saw 174.13; *ā'pwāwināwugutē* but he was not seen 158.1; *ānāwāwātēcāpē* they would see habitually 182.14)

ā'pwāwikaskimadanetē on account of not being able to overtake him 168.12

ā'pōnikāske'tawāwātē they could no longer hear their calls 192.6

kā-s(ē)- denotes the idea of obliteration, erasure, wiping.

kā'sīhā'mw^a he erases it (-*h*- instrumental [§ 21]; -*amw^a* transitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object [§ 28])

kāsi'gwāhōw^a he wipes his own face

kāsi'gāci'nw^a he wipes his own foot

kā- indicates the general notion of indefinite movement round about, here and there.

kīweskāwagāpē^e they are always off on a journey 272.14 (for *kīwe-* see § 17 end; -*wag-* for -*wagⁱ* 3d person plural animate, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28]; -*āpē^e* frequency of an act [§ 14 end])

kī'wisā'w^a it (a bird) flies round about (-*isā-* [§ 19])

kī'witcimā'w^a he swims round about (-*tcim-* [§ 19])

kī'weskā'w^a he goes a-journeying somewhere

kī'wāmō'w^a he sought safety here and there (-*ā-* [§ 19]; -*m-* [§§ 21, 37]; -*ō-* [§ 40]; -*w^a* [§ 28])

kīwā'bāmā'w^a he went about looking at one and then another (*wāba* same as *wāpa* in *kīmāwiwāpatāpen^a* LET US GO AND LOOK AT IT 284.8 [*māwi-* below; *kī-āpena*, § 28]; *ā'kīcītāgiwāpāmātcⁱ* and after looking for all [his ducks] 286.16 [*kīci-* p. 766; *tāgi* p. 771; *ā-ātcⁱ* § 29; -*m-* § 21.6])

kē'c(t)- expresses the completion, the fulfillment, of an act.

kī'cāwī'w^a he has finished (a task, an undertaking)

kī'cetā'wⁱ it is done cooking (*tā-* secondary connective stem, inanimate, signifying HEAT [§ 20]; -*wⁱ* [§ 28])

kī'ci'tō'w^a he has finished making it

kī'cipyā'w^a he has already arrived (*pyā-* [§ 16])

kī'cinepōhī'w^a he has since died

kīcīketēpē'tawāwātē after they had built a great fire 158.21 (-*wātē* [§ 29])

kīcīkīgānūtē after the feast is done 156.6

kīcītāgi pyā'nītē after their arrival 90.13 (*tāgi* all; *pyā-* to come: -*nītē* [§ 34])

kīcītāgīketemināgūtē after he had been blessed by them 184.4 (-*gu-* [§ 41])

kicinyä'o'gunipwāwisenitc' four days had passed since he had eaten 182.3 (for *nyä'o'* cf. *nyäw'* 4 [§ 50]; *pwā* for *pyāwi* NOT [§ 12]; *-wiseni* EAT; *-tci* [§ 29])

ä'kicitāgatāmōwātci' after they have touched and tasted it 184.17 (*ä*—*āmōwātci'* same as *ä*—*āmowātci* [§ 29])

kicipyütōmātci' after she had fetched home her burden 162.16 (*pyä*- initial stem MOVEMENT HITHER; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-ō-* secondary stem expressing CONVEYANCE; *-ā-* pronominal animate object; *-tci'* 3d person singular animate [§ 29])

kōg- refers to an activity with a fluid, most often with water, in which instance is derived the idea of washing.

kōge'nigä'w^a she is at work washing clothes (*-gä-* [§ 20])

kōgi'netcä'w^a he washes his own hands

kōgenä'w^a he washes him

kōgige'nānō'w^a he washes his own forehead

kō'giw^a he mires (in the mud)

ä'kōgenātci when he bathed her 300.15 (*-n-* instrumental; cf. also § 8; *ä*—*ātci'* [§ 29])

nā'kākōgenāg' she also washed it 178.21 (for *nāk^a* *ākōgenāg'*; *ä*—*āg'* [§ 29])

kīwigātcikōgenāw^a you are to clean it (the dog) well with water 178.15 (*kī*—*āw^a* [§ 28])

māwi- to go to.

kīmāwicicā'pen^a let us go and hunt 90.9 (*cicā* initial stem TO HUNT; *kī*—*pen^a* we inclusive, future independent mode, intransitive, used as a mild imperative [see §§ 28, 35.8])

kīmāwinepāpen^a let us go and spend the night 90.10

āmāwinepāwātci' they went to a place where they spent the night 30.5 (*ä*—*wātci'* [§ 29])

āmāwi'ketahwātci' she went to dig for them 152.19 (*-hw-* [§ 37]; *ä*—*ātci'* [§ 29])

āmāwiga'kenāminītci' they started off to peel bark 150.15 (*-nītci'* [§ 34])

āmāwiketci'tci' he went to look over the bank 182.9

āmāwināpāmātci he went to have a look 182.7 (*ä*- temporal particle; *wāpa-* same as *wāba* cited under *kī-*; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-ātci* for *-ātci'* transitive aorist conjunctive, 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person animate object [§ 29])

āmāwinānātci' he ran to catch him 182.11 (*nā-* presumably the same as *nā-* [§ 21.8]; *-n-* [see § 21])

me- snow, ice, cold.

ä'a'skime'pug when it had first snowed 70.10 (explained under *aski-*)

mī'k- conveys the sense of occupation, employment in the performance of some activity.

mī'ke'tcāwī'w^a he works, is busy

mī'ket^a'mw^a he is occupied with a piece of work (-t- [§ 21]; -^amw^a [§ 28])

mī'keme'kwāwā'w^a he goes a-wooing ('kwā [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])

mī'ke'tcihā'w^a he is engaged in an attempt to heal him

mī'kwā'nemā'w^a she dotes upon it—her child

nAg(i)- denotes the change from an activity to a rest, and is best translated by words like HALT, STOP, PAUSE.

na'gīw^a he stops moving

nagici'nw^a he halts on the journey (-cin- [§ 20])

na'gipahō'w^a he stops running (-pahō- secondary stem meaning RAPID MOTION [§ 19]; -w^a intransitive aorist, independent mode, 3d person animate subject [§ 28])

tcāgānagigāpāwātē they all came to a halt 50.24 (for tcāgi [ALL] ā-; -gūpā- [§ 19]; ā—wātē [§ 29])

ānagiwātē they stood 50.7 (aorist intransitive conjunctive [§ 29])

nāgA- to follow after.

āpītcināgānātē when he went in following after it 70.13 (pīt-initial stem meaning MOVEMENT INTO AN ENCLOSURE; pītcī a collateral form [see below]; -n- intervocalic instrumental; -ā- pronominal object; -tcē 3d person singular animate subject)

ānāgātāgⁱ and he followed it (ā- as before; -t- intervocalic element indicating that the object is inanimate, here simply that the verb is transitive; -agⁱ 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person singular inanimate object [§ 29])

pAs(i)- implies the notion of SWIFT, LIVELY CONTACT.

pa'sitī'yā'hwā'w^a she spansks him

pa'sī'gwā'hwā'w^a he slaps him in the face

pa'sigu'mā'hwā'w^a he barely grazes his nose (-gum- [§ 17])

pasimiyā'sō'w^a it (an animate subject) fries (-sū- [§ 20])

pa'setā'wⁱ it is hot (-tā- [§ 20]; -wⁱ [§ 28])

pe'kūt- density, thickness.

ā'pe'kwisasaka'kⁱ when it was thick with growth 70.12

pem(i)- expresses the notion of MOVEMENT BY, PAST, ALONGSIDE.

pe'mē'kā'w^a he passes by 278.1 (-'kā- [§ 20])

pe'megā'w^a he dances by 280.5 (-egā- secondary stem of second order, meaning MOVEMENT OF ONE IN DANCING [§ 19]; -w^a 3d person singular animate, independent mode)

pe'mināgā'w^a he passes by a-singing

pe'mipahō'w^a he passes by on the run (-pahō- secondary stem of second order, denoting SPEED [§ 19])

pe'mūtā'w^a he crawls past (-ūtā-, -ōtā- to crawl [§ 19])

ā'pemitepikīkahugunītcⁱ they went swimming by side by side 184.3 (-hugu- same as -hogō- [§ 19]; -nītcⁱ [§ 34])

pemisāw^a it [the swan] went flying past 80.7 (-isā- secondary stem of second order, expressing VELOCITY and associated with MOTION THROUGH THE AIR [§ 19])

It comes to have the force of an inchoative.

pe'musā'w^a he started off on a walk (-usā- secondary stem TO WALK [§ 19])

pe'mwāgesi'w^a she began to wail

ā'pemiwāpusātciⁱ then he started to begin to walk 194.19 (ā- and -tcⁱ explained before; -wāp- for -wāpi- INCEPTION [§ 16]; -usā- secondary stem of second order, TO WALK [§ 19])

pyā- signifies MOVEMENT HITHERWARD.

pyā'w^a he comes

pyā'taci'w^a he fetches home game

pyāte'kwāwā'w^a he brings home a wife (-kwā- woman [§ 18]; -w- [§ 37])

pyā'tāskā'wⁱ it falls this way

pyā'tcine'kawā'w^a he comes driving them home (for pyātci- cf. pītcī- under pīt-; -ne'ka- [§ 19]; -āw^a [§ 28])

pyā'twāwā'miga'twⁱ it comes a-roaring (pyāt- collateral with pyā-; wāwā [§ 20]; āmiga'twⁱ [§ 20]; -wⁱ [§ 28])

pyānāw^a he has brought home 58.5 (-n- intervocalic; -ā- 3d person singular animate object; -w^a as before)

ā'pyātcⁱ when he had come 68.25 (ā—tcⁱ [§ 29])

pī(t)- conveys the sense of movement into an enclosure.

pī'tāse'nwⁱ it blows inside (-ā- [§ 19]; -sen- [§ 20]; -wⁱ [§ 28])

pī'tciwenā'w^a he leads him within

pī'ta'hwā'w^a he buries him (-hw- [§ 21]; -āw^a [§ 28])

pī'tigā'w^a he enters

ā'pītcī'kawānītc they trailed (a bear into woods) 70.12

ā'pītigātc as he entered 326.10 (-gā- [§ 20]; ā—tc [=tcⁱ § 29])

ā'pītigānātc then he took her inside 42.20 [-gā- variant of gā; -n- instrumental [§ 21]; ā—ātcⁱ [§ 29])

pītcisāwag there came running into 142.10 (-isā- as in pemisāw^a; -wag for -wagiⁱ 3d person plural animate, intransitive independent mode [§ 28])

pōn(i)- also expresses the notion of CESSATION, but with more of the idea of the negative temporal element NO MORE, NO LONGER.

pō'negä'w^a he is no longer dancing (-egä- as before, p. 768)

pōne'nägä'w^a he has ceased singing

pōne'senyä'w^a he has done eating

pō'nepyä'w^a he is no longer a drunkard

pō'nimä'w^a he has stopped talking to him (-m- [§ 21])

ä'pōninūtawāwāt^c they stopped hearing the sound 152.1

āgwipōni'kāguwāt^cin^t never shall they be left alone 186.2 (āgwī-
n^t not [§ 29]; -gu- [§ 41]; -wāt^ci [§ 29])

ä'pōniwāt^c they halted 164.13, 192.9

sāg(i)- implies the notion of EXPOSURE, MANIFESTATION, VISIBILITY.

sā'gise'nw^t it sticks out (-sen- [§ 20]; -w^t [§ 28])

sā'gitepāci'nw^a he lies covered all over except at the head (-cin- [§ 20]; tepä head; -w^a [§ 28])

sā'giwinä'gāpā'w^a but for the tips of his horns, he stands shut off from view. [As winä- is a secondary stem of the first order [§ 18] used to designate A HORN, and -gāpā- is a secondary stem of the second order [§ 19] expressing PERPENDICULARITY, the literal translation would seem to be HE STANDS WITH HIS HORNS EXPOSED.—T. M.]

sā'gitepā'hogō'w^a he floats with the head only out of the water (-hogō- [§ 19])

sā'gikumä'w^a he exposes his nose to view (-kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])

sag(i)- has a transitive force with the meaning of SEIZING HOLD.

sāgēcānā'w^a he holds him by the ear (-cā- ear [§ 18]; -n- instrumental [§ 21])

sāgine'känā'w^a he leads him by the hand (-ne'ka- [§ 19]; -n- [§ 21])

sāgi'pwä'w^a he bites hold of him (-pw- [§ 21])

sāgāne'kwänā'w^a he grabs hold of him by the hair (-'kwä- head [§ 18])

ä'pe'kwisasaka'k^t when it was thick with growth 70.12; (ä- 'k^t [§ 29])

āsāgine'känāt^c he then held her by the hand 134.13 (-n- [§ 21];

ä-āt^c [= -āt^c § 29]; -ne'kā- as in āsāgine'kāskāt^c 214.10)

āsāgikänāt^c she grabbed hold of one by the leg 292.2

tā(iri)- has to do with the sensation of physical pain.

tā'wite'pōci'nw^a he fell and hurt his head (tepä- head; -cin- [§ 20]; -w^a [§ 28])

tā'wilaⁿ sitägāpā'w^a it hurts his feet to stand (-gāpā- [§ 19])

tā'we'kwā'w^a his head aches (-'kwā- head [§ 18])

āgi all, entirely.

tcāgiketenag^t she took off all 224.1 (n- [§ 21]; ā- left out [§ 12]; ā—ag^t [§ 29])

kicitcāgipyānītc^t after all had arrived 90.13 (kīci- and pyā- initial stems [§ 16]; -nītc for -nītc^t 3d person plural, animate [§ 34])

īnā'tcāgipyānītc^t thus all had arrived 172.20 (īnā- thus)

kicitcāgiketemināgut^t after he had been blessed by all 184.5 (kīci completion; gu [§ 41]; ā-omitted; -tc^t [§ 29])

ā'tcāgesut^t then he was burnt all up 30.3 (sū- secondary stem meaning HEAT, animate [§ 20])

ā'tcāghāwāt^t they slew them all 8.16, 10.2 (-h- [§ 21]; ā—āwāt^t [§ 29])

tep- movement in a circle.

ätetepetcāsa'tōtc he started himself a-rolling 288.13

tetepusān* walk around in a circle 376.12 (see 158.1) (-usā- secondary stem of second order, meaning TO WALK [§ 19]; -n* 2d person singular imperative, intransitive [§ 31])

āwāpītetepusāt^t he began to walk around in a circle 256.9 (wāpi- see next stem)

īp(t)- signifies the idea of COMMENCEMENT, INCEPTION, INCHOATION.

wāpina'husā'w^a he is beginning to know how to walk (nah to know)

wāpikē'miyā'w^a the rain is beginning to fall

wā'piwī'senī'w^a he is starting to eat (compare nīwīsen^t do let me eat 184.10)

āwāpā'kwamatag^t he became sick 156.9

wīwāpimatcaiyāwicimegowāt^t they shall begin to have to put up with their insolence 184.18 (wī—wāt^t [§ 29])

āwāpusāt^t he started off on a walk 126.3, 23; 278.8; 280.2 (-usā- [§ 19]; ā—tc^t [§ 29])

ci- whence, away from.

wātcikesiyāgicisāwā whence the cold came, then he speeds to 70.14 (change of vowel u to wā on account of participial form; analyzed in note 21, p. 869).

utciwāp^t from this time on 34.14 (literally, beginning whence; wāpi- see preceding stem)

i- expresses the sense of ACCOMPANIMENT, ASSOCIATION, COMPANIONSHIP.

wī'dāmā'w^a he accompanies him (-d- for -t-; see below)

wī'tcāwā'w^a he goes along, too

wī'pāmā'w^a he sleeps with him

wī'pumā'w^a he eats with him (*pu-* [§ 21]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-āw^a* [§ 29])

wī'kumā'w^a he invites him to the feast

wītāmātcinⁱ him whom he accompanied 70.14 (see text at end)

wī'pumin^u eat thou with me 266.19 (*pu-* act done with mouth

[§ 21]; *-m-* indicates animate object [§§ 21, 37]; *-in^u* imperative

2d person singular subject, 1st person singular object [§ 31])

pep- winter, snow, cold.

ā'pepōgⁱ in the winter-time 150.5 (ā'pepōg 70.10; 136.3 is the same form with elision of final vowel before initial vowel [see text at end; also §§ 12, 42])

As¹ the small number of initial stems given by Dr. Jones seems to me to be rather out of proportion to their importance, I take the liberty of inserting here a hundred odd new examples taken from his Fox Texts, arranged in the order of the English alphabet. For this purpose *a*, *ā*, *ɐ*, *ä*, *ɛ*, follow each other in this order. I would remind the reader that there is considerable fluctuation in these vowels, especially between *a* and *ɐ*; *ā* and *ɐ*. The variation of *a* and *ā* is slight; that of *ā* and *ä* does not seem to occur. The sound pronounced was undoubtedly the same in any given fluctuation; Dr. Jones simply has recorded the sounds as he heard them at a given time. Examples follow:

a'tetcā- distant.

ā'a'te'tcikiweskātcⁱ he went on a distant journey 74.5 (*ā—tcⁱ* [§ 29]; *kīwe-* [§ 17], allied to *kīwi-* [see under *kī-* above]; *-sk-* [§ 21]; *-ā-* [§ 19])

a'tetcāhātcⁱ she went far away 38.1 (*ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *ā—tcⁱ* [§ 29]; *hā-* from *hā-* an initial stem meaning TO GO)

A'te'tcāwīgīwātⁱ they lived far away 160.14 (*ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *wīgī* is an initial stem, TO DWELL)

awī- to be.

awīnītⁱ they were 50.18 (*ā-* lost [§ 12]; *-ni-* [§ 34]; hence *-tcⁱ* [§ 29] may be used for a plural)

āwītīgⁱ they who were 358.8 (participial; *-tīgⁱ* [§ 33])

āwīyānⁱ where I am 366.2 (for *ā-āwīyānⁱ*; *ā—yānⁱ* [§ 29])

āmī- to move.

nā'kāhāmīwātⁱ again they moved on 166.12 (for *nāk^a ā-* [§ 10]; *-h-* a glide [§ 8]; *ā—wātⁱ* [§ 29])

¹ From here to p. 793, addition by T. Michelson.

pi to untie.

āpinahamw^a she unties it 162.2 (-amw^a [§ 28])

āpinahamwāpe'^e she always unties it 162.3 (for -amw^a ā- [§ 10]; -āpe'^e [§ 14])

āhāpihag then he untied it 334.16 (for ā—ag^t [§ 29]; -^t lost before an initial vowel [§ 10]; -h- first time a glide [§ 8]; second time instrumental [§ 21])

See also 160.19; 170.4; 172.10, 14; 290.22, 25; 292.5

wa- to carry away.

āwanāwag^t they were carrying them away 198.5 (-n- [§ 21]; -āwag^t [§ 28])

āhāwanetcⁱ then they were carried away 26.3 (ā—etcⁱ [§ 41]; -h- a glide [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

āwāpi-āwatōwāt^c they set to work carrying it 212.21 (ā—wāt^c [§ 29]; -^t lost by contraction [§ 10]; wāpi- an initial stem, TO BEGIN; -tō- [§ 37])

wīhawatōyān^e I would have taken it with me 230.12 (for wī- with the subjunctive see my note [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8]; -tō- [§ 37]; -yān^e [§ 29])

āhawānāt^c she took him 38.2 (for ā—āt^c [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -n- [§ 21])

See also 162.15; 164.7, 8, 9; 166.1; 224.18; 230.12; 246.24; 348.9, etc.

Agōsī- to climb.

wīhagōsīyān^t I shall have to do the climbing 90.19 (wī—yān^t [§ 29]; -h- [§ 8])

āhagōsīt^c he climbed up 94.16 (for ā—t^c [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -h- [§ 8])

See also 96.19; 274.24

AcAm- to give to eat.

acami give it to him to eat 252.1 (-i [§ 31])

ā-A'camegut^c then he was given food to eat 70.2 (for ā—t^c [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

See also 14.19; 106.1; 256.12

Agwi- to cover.

agwihe'^k cover him up 294.18 (-h- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -'k^u [§ 31])

wīhagwitin^t for him to cover himself with 294.21 (evidently a participial; see § 34 near the end; -h- is a glide [§ 8]; wī- is irregular, as is its use with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29)

Amw- to eat.

amwitā he that eats me 272.19; 274.3, 7, 12 (for -ita [§ 33])

ä·amwātē then he ate him 274.15 (*ä—ātē* [§ 29])

wīhamwāgetē we (excl.) shall eat him 58.11 (*wī—āgetē* [§ 29];
-*h-* [§ 8])

kādāmwī·kānē don't eat me 96.4 (for *kātē* *ā-*; *-i·kānē* [§ 30])

See also 26.10; 58.24; 96.10, 11, 17; 166.3; 266.20; 274.5;
330.22

Anemi- yon way.

. *Anemicāg^a* go ahead and hunt for game 294.8 (*cīcā-* from *cīcā-*
to hunt for game; *-g^a* [§ 31])

āhanemāpitē there he sat down 352.24 (*ä—tē* [§ 29]; *ānem-* for
ānemi- [§ 10]; *āpi-* is an initial stem, TO SIT; *-h-* [§ 8])

Api- to sit.

wīhapitē he shall sit 16.18 (*wī—tē* [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 8])

nemenwapⁱ I am content to sit down 370.12 (*ne-* [§ 28]; *men-*
is an initial stem denoting PLEASURE)

hapitē let him be seated 370.11 (*h-* is glide [§ 8] after a final
vowel; *-tē* [§ 31])

ācītābitē he sat down 172.15 (*ä—tē* [§ 29]; for confusion of *b*
and *p* see § 3)

See also 370.7, 8, 9; 316.16

Askwi- to save.

ā·askwīnesātē he saved them from killing 8.12 (*ä—ātē* [§ 29]; *ne-*
is an initial stem, TO KILL)

askunāmānē I saved it (for *ā·askunāmānē*; *ä—āmānē* [§ 29]; *-u-*
for *-wi-* [§ 12]; *-n-* [§ 21])

cāgw- to be unwilling.

ācāgwānemutē he was unwilling 24.22 (*ä—tē* [§ 29]; *-āne-* [§ 19];
-m- [§§ 21, 37]; *-u-* [§ 40])

cāgwānemōw^a she was unwilling 170.1 (*-ō-* [§ 40]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

See also 14.4; 34.10; 144.11

cawī- to do.

cawīw^a he is doing 288.15 (*-w^a* [§ 28])

ācawīnitē he was doing 322.1 (*ä—nitē* [§ 34])

ācawīgwānē what he did 342.4, 5, 8, 10 (*ä—gwānē* [§ 32]; my trans-
lation is literal)

See also 16.16; 24.20; 66.7; 76.5, 7; 250.7, 9; 280.8, 11;
356.16

cīcā- to hunt for game.

pyātcīcīcāw^a he comes hitherward hunting for game 92.7 (*pyātcī-*
is an extended form of *pyā-*, an initial stem denoting MOTION
HITHERWARD; *-w^a* [§ 28])

cīcāg^u go seek for game 296.2 (*cīcā-* for *cīcā-*, as *pyā-g^u* COME YE for *pyā-*; -*g^u* [§ 31])

cīcāt^a he that was hunting for game 38.8 (-*t^a* [§ 33])

See also 38.14; 78.15

cīm to tell.

ācimeguwāt^c what they were told 356.14 (*ā—wāt^c* [§ 29]; -*e-* [§ 8]; -*gu-* [§ 41])

ācimegut^c what he was told 358.22 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29])

hā to go.

wihāwag^t they shall go 338.10 (*wī-* [§ 28]; -*wag^t* [§ 28])

kīh^a thou wilt go 284.21 (*kī-* [§ 28])

wihāmiga^tw^t it will start 224.4 (*wī—w^t* [§ 28]; -*miga^t-* [§ 20])

kīhāpw^a you will go 20.20 (*kī—pw^a* [§ 28]; -*ā-* for -*ä-*, as in *kī^tpyāpw^a* you will come 20.16)

See also 22.18; 122.11, 18; 170.20; 338.9, 10, 13; 356.15, 17

hawi- to dwell, to be (not the copula).

hawiw^a she is 108.6 (-*w^a* [§ 28])

āhawit^c she remained 10.14 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29])

āhawit^c he was 10.18

hawik^u remain ye 48.23 (-*k^u* for -*g^u* [§ 3]; -*g^u* [§ 31])

See also 12.19; 22.20, 21; 68.9

hi- to speak (to).

hiw^a he says 26.12, 14 (-*w^a* [§ 28])

āhit^c he said 26.19, 20, 21 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29])

āhinetc^t he was told 26.11 (*ā—etc^t* [§ 41]; -*n-* [§ 21])

āhināt^c he said to them 10.6 (*ā—āt^c* [§ 29]; -*n-* [§ 21])

See also 8.7, 11, 14, 18; 10.22; 14.6; 16.4; 96.8; 110.9; 216.6; 218.2

i- to say.

kaciw^a what does he say 242.15 (for *kac^t iw^a* [§ 10]; -*w^a* [§ 28])

ici- thus.

wī^tcināgusinit^c she wished to look thus 104.4 (*wī—nit^c* [§ 29]; -*nāgu-* [§ 18]; -*si-* [§ 20])

ā^tcitāhāt^c thus she thought in her heart 102.1 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29]; *ic-* for *ici-* [§ 10]; -*itā-* [§ 18]; -*hā-* [§ 20])

kātu- sorrow.

ā^tkātusigān^t I felt grieved 158.8 (*ā—yān^t* [§ 29]; -*si-* [§ 20])

kāwA- to crunch.

ā^tkākāwatag he crunched it 124.9 (for *ā—ag^t* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -*kā-* reduplication [§ 25]; -*t-* [§ 21])

ōnā'kākawamegwitc' then it [the possessed object, i. e., his head] crunched and ate him up 96.8 (for *ōn'* ā- [§ 10]; *ā—tc'* [§ 29]; *-kā-* [§ 25]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e* [§ 8]; *-gwi-* [§ 34])

ā'kā'kāwatāmowātc' then they crunched them (the bones) up 296.5 (*ā—āmowātc'* [§ 29]; *-t-* [§ 21]; *-kā-* [§ 25])

See also 124.4, 15; 294.10

kan- to speak.

kanawin^u speak thou 180.4 (*-wi-* [§ 20]; *-n^u* [§ 31])

ā'kanōnetc' he was addressed 8.5 (*ā—etc'* [§ 41])

See also 174.11, 13; 176.2, 20, 23; 180.6, 7, 11

ke'k- to know, find out.

wike'kānemātc he desired to find out concerning her 46.9 (for *wi—ātc'* [§§ 10, 29]; *-āne-* [§ 19]; *-m-* [§ 21])

āgwi ke'kānemagin I did not know concerning him 160.8 (*āgwi* not; *-agi* [§ 29]; *-n* for *-ni* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; *ā-* omitted [§ 29])

āhānemike'kahwātc he continued to find them out 298.15 (literal translation; for *ā—ātc'* [§§ 10, 29]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-hu-* [§ 21]; *hānemi-* an initial stem meaning TO CONTINUE TO)

See also 166.8, 9; 298.15; 326.20, 21; 328.1, 6, 7, 7, 8, 13, 15; 342.3, 7, 10, 15, 16; etc.

kep- to enclose.

ā'kepetunānānitc' she would close his mouth with her hand 324.9 (*ā—ānitc'* [§ 34]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-tun-* [§ 18]; *-ā* as *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

ā'kepōgwātāg after he had closed it by stitching it with cord 288.13, 18 (for *ā—agt'* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; *-t-* [§ 21])

See also 138.12; 142.7; 290.9; 332.10

ke'tci- intensity.

ā'ke'tcipenutc he went at top speed 168.5 (for *ā—tc'* [§§ 10, 29]; *penu-* is an initial stem, TO GO)

ā'ke'tcimaiyōtc' she then began to wail with sore distress 170.20 (*ā—tc'* [§ 29]; *maiyo-* is an initial stem meaning TO WAIL)

See also 186.8; 188.17; 200.5; 284.19; 310.22; 314.11

kīck(i)- to cut off.

ā'kīckīckecācwātāpe'° from them he would cut off both ears 8.13 (for *-tc' āpe'°* [§ 10]; *ā—ātc'* [§ 29]; *-āpe'°* [§ 14]; *-kīc-* [§ 25]; *-c-* [§ 8]; *-cā-* [§ 18]; *-cu-* [§ 21])

nākākīckigumācwātāpe'° and he would cut off their noses 8.13 (for *nāk^a ā-* [§ 10]; *nāk^a* again, and; *-gum-* [§ 18]; *-ā-* same as *-e-* [§ 8]; the rest as above)

See also 8.17, 18; 10.4, 5

kēm- to feel gently.

ä'kīmenātc then he let his hand steal softly over her 322.21 (for ä—ātc^t [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

wīkīmenāt^e wishing to pass his hand gently over her, he began to feel her 326.5 (-āt^e [§ 29]; for the use of wī- with the subjunctive see my note to §29)

kīni- to sharpen.

wīkīnihāw^a he shall sharpen it (a moose-antler in a sacred bundle; hence animate) 106.15 (a future form of a transitive 3d person subject with 3d person object; wī—āw^a see my note [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

kī'kīnihāw^a you shall sharpen him (it) 108.2 (kī—āw^a [§ 28]; -h- [§ 21])

ä'kīnihāt^t then he sharpened him 108.3 (ä—ātc^t [§ 29])

wāsikīnikumäyāg^t made sharp at the point 356.13 (-kum- same as -gum- [§ 18])

kīp- to fall.

ä'kīpīsānit^t then they fell through the air 332.4, 5 (ä—nit^t [§ 34]; -isā- from -isä- [§ 19])

kīsk- to cut up.

ä'kīskcut^t then he was cut up 166.3 (ä—ut^t [§ 41]; -e- [§ 8]; -c- [§ 21])

kīskcām^w he cut it off (ām^w [§ 28])

kīwü- to turn back.

kīwātāwē^t let us go back 72.3 (-tāwē^t [§ 6] for -tāwe [§ 31])

ä'kīwāt^t then he turned back 94.4 (ä—tc^t [§ 29])

ä'pēmīkīwāt^c so he started to turn back 210.1 (for ä—tc^t by contraction [§ 10]; pēmi- [§ 16])

kīwānū go back 208.15 (prolongation of -nu [§ 31])

See also 166.9, 22

ku- to fear.

kuseg^w he was feared 56.14 (-s- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -g^w [§ 41])

ku'tām^w he feared it 214.20 (-t- [§ 21]; -ām^w [§ 28])

See also 120.8; 190.21; 214.1; 284.20

kut- to feel of.

ä'kutenāt^t then he felt of her 46.9 (ä—ātc^t [§ 29]; -e- [§ 8]; -n- [§ 21])

maiyo-, maiyu- to weep.

maiyamaiyōhāw^a it was common for him to make them cry 16.9 (maiya- [§ 25]; -h- [§ 21]; -āw^a [§ 28])

äwäpimaiyutci then he began to weep 330.14 (*ä—tc* [§ 29]; *wäpi-* [§ 16])

See also 12.13; 110.16

mā'kwit- futuere.

ämā'kwitci then he went into her 322.21

See also 56.17; 312.18, 24; 322.23; 324.7, 8, 16, 17

mānū- multitude.

mānāwag many 40.1

äwäpimānāwātci they began to be numerous 52.9 (*ä—wātci* [§ 29]; *wäpi-* to begin [§ 16])

See also 52.1; 54.1, 18

mātu-, mātō- to plead.

ämāmātomeguwātci then they began to be entreated 152.10 (for *ä—wātci* [§§ 12, 29]; *mā-* [§ 25]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

ämāmātomegutci then he began to be plead with 162.12 (for *ä—tc* [§§ 10, 29])

ämāmātumegutci he was entreated 184.10

mā- futuere.

nepyātcimanāwā I have come to have sexual intercourse with her 44.24 (*ne—āwā* [§ 28]; *pyātc-* an extended form of *pyā-* MOTION HITHERWARD [§ 16])

āhanemīmanātc then he went first into one and then into another 56.14 (*ä—ātc* [§ 29]; *hānemī-* TO CONTINUE TO [§ 16]; *-n-* [§ 21])

āmanegutci then she had sexual intercourse with 160.20 (really a passive; *ä—tc* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

mādā, māta- to overtake.

ämādanegutci as he was overtaken 168.5 (*ä—tc* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

āpyātcimatānēc they came and overtook him 196.4 (literally, HE WAS OVERTAKEN; *ä—etc* [§ 41]; *pyātc-* an extended form of *pyā-* MOTION HITHER [§ 16]; *-n-* [§ 21])

ātācimatānēc as many as there were, were overtaken 12.3 (*tāci-* is an initial stem meaning AS MANY AS)

mec- to capture.

wikaskimecenātc he would be able to capture him 24.6 (*wī—ātc* [§ 29]; *kaski-* same as *kaski-* ABILITY [§ 16]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

mācenemēc they that had been taken 12.12 (participial [§ 33]; hence the change in the vowel stem [§ 11])

āmecenēc then he was captured 14.9 (*ä—etc* [§ 41]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

mecenagutc' let us be captured 14.5

See also 14.7; 20.18; 182.11

neci- large.

mecime'tegw' a large tree 162.6

ämeciketenänitc' how large she was at the vulva 46.10; 322.21
(**ä-nitc'** [§ 34])

mecu- to strike with a missile.

ämecugutc' when he was struck by a missile (**ä-ic'** [§ 29]; **-gu-** [§ 41])

mäcugwinitc' it hit him (**-gwini-** [§ 34])

The construction at 94.18 is difficult.

megu- together.

äh_Anemimegusögisowāt they continued on their way bound together 26.4 (for **ä-wāt** [§ 29] in accordance with § 10; **h_Anemi-** to continue to [§ 16]; **sögi-** is an initial stem, TO BIND; **-so-** [§ 40])

me'k- to find out.

äme'kawāt then she found him 160.15 (**ä-āt** [§ 29]; **-a-** [8 ¶]; **-w-** [§ 21])

neme'kawāwag I have found them 94.13 (for **ne-āwag'** [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10])

äme'kawut he was found 146.11 (for **ä-ut** [§ 41])

äme'kameg it was found 146.13 (for **ä-ameg'** [§ 41])

See also 122.7, 13, 20; 334.10

me'kw- to remember.

me'kwänemi'k_An' thou shalt think of me 188.8 (**-äne-** [§ 18]; **-m-** [§ 21]; **-i'k_An'** [§ 30])

äme'kwänemāt then he remembered him 328.18 (for **ä-āt** [§ 29])

See also 76.19; 138.7; 352.12

menw- to take pleasure in.

menwänet_Amägw' you may prefer it 32.15 (**-äne-** [§ 18]; **-t-** [§ 21]; **-amägw'** [§ 29])

nemenw_Ap' I like to sit 370.10 (**ne-** [§ 28]; **api-** to sit)

nemenwänet_A I prefer it 136.3, 4 (**ne-a** [§ 28]; **-t-** [§ 21])

mänwänetag^a he that preferred it 136.5

mänwänet_Ag^a he that preferred it 138.2 (participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel [§ 12]; **-ag^a** [§ 33])

mänwänemātcin' she whom he loved 148.7 (participial; **-m-** [§ 21]; **-ātcin'** [§ 33])

See also 66.17; 136.13; 138.3; 176.12; 336.4

mes- to derive real benefit.

wimesānetamāgw^e ye shall derive real benefit from it 32.12
(*wī—amāgw^e* [§ 29]; *-āne-* [§ 19]; *-t-* [§ 21])

metawā- to sulk.

ināmetawāwāt^c then they sulked 30.9 (for *in^t ā-* [§ 10]; *ā—wāt^c* [§ 29])

mātwātcig^t they that sulk at him 30.12 (participial; hence the vowel-change [§ 12]; *-ātcig^t* [§ 33])

See also TITLE 30; and 30.10

metā- to take pleasure in.

nemetātānet^a I am pleased with it 324.16 (*ne—^a* [§ 28]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-āne-* [§ 18]; *-t-* [§ 21])

metātānetamanin^t don't you take delight in it 324.15 (*-amanⁱ* [§ 29]; *-n^t* [§ 29])

mī- to give.

mīnenagā^a I would give to thee 58.23 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-nagā^a* [§ 30])

kīmīneguwāw^a he shall give you 32.13 (*kī—guwāw^a* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

mīnegutcin^t they (inan.) that were given to him 24.28 (*-gu-* [§ 41]; *-tcin^t* [§ 34])

See also 24.23; 222.19, 20, 25

mīc- to give.

mīciyāgāgu^a you might give to him 32.11 (*-iyāgāgu^a* [§ 30])

mīgā- to fight.

āmīgātīt^c he fought with 14.4 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29]; *-tī-* [§ 38])

āwāpīmīgātīwāt^c when they began fighting with each other 22.18
(*ā-* probably an error for *ā-*; *ā—wāt^c* [§ 29]; *wāpi-* [§ 16] to begin; *-tī-* [§ 38])

wāpīmīgātīwāt^c they began fighting with each other 34.8 (*ā-* dropped [§ 12])

wīmīgātīt^c he would fight with them 24.23 (for *wī—t^c* [§ 29])

wīmīgātīyān^t you will fight 24.25 (*wī—yān^t* [§ 29])

See also 24.26

mīsī- cacare.

āmīsīt^c when he eased himself 76.5 (*ā—t^c* [§ 29])

nīmīs^t I am about to ease myself 274.15, 16 (*nī-* [§ 28])

mīsīmīsīsā one would ease and keep on easing 272.20; 274.4, 8, 13 (reduplication [§ 25]; *-sā* lengthened form of *-sa* [§ 30])

See also 274.20, 21; 276.10

mītcī- cacare.

āmītcīnātcⁱ then he dunged on him 124.22 (*mītcī-* is related to *mīsi-* as *pōtci-* to *pōsi-*; *ā-ātcⁱ* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21])

kicimītcīnātc after he had dunged on him 124.22 (*kici-* for *kīci-* COMPLETION; *ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *-ātc* for *-ātcⁱ* [§ 10])

mītcī- to eat.

kemītcⁱ thou hast eaten 122.3 (*ke-* [§ 28])

āmītcītcⁱ then he ate 14.23

wīmītcīteⁱ she was on the point of eating 96.3 (*-teⁱ* [§ 29]; for the use of *wī-* with the subjunctive see my note, p. 823)

mītcīn^u eat thou 174.18 (*-n^u* [§ 31])

See also 174.19; 184.16; 240.7, 18; 336.2; 374.18

musw- to suspect.

āmuswānemāwātcⁱ they suspected them 150.14 (*ā-āwātcⁱ* [§ 29]; *-āne-* [§ 18]; *-m-* [§ 21])

muswānemāw^a he suspects him (*-m-* [§ 21]; *āw^a* [§ 28])

nahī- to know how.

nahīwīsenīwātcīnⁱ they did not know how to eat 76.3 (*ā-* omitted on account of the negative; *-nⁱ* [§ 29]; *-wātcī* [§ 29]; *wīsenī-* to eat)

wīnahuwīwīyānⁱ I desire to know how to get a wife 334.13 (*wī-yānⁱ* [§ 29]; for the syntax see § 35; *nah-* for *nahī-* by contraction [§ 10]; *wūwⁱ* to marry)

See also 336.3

nawī- to visit.

nīnawīhāw^a I am going to visit him 228.1; 238.21; 244.12; 256.1; 262.20 (*nī-āw^a* [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 21])

wīnawīhetīwāgⁱ they will go visiting one another 242.5 (*wī-* for *wī-* used with intransitive independent future [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-tī-* [§ 38]; *-wāgⁱ* [§ 28])

nā- to fetch.

kepyātcīnānen^e I have come to take you away 40.12; 42.18; 44.1 (*ke-n^e* [§ 28]; *pyātcī-* an extended form of *pyā-* MOTION HITHERWARD; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

nepyātcīnānāw^a I have come to take her away 42.4 (*ne-āw^a* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21])

nepyātcīnānāpen^a we have come to take him away 58.8 (*ne-āpen^a* [§ 28])

nātauwⁱ'k^u go and fetch him away 58.7 (*-t-* [§ 8]; *awu-* same as *āw^a*, *aw^a* [?]; *'k^u* [§ 31])

nāne'k^u go fetch her 354.15 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *'k^u* [§ 31])

See also 40.7; 42.1; 46.22; 58.8

nāci- to caress.

ānācitepānātc' he caressed her head with his hand 188.4, 9 (*ā—ātc'* [§ 29]; *tepā* head; *-n-* [§ 21])

nāgü-, nAGA- to sing.

ācināgātc' thus he sang 110.18 (*ā—tc'* [§ 29]; *ci* for *ici* THUS)

ācināgānitc' he sang 110.16 (*ā—nitci* [§ 34])

ānagamutci then he sang 10.19; 110.18 (*ā—tc'* [§ 29]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-u-* [§ 40])

pyātcinagamunitc' he came singing 350.6

ākiwinagamunitc' he went about singing 350.15 (*ā—nitc'* [§ 34];

-m- [§§ 27, 31]; *-u-* [§ 40]; *kiwi-* an extended form of *kī-* [§ 16]

movement in an indefinite direction; [Jones's translation is free])

See also 110.13

nāgwā- to depart.

wīnāgwāyagw' we (incl.) should depart 62.23 (for *wī—yagw'* [§ 29])

ānāgwāwātc' then they started on 138.14 (*ā—wātc'* [§ 29])

nāgwāgōna now depart 170.6

wīnāgwāgwān' (who) should depart 194.9 (*wī—gwān'* [§ 32])

*nāgwāwāpe'** he would go away 312.22 (for *nāgwāwā āpe'** [§ 10];

*-w** [§ 28]; *nāgwā-* is presumably more original than *nāgwā-*;

cf. *āpyāwātc'* WHEN THEY CAME [from *pyā-*] and my note § 11)

See also 44.16; 138.9, 11; 170.8

nāi- to see.

ānāta_g' then he saw it, them 38.8; 202.11; 240.1; 266.5; 278.1

(*ā—ta_g'* [§ 29]; *-t-* [§ 21]; derived from *nāw-*? [see § 12])

nātsü- whole, well.

wīnāsāh_{ag}' I shall make them well, I shall heal them 356.5

(*wī—ag'* [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 21])

wīnāsāhāw^a she shall heal them 356.6 (*-āw^a* [§ 28]; note the

irregular use of *wī-* as a sign of the future with the independent

mode transitive; note further that this is a future with a 3d

person subject and 3d person object; see my note to § 28;

-h- [§ 21])

*nāsāte'** would that he were alive 12.14 (*-te'** [§ 29])

See also 116.17; 158.13, 16

nāw-, nā·u to see.

nāwāp' they are seen 72.15 (*-āp'* [§ 41])

ānāwāwātc' they saw him 198.2 (for *ā—āwātc'* [§ 29])

nāwagetcin^t we have not seen them 198.7 (ä- omitted because of the negative; -agetci-, -n^t [§ 29])

nāwāgwin did ye not see them 198.4 (for -āgwin^t by contraction [§ 10]; ä- dropped; -āgwi for -āgwe; -n^t [§ 29])

āna'u'gutc she was seen 162.22 (for ā—tc^t [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; -gu- [§ 41])

nāwutiwātcin^t whenever they see one another 276.16 (for nā-u; -w- is a glide [§ 8]; -tī- [§ 38]; the form is a participial; ā is left out before wātcin^t [-āwātcin^t] [§ 33] because -tī- really represents the objects exactly as in āwāpimīgātīwātc^t 22.18 [for the analysis see under mīga-])

See also 38.11; 80.5, 16; 182.15; 276.14; 288.14; 340.6

nAnā- ready.

nanāhawigō^u get ready 22.20 (hawī- to be; -gō^u for -g^u [§ 6]; -g^u [§ 31])

nanāhawin^u get ready 44.1 (-n^u [§ 31])

nAto-, nAtu- to ask, summon.

ānatomegutc^t she was summoned 146.15 (ā—tc^t [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

tcāgānatotīwātc^t all asked each other 60.13 (for tcāg^t ALL + ā- [§ 10]; ā—wātc^t [§ 29]; -tī- [§ 38])

nepyātcinatumāw^a I have come to summon him 200.1 (ne—āw^a [§ 28]; pyātci- an extended form of pyā- [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD; -m- [§ 21])

wātcināto menāg^e why we (excl.) asked thee 336.11 (wātcī- from utci- [§ 16] WHENCE [see § 11]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -nāg^e [§ 29])

See also 40.5; 60.15; 240.7; 336.10, 13; 338.6, 7; 342.3, 6, 9; 366.19; 368.2, 13, 20, 22; 372.21

nemA-, nema- perpendicularity.

nemasun^u stand up 48.17 (-su- [§ 40]; -n^u [§ 31])

nemasōw^a he is standing up (-sō- [§ 40]; -w^a [§ 28]; the explanation in § 8 is wrong)

nematōn^u hang (it) up 240.5; 242.12 (-t- [§ 8]; -ō- [§ 19]; -n^u [§ 31])

nemasōw^a he stood 216.9

See also 48.18; 50.1, 9; 52.5; 54.3; 112.21; 238.3; 278.2

nep- to die.

nepetc^e may he die 68.14 (-e- [§ 8]; -tc^e [§ 31])

kīnep^e you shall die 68.17, 20 (kī- [§ 28])

nepege^e had he died 158.16 (inanimate; for -'ke'^e [§ 29]; confusion of g and k [§ 3])

nepw^a he dies 332.18, 20 (-*w^a* [§ 28])

nepeniwan she had died 208.20 (for -*niwanⁱ* [§ 34] by contraction [§ 10])

See also 34.5; 114.16, 17, 20, 25, 26; 116.2, 3, 8; 158.15

nepü-*, *nepä- to sleep.

ke'tcinepāw^a he is sound asleep 284.19 (*ke'tci-* intensity: -*rⁱ* [§ 28])

nepāgwän^e he must have slept 306.11 (*ā* for *ä*, as in *pyātē* LET HIM COME, etc.; -*gwän^e* [§ 32])

änepātēⁱ he fell asleep 324.19 (*ä*-*tcⁱ* [§ 29])

kīnepāpenā let you and I go to sleep 324.18 (prolongation by stress [§ 6] of *kī*-*penā* [§ 28])

See also 10.19; 284.3, 5, 24

nes- to kill.

nesegus^a he would have been slain 168.13 (-*e-* [§ 8]; -*gu-* [§ 41]; -*s^a* [§ 30])

kīnesāpen^a let us (incl.) slay him 94.7 (*kī*-*āpen^a* [§ 28])

wīhucīnesagw^e why we (incl.) should slay him 94.9 (*wī*-*agw^e* [§ 29]; -*h-* [§ 8]; *utci-* [§ 16] whence)

nāsāwātciⁱ they whom they had slain 196.15 (-*āwātciⁱ* [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel [§ 11])

See also 8.2, 3, 7, 12, 17; 10.3; 14.1; 26.13, 16; 350.2, 17

neski- to loathe, feel contempt for.

neskinamw^a he felt contempt for them 168.19 (-*n-* [§ 21]; -*amw^a* [§ 28])

āneskinuwānitēⁱ she loathed him on that account 66.17 (*ä*-*ānitēⁱ* [§ 34])

neneskinawāw^a I loathe him on account of 68.14 (*ne*-*āw^a* [§ 28])

āneskinawātēⁱ because you loathe him 68.17, 20 (*ä*-*ātēⁱ* [§ 29])

kīneskimāw^a you shall scold at him 284.4 (literally, you shall loathe him with your tongue; *kī*-*āw^a* [§ 28]; -*m-* [§ 21])

āneskimegutēⁱ he was scolded 60.8 (*ä*-*tcⁱ* [§ 29]; -*m-* [§ 21]; -*t-* [§ 8]; -*gu-* [§ 41])

See also 314.11; 330.23

nīgti- to be born.

ānīgtēⁱ he was born 18.4

nīmī- to dance.

nānīmīhetiwātēⁱ they had a great time dancing together 18.12 (*nā*- [§ 25]; -*h-* [§ 21]; -*e-* [§ 8]; *ä*- dropped [§ 12]; -*wātēⁱ* [§ 29])

kīnīmīpenō^u let us (incl.) dance 132.29 (the form is peculiar; -*penō^u* evidently comes from -*penu* [§ 6]; *kī*-*penu* is closely

related to *kī*—*pena* [§ 28]; perhaps the *-a* has been split into a diphthong [§ 6])

kīke'tcinīmipw^a ye shall dance 280.17 (*kī*—*pw^a* [§ 28]; *ke'tci*-intensity)

See also 134.17; 220.15; 282.1, 3, 12

nēs- to reach and take down.

ānīsenag^t he reached up and took it down 320.22 (*ā*—*ag^t* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

See also 160.17; 352.15

nōn-, nūn- to suck.

wīnōn^e it (animate) shall suck 106.12 (*wī-* [§ 28])

See also 104.9; 106.11, 14; 196.13

nōta-, nōdā- to hear.

ānōtawāt^t when he heard him 110.16 (*ā*—*āt^t* [§ 29]; *-w-* [§ 21])

nōdāgānīt^t when he heard 146.14 (*-gā-* [§ 20]; *-nīt^t* [§ 34])

nūcā- to give birth to.

ānūcānāt^t she bore him 38.5 (*ā*—*āt^t* [§ 29] *-n-* [§ 21])

See also 38.4; 74.9, 10, 12, 15; 152.14

nūwī-, nōwī- out.

nūwī'käg^a don't go out 12.4 (*-'käg^a* [§ 30])

nūwīw^a he went out 160.10

ānūwine'kawāt^c he drove them out 94.16 (for *ā*—*āt^c* [§ 29]; *-ne'ka-* [§ 19]; *-w-* [§ 21])

nōwīnōwīw^a many a time he went out 160.10 (*nōwī-* [§ 25]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

nwāwī'tāgāwāt^ccināpe'^e they continually went out to fight 12.5 (*nwāwī-* for *nūwī* [§ 12]; *-wāt^c* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 8]; *-āpe'^e* [§ 14])

See also 10.25; 12.7; 38.13; 162.9, 10

pa'k- to pluck.

āpa'kenāt^t then he plucked it 274.14 (*ā*—*āt^t* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

pana- to miss.

ā'panapināt^t he failed to catch him 282.17

ātacipānapināt^t where he failed to catch him 282.21

panahwāw^a he missed hitting him (*-hw-* [§ 21]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

panatākan^t you must have let it fall astray 230.11 (*-t-* [§ 21]; *-ākan^t* for *-agan^t* [§ 30]; confusion of *g* and *k* [§ 3])

See also 180.19; 382.7

paġa-, paġi- to strike.

wīpāpagamātc 170.22 she was on the point of clubbing him to death (for *wī-ātc* [§ 29]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *pā-* [§ 25])

ā'pāpagamegutc she was clubbed to death 164.2 (*-m-* [§ 21]; *-t* [§ 8]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; *ā-tc* [§ 29])

pagisenw it struck (*-sen-* [§ 20]; *-w* [§ 28])

ināpagicig it alighted over there 282.19 (for *in* *ā-* [§ 10]; *-g* for *-k* [§ 3]; *ā-k* [§ 29]; *-ci-* [§ 12] for *-cin-* [§ 20]; note the contradiction: *-cin-* is animate; *-k* inanimate)

See also § 14 and 146.16; 228.11; 232.9; 292.13

paġū- ahead.

pagūsūsag walk on ahead 338.18, 340.1 (*-s-* [§ 8]; *-usā-* [§ 19]; *-g* [§ 31])

pagūsūsān walk thou on ahead 340.4 (*-n* [§ 31])

pā'guhväw he makes him run (literally, he makes him go forward; *-hw-* [§ 21]; *-äw* [§ 28])

pemw-, pemwu- to shoot.

ā'pemwātc he shot him 22.23 (*ā-ātc* [§ 29])

ā'pemwag when I am shooting at them 116.24 (*ā-wag* [§ 29])

wī'pemwutamān I shall shoot at it 118.3, 5 (*wī-āmān* [§ 29]; *-t* [§ 21])

pemutamawinū shoot him for me 204.9 (*-t-* [§ 8]; *-nū* for *-n* [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 6]; *-amaw-* is the same as *amaw-* in *nātamawāw* *ō'san* [literally, he saw him who was father to another; see § 34; loss of *-w-* [§ 12])

See also 22.22; 118.8, 13; 204.1; 248.2, 5, 8, 14

penu-, peno- to go homeward, depart.

wī'penuyān I am going home 232.23, 256.14 (*wī-yān* [§ 29])

ā'pyātcipenutc then he came back home 18.1 (*ā-tc* [§ 29]; *pyātc-* an extended form of *pyā-* [§ 16] MOTION, HITHERWARD)

nī'penō I am going home 266.20 (*nī-* [§ 28])

kī'penopen let us go home 304.18 (*kī-pen* [§ 28])

See also 68.24; 160.3; 168.11, 15; 220.9, 14; 224.9, 6, 15; 252.12

pesw- to smoke out.

kīpeswāpen let us smoke them out 142.10 (*kī-āpen* [§ 28])

pāswātc they whom he was smoking out 142.16 (*-ātc* [§ 33]; participial; hence the change of the stem-vowel)

pe'tawū- to kindle a fire.

ā'pe'tawasuwātc they kindled a fire to warm themselves 138.10 (*-su-* [§ 40])

äwäpipe'tawāt then he set to work to kindle a fire 142.8 (for *ä—tc'* [§ 29]; *wäpi-* [§ 16] to begin)

ähanemipe'tawāt he kept on building the fire 142.13 (*hanemi-* same as *hanemi-* [§ 16])

pe'tawäk^u kindle a fire 158.20 (*-k^u* for *-g^u* [§ 31]; confusion of *g* and *k* [§ 3])

önäketcipetawäwāt accordingly they built a large fire 158.21 (for *ön'ä-* [§ 10]; *ä—wāt* [§ 29]; *ketc-* intensity)

See also 142.11; 146.4; 158.21

ñn- entrance into.

pīnahwin^u put me into 96.13 (*-a-* [§ 8]; *-hw-* [§ 21]; *-in^u* [§ 31]; *pīn-* is allied to *pī-(t)* [§ 16])

pīnahmān' I put it in (*ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *ä—āmān'* [§ 29]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

ä'pīnahwāt he put him into 326.17 (*ä—āt* [§ 29])

pōg- to fall.

ä'tcapōgisānit she fell far out there 102.17 (for *-nit* [§ 34]; *ä'tca-* probably is to be divided into *ä-* + *'tca-*; *'tca-* is *tca-* by reason of *ä-*; *tca-* is allied with *a'tetä-* DISTANT; *-isā-* is from *-isä-* [§ 19] MOTION THROUGH THE AIR)

pōku-, pōk- to break.

ä'papōkuskahwāt he kept on breaking them with his foot 14.5 (for *ä—āt* [§ 29 and § 10]; *pa-* [§ 25]; *-sk-* [§ 21]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-hw-* [§ 21])

kepō'kahāpw^a you break it open 176.9 (*ke—āpw^a* [§ 28]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

wīpō'kahag' one shall break it open 176.8 (*wī—ag'* [§ 29]; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

See also 14.8; and compare *ä'pwāwikaskipāpa'kunag'* HE WAS NOT ABLE TO BREAK IT 126.3 (*ä—ag'* [§ 29]; *pwāwi-* NOT; *kaski-* same as *kaski-* [§ 16] ABILITY; *pā-* [§ 25]; *-n-* [§ 21])

pōš- entrance into.

äpōšitōwāwāt they loaded it into 212.22 (for *ä—āwāt* [§ 29]; *-tō-* [§ 37]; *-w-* [§ 8])

kīcītāgipōšitōwāt after they had loaded it into 212.23 (*ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *kīci-* [§ 16] completion; *tāgi-* [§ 16] totality; *-wāt* [§ 29])

äpōšit he got into it 214.2 (*ä—tc'* [§ 29])

See also 214.21; 224.12, 17

pōtc(i)- entrance into (allied to *pōš-* [see § 8])

ä'pōtcisahutci' then he leaped into 164.15 (*ä—tc'* [§ 29]; *-isah-* same as *-isahō* [§ 19] TO JUMP; *-i* of *pōtci-* lost [§ 10])

pōtcisahōw^a he leaped into 164.16 (*-w^a* [§ 28])

äpōtcisahowātci' then they embarked into 214.15 (*-isah-* same as *-isahō* [§ 19]; *ä—wātci'* [§ 29])

sana- difficult.

sana^agatw' it is difficult 280.8 (*-gat-* same as *-gat-*)

sana^agatw' it is difficult 280.12, 16; 332.17 (*-gat-* [§ 20]; *-w'* [§ 28])

sana^aga'kin' it is not difficult 284.17 (*-n'*, *-ki'* [§ 29]; *-ga-* [cf. § 20])

See also 172.22

säge- fear.

sägesiw^a he was afraid 168.14 (*-si-* [§ 20]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

äsägesiyāni I am scared 312.14 (*ä—yān'* [§ 29])

sägihiyā'kan' you might frighten her 312.16 (*-h-* [§ 21]; *-iyā'kan'* [§ 30])

See also 336.8, 12; 344.7, 17; 346.1, 10

sīgAtci-, sīgatci- to freeze.

äsīgatcic' when he froze to death 138.14

kicisīgatcinic' after the other froze 138.15 (*ä-* dropped [§ 12];

kici- [§ 16] completion; *ä-nic'* [§ 34])

sōgi- to bind.

äsogisowātci they were bound with cords 26.3 (*ä—wātci'* [§ 29]; *-so-* [§ 40])

äsōgihātci he bound her 140.7 (for *ä—ātci'* [§ 29 and § 10]; *-h-* [§ 21];

sōgisōyān' where I am bound 106.17 (*ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *-sō-* [§ 40]; *-yān'* [§ 29])

äsōgi'tōtc' he tied a knot 334.16 (*ä—tc'* [§ 29]; *-tō-* [§ 37])

See also 26.22; 108.6; 146.2; 338.21

tāg-, t.ig- to touch.

ätāgenātci he touched her 46.2 (for *ä—ātci'* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

äkicitāgātāmōwātci' after they have touched it 184.18 (for *ä—āmōwātci'* [§ 29]; *kici-* [§ 16] completion; *-a-* same as *-e-* [§ 8]; *-t-* [§ 21])

āmāwitāgā'kwāhag' then he went to touch it with a wooden pole 196.10 (*ä—ag'* [§ 29]; *māwi-* [§ 16] to go to; *-ā'kw-* [§ 18]; *-ā-* for *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

ätāgeskag then he stamped on it 158.2 (*ä—ag'* [§ 29]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-sk-* [§ 21])

See also 158.5; 194.13; 194.19; 330.13

tAcí- as many as, number (cf. *taswi-*).

medāswātaciwātc' the number was ten 164.4 (for *medāsw'* ten [§ 50] + *ä-* [§ 10]; *ä—wātc'* [§ 29])

ätaciwātc as many as there were 166.3

Possibly in the following passages *taci-* is to be explained in the same way, though this is not apparent from Dr. Jones's somewhat free translation: 90.12; 108.6; 110.4; 150.17; 152.20; 164.4; 166.3; 244.13; 336.9; 346.21. It is quite clear that *taci-* is in some way connected with *taswi-*, as is shown by *ämēdāciwātc'* THEY WERE TEN 78.14, as compared with *medāswātaciwātc'* THE NUMBER WAS TEN 164.4 (for *medāsw'* *ä-* [§ 10]). The word for TEN is *medāsw'* [§ 50]. For the interchange of *s* and *c*, see § 9; and for the loss of the second member of a consonant-cluster, § 12.

tAgwi- together.

tagwi 10.2 together with

ätagwimecenetc' they were taken captive together 26.3 (*ä—etc'* [§ 41]; *mec-* to capture; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

tagwitepänetätāw' the land was owned in common 34.1 (*-äne-* [§ 18]; *-w'* [§ 28])

ä'tagwinatometc' they were asked together 338.7 (*ä—etc'* [§ 41]; *nato-* to ask; *-m-* [§ 21])

wītaguswage' that I should have put them together and cooked them 158.8 (*wī-* irregularly used with the subjunctive; see my note to § 29; *-age'* [§ 29]; *u* for *wi* [§ 12]; *-sw-* for *-sū-* [§ 20])

See also 178.8; 372.17

tAn-, tan- to engage in.

kī'tanetīpen^a let us make a bet together 296.18 (literally, LET US ENGAGE IN AN ACTIVITY TOGETHER; hence, by inference, GAMBLE; *kī—pen^a* [§ 28]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-tī-* [§ 38])

ä'tanetīt^c he was gambling 314.6 (*ä—t^c* [§ 29])

tanwä'wämä'w^a he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; *-m-* [§ 21] *-äw^a* [§ 28])

tanwä'wä'tōw^a he bangs away on it (*-tō-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

ä'tanwä'taminīt^c cries were sounded 192.3 (*ä—nīt^c* [§ 34]; *wä-* sound)

ä'tanenetīg^t in the thick of the fight 168.1 (*ä-* as ordinarily; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-tī-* [§ 38]; *-g^t* locative suffix [§ 42]; the context alone suggests the idea of FIGHTING)

āhanemitānusāt^c as he continued to engage in walking 48.20 (*ä—t^c* [§ 29]; *hanemi-* [§ 16] to continue to; *-usä-* [§ 19] to walk)

See also 190.13, 23

tAp- to place trust in.

netapānem^u I put my trust in 190.15 (*ne-* [§ 28]; *-āne-* [§ 18]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-u* [§ 40])

tAswi- as many as, as much as, number.

ätaswipyānitcinⁱ as many as came 8.9 (why *ä-* is used, is not clear; *pyā-* from *pyä-* [§ 16] MOTION HITHERWARD; *-nitcinⁱ* [§ 34])

inätaswihātⁱ and hast thou included as many as there are 298.16 (for *inⁱ* *ä-* [§ 10]; *inⁱ* [§ 47]; *-h-* [§ 21]; *ä—ātⁱ* [§ 29])

taswⁱ the number 20.7

taswicōniyāⁱ is the amount of money 34.16

inītāswi that is the number 252.9 (*inⁱ* [§ 47])

See also 8.14, 18; 10.5; 20.11; 32.13; 76.16; 246.21; 312.17, 21; 358.6; 374.3

tāpwe- to speak the truth.

ketāpw^e you were telling the truth 24.15; 322.9 (*ke-* [§ 28])

witāpwayānⁱ I desire to speak the truth 324.13 (*wi—yānⁱ* [§ 29])

See also 322.16

tcīp- to nudge softly.

äwāpītcīpenātⁱ then he began to nudge her softly with the finger 320.7 (*ä—ātⁱ* [§ 29]; *wāpi-* [§ 16] to begin; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

ätcītcīpetcānātⁱ he gave her a nudge in the side 44.1 (*ä—ātⁱ* [§ 29]; *-tcī-* [§ 25]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-tcā-* [§ 18]; *-n-* [§ 21])

tcīg(i)- edge.

tcīgāskutⁱ on the edge of the prairie 126.7

tcīgike'tcīgumīw^e by the shore of the sea 350.5 (*ke'tci-* intensity; *-gum-* = *-kam-* [§ 18])

tcīgike'tcīkamīw^e on the shore of the sea 100.14 (*ke'tci-* intensity; *-kam-* [§ 18]; *-i-* same as *-i-* [§ 20]; *-w^e* for *-wⁱ* [§ 28];

literal translation, IT WAS THE EDGE OF THE GREAT EXPANSE)

See also 68.11; 110.7; 124.2

tcīt- down.

ätcītāpisahutⁱ there he sprang and crouched 188.15 (*ä—tcⁱ* [§ 29]; *-isahu-* same as *-isahō-* [§ 19]; *āpisahu-* for *āpi* + *isahu-* [§ 10];

āpi- TO SIT [THERE HE SPRANG AND SAT DOWN is literal])

ä'tcītāpiwātⁱ there they sat down 190.14 (*ä—wātⁱ* [§ 29])

See also 332.13; 352.15

te- to say.

netegōpⁱ I am called 12.19 (*ne—gōpⁱ* [§ 41])

netegw^a I was told 108.7 (*ne—gw^a* [§ 41])

keten^e I told thee 190.18 (*ke—n^e* [§ 28])

netenāw^a I said to him 216.5 (*ne—āw^a* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21])

netegōg' they call me 322.12 (*ne—gōg'* [§ 28])

ketenepw^a I declared to you 346.2, 10; 358.23 (*ke—nepw^a* [§ 28])

ketekuwāw^a he has told you 370.12 (*ke—guwāw^a* [§ 28]; confusion of *g* and *k* [§ 3])

keteneyōw^e I told thee before 110.5 (for *keten^e iyōw^e*; *iyōw^e* aforetime)

tepā- to be fond of, to love.

ketepānen^e I am fond of thee 314.4 (*ke—n^e* [§ 28]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

ātepānat^t thou art fond of them 276.19 (*ā—at^t* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21])

tepānw^a she was fond of them 170.1 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

tāpānat^a she whom you love 150.1 (*-n-* [§ 21]; *-at^a* [§ 33]; change of the stem-vowel, as the form is a participial)

See also 148.2, 5; 190.18; 174.3

tepowā- to hold council.

kīcītepowāwāt^t after they had ended their council 338.5 (*kīci-* [§ 16] completion; *ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *ā—wāt^t* [§ 29]; it is likely *-wā-* is identical with *wā* SOUND in § 20)

ātepowānet^t he was debated in council 338.4 (*ā—et^t* [§ 41]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-ā-* for *-ā-* as in *ācīcāt^t* THEN HE WENT OFF ON A HUNT; *ā'pyāt^t* WHEN HE CAME; etc.)

See also 336.8, 9

tes- to trap.

kītesō'tawāpena let us set a trap for it 78.3 (*kī—āpena* [§ 28])

tesōtēi^t trap (*-ōtē-* [§ 23])

tō'k(ī)- state of being awake.

tō'kīg^w wake up 46.15 (*-g^w* [§ 31])

ātō'kīyān^t when I wake up 284.1

tō'kitcā he might wake up 284.18 (for *tō'kītce* probably; *-tce* [§ 31])

ātō'kīt^t then he woke up 126.1

āmāwītō'kenāt^c then he went and woke him up 104.15 (*ā—āt^c* [§ 29]; *māwi* [§ 16] to go; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

See also 40.18; 44.6, 7; 104.18

uwīw(ī)- to marry.

uwīwīyaneh^e if it had been you who married 216.16 (*-yaneh^e*, really *-yane^e* [§ 29])

āhuwīwit^c then he married 216.20 (*ā—it^c* [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 8])

kīhuwīwemen^e I shall marry you 148.19 (*kī—n^e* [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

uwīw^a wife

See also 42.4; 44.13; 82.2; 148.8; 200.13, 18; 216.13, 16, 20

(u)wīgi-, (u)wīge- to dwell.

wīgiw^a he lives 220.22 (-w^a [§ 28])

äwīginic^t where he dwelt 160.15 (ä—nitc^t [§ 34])

ä'kīwi'u'wīgewāt^c they went in an indefinite direction and lived there 66.15 (ä—wāt^c [§ 29]; kīwi motion in an indefinite direction; cf. kī- [§ 16])

wāwīgit^a he who dwells 38.9 (from uwīgi-; the change of the stem-vowel is due to the fact that the form is a participial [§§ 12, 33]; -t^a [§ 33])

wāwīginic^t he who dwelt there 80.9, 20; 82.2, 10, 22; 84.10, 21, etc. (for the change of the stem-vowel see §§ 12, 33; -nitc^t [§ 34])

wāwīgitcig^t they who dwell here 194.7 (-tcig^t [§ 33])

ähuwīginic^t where they were living 194.5, 18 (ä—nitc^t [§ 34]; -hu- is not an accretion, it is to be divided into -h- + u- [see my note on this point, § 8])

See also 10.5; 38.7; 160.14; 320.3; etc.

wāni- to lose.

äwānihāt^c he lost him 182.12 (ä—āt^c [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wāt^cā- to cook.

äwāt^cāhāt^c then she cooked a meal 240.12 (ä—āt^c [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wīwāt^cāhagw^e we (incl.) shall cook for him 256.8 (wī—agw^e [§ 29]; -h- [§ 21])

wīwūt^cāhawāwān^e shall we cook for him 260.15 (indirect question; wī—agwān^t [§ 32]; confusion of ^e and ^t unless wī- is used unusually with the subjunctive; -h- [§ 21]; -a- [§ 8])

See also 152.20, 21; 228.7; 232.3; 234.22; 244.7; 248.21; 262.8; 264.3; 266.1

wāpA- to look at.

kīwāpatāpen^a let us look into it 24.8 (kī—āpen^a [§ 28]; -t- [§ 21])

äwāpamāt^c he looked at her 46.7 (ä—āt^c [§ 29]; -m- [§ 21])

wāpamin^a look at me 322.3 (-m- [§ 21]; -in^a [§ 31])

See also 104.13, 19; 146.7, 9; 250.8; 316.20; 338.7

wīt^cā- to implore.

äwīcāmegut^c he was implored 182.5 (for ä—tc^t [§ 29, also § 10]; -m- [§ 21]; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41])

wīnAni- to flay and cut up.

wīnānih^t cut it up 58.2, 3; 162.13 (-h- [§ 21]; -t^t [§ 31])

äwīnanihātē^t then she flayed and cut him up 162.14 (*ä—ātē*^t [§ 29]; *-h-* [§ 21])

kīciwīnanihātē^t after she had flayed and cut it up 162.14 (*ä—* dropped [§ 12]; *kīci-* [§ 16] completion)

vīne- filthy.

wīnesiwā she is filthy 292.15 (*-si-* [§ 20]; *-wā* [§ 28])

See also 320.3

vīseni- to eat.

wīwiseniwag^t they shall eat 8.11 (*-wag^t* [§ 28]; *wī-* used because the form is intransitive [§ 28])

kīwisen^t thou wilt eat 26.7 (*kī-* [§ 28])

äwisenitē^t then he ate 240.13 (*ä—tē*^t [§ 29])

See also 14.18; 196.16, 20

yā- to go.

äyāwātē^{*} that they went 72.2 (*ä-* unexpected with the subjunctive, but see my note to § 29; *-wātē*^{*} [§ 29])

äyāmiga^tk^t it went 224.17 (*ä—k^t* [§ 29]; *-miga-* [§§ 33, 20; cf. § 28])

äyāwātē they went 166.5 (for *ä—wātē*^t [§ 29])

See also 72.3; 176.20; 200.21; 262.2¹

SECONDARY STEMS (§§ 17-20)

§ 17. Types of Secondary Stems

These stems are not as numerous as initial stems, but still their number is quite considerable. They never occur alone, but are found usually between an initial member and a formative, or else, but much less often, in conjunction with only a formative. In a combination like *tā'wici^tnwā* HE FELL AND HURT HIMSELF, *tāwi-* is initial, and denotes pain; while *-cin* is secondary, and expresses the notion of coming to a state of rest. In the word *tēi'mān^t* CANOE is a less frequent example of a secondary stem occupying first place. The stem *tēi* or *tēim* comes from a secondary element indicating movement in water, and the rest of the word is a suffix denoting abstraction, both together referring to the object used for going through water.

Just as a regular system of arrangement determines the position of initial stems before secondary stems, so the same sort of order places the representatives of one group of secondary stems before those of another group. This peculiar method of arrangement rests largely

¹ From p. 772 to here, addition by T. Michelson.

on the nature of the ideas expressed by the stems. It makes possible a further division of stems into secondary stems of the first order and secondary stems of the second order.

Secondary stems of the second class always stand nearest to the terminal pronominal signs: *-usä-* in *wä'pusä'w^a* HE BEGINS TO WALK is a secondary stem of the second class. Some secondary stems of the first class, however, can occupy the same place, but only when a secondary stem of the second class is absent: *ta'gānA'getu'na^a* HE HAS A SMALL MOUTH contains two secondary stems of the first class—one is *-nag-*, which expresses the notion of cavity; the other is *-tun-*, which refers to the idea of space round about a cavity, and is a term applied to the lips and mouth. A further division of secondary stems of the first class might be suggested, in which *-nag-* would represent one class, and *-tun-* the other: *-nag-* belongs to a more stationary type, which always stands next to initial stems when there are other secondary stems in composition; and *-tun-* belongs to a more mobile kind. The latter type is frequent in nominal form: *u'tōi'* MOUTH (literally, HIS MOUTH). In *kīwe'skwäpyä'w^a* HE IS DRUNK are illustrated two types of secondary stems: *kīwe-* is an initial stem meaning indefinite movement anywhere; *-skwä-* is a secondary stem of the first class, denoting the neck and back of the head; and *-pyä-* is a secondary stem of the second class, expressive of a subtle, attributive condition. [*-pyä-* belongs rather to the secondary nominal stems (§ 23); *-skwä-* apparently cognate with *-'kwä-* (§ 18). But why can not *-skwä-* correspond to *-nag-*, and *-pyä-* to *-tun-*? At any rate, this does not affect the statement made at the end of § 19.—T. M.] A fuller and more correct rendering of the combination would be something like HE IS IN A STATE OF AIMLESS MOVEMENT IN THE REGION ABOUT THE NECK AND HEAD.

§ 18. Secondary Stems of the First Order

-ä'kw- relates in a general way to matter at rest and in the form of linear dimension, together with an uncertain implication as to its state of hardness. The term is of frequent use, an example of which comes out in the notion of WOOD, TREE, FOREST.

pe'kwä''kwāwi'w^t it is a place of clumps of trees

pīgwā''kwāwi'w^t a grove stands dense in the distance

pāgā''kwici'nw^a he bumped against a tree, post, bar (*pāg-* same as *pag* [§ 14]; *-cin-* [§ 20])

pe' cigwā'kwā'tw' the log, tree, stick, is straight

pagā'kwitunācinw^a he bumps himself on the mouth (analysis § 14)

nAg- expresses the idea of an opening, as of a hole.

pā''kānā'getā'w' the hole gapes open

mā'gānā'getu'nw^a he has a large mouth (-*tun-* mouth [p. 796])

ku'gwānā'gucā'w^a he has holes pierced in his ears (-*cā-* ear [p. 796])

tAg- is another characteristic term of uncertain definition. It refers to the idea of color without having reference to light, shade, hue, or any quality attributive of color. It is simply the idea in the abstract.

keta'gesi'w^a its color is spotted (animate)

wāba'tā'gawā'w^a its color is white (animate)

meckwa'tā'gawā'w^a its color is red (animate, *meckwa* red)

-āne- relates to mental operation.

ke'kā'nemā'w^a he knows, understands him

muswā'nemā'w^a he suspects him (*musw-* suspect; -*m-* [§ 37]; -*āw^a* [§ 28])

menwā'nemā'w^a he feels well disposed toward him

nā'gātawā'nemā'w^a he keeps him constantly in mind

panā'nemā'w^a he makes fun of him

āmānecitāhāt^c for she felt shame within her heart 38.12 (compare 210.15)

āmuswānemāwāt^c they began to suspect something wrong with them 150.14 (*musw-* suspect; -*m-* [§ 37]; *ā-āwāt^c* [§ 29])

-itā- refers to subjective feeling, and so finds place for manifold application.

ici'tāhā'w^a thus he feels (i. e., thinks; for *ici* thus + *itā*; -*hā-* [§ 20]; *w^a* [§ 28])

myāci'tāhā'w^a she is tearful, sad to weeping

mā'neci'tāhā'w^a he is ashamed (-*āne-* above)

upi'tāhā'w^a he is joyful

kīwātci'tāhā'w^a he is lonely (*kīwāt^c*- lonely; see also § 20)

ā'icitāhāt^c he thus thought in his heart 202.10

-nāgu- stands for the idea of LOOK, APPEARANCE, RESEMBLANCE.

pe''kinā'gusi'w^a he looks like a foreigner (-*si-* [§ 20])

ā'kwā'wināgusi'w^a he has an angry look (*ā'kwā* anger)

kecā'tcinā'gusi'w^a he has a gentle appearance

kīwā'tcinā'gusi'w^a he seems sad, lonely

-kam- expresses the idea of indefinite space as applied to such terms
as SWEEP, RANGE, LATITUDE, EXPANSE.

ke'tci'kamī'wⁱ it is the sea; it is the great expanse

ta'kamisā'w^a it flies over an expanse (-isā- [§ 19])

ta''kamī'w^a he crosses an open space

ka''kamī'w^a he makes a short cut across

-ka- imprint, track.

ä'pūci'kawānitcⁱ they trailed (a bear into bushes) 70.12 (for *pūci*
see under *pūt*- [§ 16] and the analysis in text at end)

In the list of examples that follow immediately are stems relating
to parts of the body. Their inherent sense is concerned with space,
each form having to do with situation in a given relation.

-cā- carries the vague notion of something thin, as of a sheet, film,
blade. It is an association with this spacial sense that makes
it a term applied to the ear.

māmā'gecā'w^a he has big ears

kī'skecā'w^a he has no ears (literally, he is cut-ear)

kaqā'nocā'w^a he has long ears

nā'kākīckīckēcācwātcāpe'° and he would cut off their ears 8.12
(reduplicated stem allied to *kisk*; for -āci [§ 29] *āpe'°* [§ 14])

-kum- or **-gum-** conveys the intrinsic meaning of linear protrusion,
projection out from a base. The use of the term for NOSE is
a natural application.

wāgi'kumā'w^a he has a crooked nose

pāgiku'māci'nw^a he bumped his nose (*pāgi-* see under *pāg-* [§ 14];
-cin- [§ 20])

tātōgi'kumā'w^a his nose spreads at the nostrils (-gi locative suffix)

kinigu'māyā'wⁱ it is sharp at the point (*kīni-* [§ 16]; -wⁱ [§ 28])

nā'kākīckīgumācwātcāpe'° and he would cut off their noses 8.13
(for *nā'k^a* and *ä-*)

-tun- is used for the external space about the mouth.

mī'setu'nw^a he has a mustache (*mīs-* hair [§ 24])

kepa'getu'nw^a he has thick lips

pā'ketu'nw^a he opens his mouth

-winā- gives the notion of linear dimension, round of form, and of
limited circumference. It is a term for HORN.

tca'kwī'wī'nā'w^a he is short-horned

pō'kwīwī'nāci'nw^a he fell and broke his horn (-cin- to fall [§ 20])

pa'kwī'winā'w^a he is shedding his horns

***kwā-** is a spacial element expressive of the place back of the neck, of the hair on the head, and even of the head itself. The term has also a feminine meaning, taken, it seems, from the notion of hair. The four different expressions—NECK, HAIR, HEAD, and WOMANKIND—are thus shown in the order named.

nāpe''kwāhwā'w^a he lassoes him by the neck; compare 282.18 (*hw* [§ 21]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

ke'kite''kwānā'w^a he hugs her around the neck (*-n-* [§ 21]; *+ -āw^a* [§ 28])

penā'hā'kwā'w^a she combs her hair

me'se'kwā'w^a she has long hair

tā'we'kwā'w^a he has a headache (*tāwi-* [§ 16])

matagu''kwāhō'w^a he covers his (own) head

pyāte''kwāwā'w^a he brings home a wife (*pyā-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

mī''keme''kwāwā'w^a he is wooing (*mī'k-* [§ 16])

nīcō''kwāwā'w^a he has two wives (*nīcō-* [§ 12])

-tcā- signifies a material body with volume more or less plump and distended. It is used with reference to the abdominal region.

upī'skwātcā'w^a he is big round the waist

pāge'tcāci'nw^a he ran, and fell on the flat of his belly (the literal translation would seem to be HE FELL AND STRUCK HIS BELLY; see *pag(i)-* [§ 14] and *pāgi-* cited under *-kum-* [p. 796]; *-cin-* [§ 20])

ke'kite'tcānā'wa he grabs him round the body (see *ke'kite''kwānāw^a* above)

mī'setcā'w^a he is afflicted with dropsy

§ 19. Secondary Stems of the Second Order

It is not always easy to determine the place of some secondary stems, whether they belong to the first or to the second order. In passing along the list, one should note that, in some respects, there is a general similarity in the groups of ideas expressed by secondary stems of the second class and by initial stems. There are, however, differences in the apparent similarities, the differences being chiefly of manner and degree. It is doubtful which of these two groups is the more numerous one.

ā in its naked form is so vague of sense that it is almost undefinable.

Its nature comes out well in the rôle of an assisting element, and as such often helps to convey the idea of motion. In

one instance its help brings about the definite notion of flight from danger.

kī'wāmō'w^a he flees hither and thither (for *kīw-* see under *k-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§§ 8, 21, 37]; *-ō-* animate middle voice [§ 40]; *-w^a* 3d person animate singular, intransitive aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

pe'māmō'w^a he hurries past in flight (*pem-* [§ 16])

pyä'tāmō'w^a he comes fleeing hitherward (*pyä-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-o-* [§ 40])

wīwāpāmoyan^t you had better begin to flee 98.5 (*wāp-* [§ 16]; *wī-* *-yan^t* 2d person singular intransitive future, conjunctive [§ 29]; *-m-* [§§ 8, 21, 37]; *-o-* animate middle voice [§ 40])

pemāmoyane in your flight 98.5 (*pem-* [§ 16]; *-m-o-* as in last example; *-yane* 2d person singular intransitive present, subjunctive [§ 29])

äpītāmūt^t and in she fled 98.15 (*ä-* temporal prefix; *pīt-* into [§ 16]; *-m-* as in last two examples; *-u-* animate passive [§ 40]; *-t^t* 3d person singular animate intransitive aorist, conjunctive [§ 29])

kīcīpītāmūt^t after she had fled inside 98.16 (*kīcī-* completion [§ 16])
wīwāpāmūtē'e it was her purpose to flee for her life 218.14 (*wāp-* [§ 16]; the form is explained in § 29)

-egā- is for the movement of one in the dance.

upyä'negā'w^a he moves slowly in the dance

nīgā'negā'w^a he leads in the dance

ä'hä'wegā'w^a he dances the swan-dance

cā'wanō'wegā'w^a he dances the Shawnee dance

äyāpñāwīwāpegāyāgw^e but before you begin dancing 280.21 (*wāp-* [§ 16]; *-yāgw^e* 2d person plural intransitive, conjunctive [§ 29])

-tsā- conveys primarily the notion of VELOCITY, SPEED, and is associated with locomotion through the air.

hanī'wisä'w^a he runs swiftly

myācisä'w^t it lacks a keen edge (*-c-* [§ 21.5])

nema'swisä'w^a he alighted feet first

kuqwä'tcisä'w^a he tries to fly

pī'tcisä'w^t it blew inside (*pīt-* inside [§ 16])

tcapō'gisä'w^a he fell into the water (for *apō* cf. *āpō* [§ 24])

wātcīkesiyāgīcisäwā whence the cold comes, there he is speeding to 70.14 (analysis note 21, p. 869)

pemisäw^a it went flying past 80.6, 17 (*pem-* past [§ 16]; *-w^a* 3d person singular animate aorist, intransitive, independent mode [§ 28])

ānūwisātc' so out he went on the run 254.15 (*ā—tc'* [§ 29])

īnānuwisātc then she flew out 146.9 (see § 11)

āh_{AN}isānitc' it flew away 282.17, 19 (*-nitc'* [§ 34])

īnāpemanisānitc thereupon they went flying up 76.14

isahō- is swift locomotion through the air and of a kind that is limited as to space and duration. The idea of the motion is defined by such terms as JUMP, LEAP, BOUND.

pītcī'sahō'w^a he leaps into an enclosure (*pītc-* see under *pīt-* [§ 16]; *w^a* [§ 28])

pyātcī'sahō'w^a he comes a-jumping (*pyātc-* see under *pyā-* [§ 16])

kwāskwi'sahō'w^a he dismounts

nūwi'sahō'w^a he goes out on the jump (*nūw-* out; *ānuwīt'* he then went out 38.13; *ānūwīwātc'* and they went out 50.2)

ātcīpīisahutc' she leaped with startled surprise 68.18

-ō- implies conveyance, portage, transportation. It has acquired the specific meaning of CARRYING A BURDEN ON THE BACK.

kī'yōmā'w^a she carries it (her child) about on her back (*kī-* [§ 16]; *-y-* a glide [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19]; *-m-* instrumental, animate [§ 21]; *-āw^a* 3d person singular animate subject and object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

pē'mōtā'mw^a he passes by with a burden on his back (*pem-* to pass by [§ 16]; *-t-* instrumental inanimate [§ 21]; *-amw^a* 3d person singular animate subject, 3d person inanimate object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

kepyātōnepw^a I have brought you 90.1 (*pyā-* motion hither [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19]; *ke—nepw^a* 1st person singular subject, 2d person plural object, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

-ōtā- is for locomotion along a surface, and attended with effort and retardation. It is tantamount to the notion expressed by the words TO CRAWL.

ane'mōtā'w^a he crawls moving yon way

ta''kamōtā'w^a he crawls athwart

ā'gōsī'ōtā'w^a he crawls upward (as up a tree) (compare *ōnā'ā'-gōsīt'* and then he climbed up 274.24; *āh_{AN}emī'ā'gōsīpahōmiga'k'* climbed hurriedly up the hill 96.19; *wīhagōsīyān'* I shall have to do the climbing 90.19)

ke'tāsi'ōtā'w^a he crawls upward (as up a hill)

pī'tōtā'w^a he crawls inside (*pīt-* [§ 16])

āhagwāyūtāwātc' they creep forth 352.5 (*-ūtā-* same as *-ōtā-*)

ā'pemagwāyutānitc' they started to crawl out 352.11 (*pem* [§ 16]; *-nitc'* [§ 34])

nā'kāpītōtātē then again he crawled into 290.4 (*nā'k-* again; *ā-* temporal prefix; *pīt-* into [§ 16]; *-tē* for *-tē'* 3d person singular animate aorist, conjunctive mode [§ 29])

-usā- has to do with locomotion by land, with particular reference to that of the foot and leg, and of such nature as to imply lack of speed. The combination of ideas involved is synonymous with the word WALK.

cōskā'kusā'wā he walks straight, erect (*cōsk-* [§ 16])

wā'pusā'wā he starts off on a walk (*wāp-* to begin [§ 16])

nāhusā'wā he learns how to walk (compare *nāhīcimāwā* HE KNOWS HOW TO SWIM under *-tcim-* [p. 801])

tetē'pusā'wā he walks round in a circle (*tetēp-* in a circle [§ 16])

pyā'tusā'wā he comes a-walking (*pyā-* motion hither [§ 16]; + intervocalic [§ 8])

ā'pemiwāpusātē' then he started to walk 194.19 (*ā-* temporal prefix; *pemi-* *wāp-* [§ 16])

kīyusān^u walk thou about 300.2 (*kī-* about [§ 16]; *-y-* a glide [§ 8]; *-n^u* 2d person singular imperative [§ 31])

wī'kīyusāwā it [animate] shall walk about 300.1 (*wī-* future)

pagūsusān^u walk thou on ahead 340.4

ā'kīwāpusāyāg^t after we proceeded on the way 342.13 (*ā-* temporal prefix; *kīci-* *wāp-* [§ 16]; see § 12 for loss of *ci*; for the ending see § 29)

-hogō- is locomotion by water, and differs from *-tcim-* in having more of the sense of CONVEYANCE.

pyāta'hogō'wā he comes a-swimming (*pyā-* motion hither [§ 16])

kīwa'hogō'wā he swims about (*kī-* motion round about [§ 16])

ā'nema'hogō'wā he swims thitherward

sā'gitepā'hogō'wā he swims with the head above water (*sāgi-* exposed [§ 16]; *tepā* head)

ā'pemitēpikīckahugunītē' they passed by swimming 184.2 (*pemi-* to pass [§ 16]; *-hugu-* same as *-hogō-*; *-nītē'* [§ 34])

-pahō- is of the nature of *-usā-*, differing from it only in the degree of locomotion. It denotes speed and swiftness, and is best translated by the term TO RUN.

pe'mīpahō'wā he runs past (*pemi-* to pass [§ 16])

nā'gīpahō'wā he stops running (*nāgi-* to stop [§ 16])

kī'wīpahō'wā he runs around (*kī-* motion round about [§ 16])

nā'gāskīpahō'wā he runs with back bent forward

pā'cīpahō'wā he leaves a gentle touch as he flies past on the run

äwäpahōwāt^c then they set to work to paddle 214.3 (for *äwäpi-pahōwāt^c* [§ 12]; *ä-*; *wäpi-* [§ 16]; *-wāt^c* [§ 29])

ä'pemi^cpahut^c then he went running along 110.7 (*pemi-* [§ 16])

ä'pyä'pahut^c then he came on the run 254.19 (*pyä-* [§ 16])

äh^canemi^ca'gōsīpahōmiga'k^c then (the head) climbed hurriedly up the tree 96.19 (*h^canemi-* [§ 16]; *-a'gōsī* see p. 799 under *-ōtä-*)

ätetepipahut^c and round in a circle he ran 312.6 (*tetep-* [§ 16])

ätetepipahonit^c then (his friend) was running around in a circle (*-nit^c* [§ 34])

pyä'pahōwag they came a-running 276.14 (*pyä-* [§ 16]; *-wag* for *-wag^c* [§ 28])

-pugō- is another term for locomotion by water. It expresses passive conveyance, the sense of which comes out well in the word FLOAT.

pe'mitetepipu'gōtä'w^c it floats past a-whirling (*pemi-* *tetep-* [§ 16]; *-w^c* 3d person inanimate singular, aorist, independent mode [§ 28])

nū'wipugō'w^a he came out a-floating (*nūwi-* OUT, see under *-isä-* [p. 798] and *-isahō-* [p. 799])

na'noškwipu'gōtä'w^c it floats about at random

ka'skipugō'w^a he is able to float (*kaški-* ability [§ 16])

-ne'ka- to drive, to pursue.

pāmīne'kawātcig^c those who pursue, 70 TITLE (this form is participial [§ 33], hence the vowel changes to *pāmi-* from *pemi-*; *-ātcig^c* pronominal form 3d person plural animate subject, 3d person animate object)

-tcim- is locomotion through water. It is equivalent in meaning to the word SWIM.

kīwi'tcimā'w^a he swims round about (see under *kī-* [p. 766])

pemi'tcimā'w^a he swims past

nahī'tcimā'w^a he knows how to swim (compare *nahusāw^a* HE LEARNS HOW TO WALK under *-usä-* [p. 800])

nō'tāwi'tcimā'w^a he gives out before swimming to the end of his goal

ōnāwāpācōwitcimāt^c then he started to swim out to the shore 276.7 (*wäp-* [§ 16])

-gāpā- is for perpendicularity, and its use is observed in situations of rest with upright support. The term is rendered by the words TO STAND.

ne'nigwi'gāpā'w^a he stands trembling

ne'maswi'gāpā'w^a he rose to his feet

nagi'gāpā'w^a he came to a standstill (*nagi* [§ 16])

pōni'gāpā'w^a he ceased standing (*pōni-* [§ 16])

tcāgūnagi'gāpāwātē all came to a standing halt (*tcāgi-nagi-* [§ 16])
īnānagikāpāwātē and then they came to a standing halt 50.17
 (-*kāpā-* for -*gāpā-* [see § 3])

[To prove that any given stem is one of the second class of the second order, from the definition laid down in § 17, one must find it after a stem of the first class of the second order. Now, it will be noticed that not one of the stems given in this section as belonging to the second class of the second order in point of fact is found after a secondary stem of the first class; or, at any rate, no example of one has thus far been pointed out. Accordingly, it follows that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merged with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle; but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make this division feasible at present.

The following remarks were written subsequent to the preceding comments. As it is admitted in § 14 as well as in § 17 that two secondary stems of the first class can occur in combination, there is no reason why *ta'kamisāw^a* (under -*kam-* § 18) should not also fall into this class (-*kam-* + -*isā-*). It should be noted especially that *ta-* is initial: see § 17 and my note in § 14.—T.M.

§ 20. Secondary Co-ordinative Stems

There is yet another class of stems that occupy a place just preceding the terminal suffixed pronouns. They serve a double office,—one as co-ordinatives between preceding stems of a purely verbal nature, and following pronominal elements; the other as verbals signifying intransitive notions of existence, being, state, condition. Some express the notion feebly, others do it with more certainty. Many stand in an intimate relation with the subjective terminal pronouns, in a relation of concord, and one so close that they take on different forms; some to agree with the animate, others with the inanimate. Their nature and type are shown in the examples.

1. -*cīn-* animate; -*sen-* inanimate.

-*cīn-* is an animate term with much variety of use. Its essential meaning is CHANGE FROM MOTION TO REST. The length of

the pause can be long enough to indicate the idea of RECLIN-
ING, LYING DOWN.

sā'gici'nw^a he lies exposed (*sāgi-* [§ 16])

āta'wāci'nw^a he lies on his back

kīcū'wici'nw^a he lies warm

āceginic^t when he lay 116.9

āha'pe'kwāhicinowātc^t so they lay with a pillow under their heads
322.20

āceginowātc as they lay there together 324.8

āceginig where he lay 326.1

The cessation may be only momentary, like the instant respite of
the foot on the ground during the act of walking. The term is
translated into STEP, WALK, in the following examples:

pe'miwā'wāci'nw^a it is the sound of his footstep as he passes by
(*pemi-* [§ 16])

pyätwā'wāci'nw^a it is the sound of his walk coming home (*pyä*
[§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8])

ānemwā'wāci'nw^a it is the sound of his step going away

Again, the rest may be sudden, and indefinite as to duration.

The meaning in this light comes out in words expressive of
descent, as FALL, DROP.

pa'gici'nw^a (the bird) lights (see *pag-* [§ 14])

ā'pyātcipagicinic^t then the bird came and alighted 98.3 (*pyātc-*
see *pyä-* [§ 16]; *-nitc^t* [§ 34])

pī'tāci'nw^a he dropped inside (*pīt-* [§ 16])

cō'skwici'nw^a he slips and falls (*cōsk-* [§ 16])

-sen- is inanimate, and corresponds to *-cin-*. It is of wide use,
too. It can be applied in the examples illustrating some of
the uses of *-cin-*. To indicate REST IN PLACE *-sen-* is used in
the following examples:

sā'gise'nw^t it lies exposed (*sāgi-* [§ 16])

āta'wāse'nw^t it lies wrong side up

kīcū'wise'nw^t it lies in a state of warmth

It likewise expresses the notion of instant change coming from
rapid contact between two bodies. As in the illustrations for
-cin-, so in the following, the idea for sound is represented by
the reduplicated form of *wā*. The idea of contact and the
idea of interval between one contact and another are expressed
by *-sen-*.

pe'miwä'wäse'nw' it passes by a-jingling (*pemi-* [§ 16]; *-w'* [§ 2])
pyätwä'wäse'nw' it comes a-ringing (*pyät-* see *pyä-* [§ 16])
anemwä'wäse'nw' it goes yon way a-tinkling

Some of its uses to express DESCENT are—

pa'gise'nw' it struck, hit, fell, alighted (*pag-* [§ 14])
pi'täse'nw' it dropped inside (*püt-* [§ 16]; *-ä-* [§ 19])
cö'skwise'nw' it slid and fell (*cösk-* [§ 16])

[Apparently *-sen-* can be used also with an animate subject:
ä'pagisenetc' 160.1.—T. M.]

2. *-si-* animate; *-ä-* inanimate.

-si- implies in a general way the attribute of being animate. It can almost always be rendered in English by an adjective used with the verb TO BE:

mö'wesi'w^a he is untidy (*-w^a* [§ 28])
kä'wesi'w^a he is rough, uneven, on the skin
cä'wesi'w^a he is hungry (i. e., feeble, faint by reason of being famished)
kepa'gesi'w^a he is thick of skin

-ä- is the inanimate correspondent of *si-*:

mö'wäw' it is soiled, stained (*w'* [§ 28])
kä'wäw' it is rough, unpolished, prickly
cä'cawä'w' it is pliant, yielding
ke'pagyā'w' it is thick

3. *-sū-* heat, animate; *-tä-* heat, inanimate.

-sū- signifies that the animate subject is in a state of heat, fire, warmth:

wi'casū'w^a he is sweating
a''kasū'w^a he is burned to a crisp
pa'sesū'w^a he is burned
kī'cesū'w^a he is cooked done (*kīci-* [§ 16])
ä'ä''kasutc' he was burned alive 160.1
kicitcāgesutc' after he was all burned up 160.2 (*kīci-*, *tcāgi-* [§ 16])

-tä- is the inanimate equivalent of *sū-*:

wi'catä'w' (weather) is warm
a''katä'w' it burned to ashes
pa'setä'w' it is hot, heated (*pas-* [§ 16])
kī'catä'w' it is done cooking (*kīci-* [§ 16])

(*-ä-*).—The *ä* of *tä* in the last illustration has been met before in combinations like *usä* TO WALK, *isä* FLIGHT, *ötä* TO CRAWL.

egä TO DANCE, and some others. In the form of *kä*, '*kä*', and sometimes *gä*, it helps to express activity, occupation, exercise, industry. It admits of a wide range of use with the three forms, but everywhere is distinguished the idea of DOING, PERFORMING.

nenu'su'kā'w^a he is on a buffalo-hunt

kepi'hikā'w^a he is making a fence (i. e., an enclosure). [*kep-* is an initial stem denoting ENCLOSURE.—T. M.]

kōge'nigā'w^a she is washing clothes (i. e., doing work with water [*kōg-* § 16])

There is no precise notion expressed by the vowel *ä* in such augmented forms as *-hä-* and *-wä-*. It is an empty sign so far as standing for an idea goes; yet the vowel, like some others in its class, plays an important function. It helps to define the preceding stems and to connect them with the terminal pronouns. A copula might be an apt term for it, for such is its office. The following show some of its uses:

kī'wātcī'tähä'w^a he is melancholy (*-itä-* [§ 18])

ā'kwī'tähä'w^a he is sullen

kī'yāwā'w^a he is jealous

ā'kwāw^a he is angry

The inanimate retains *ä* in *-ämigat-*. As in the animate, so in the inanimate, the rendering is usually with some form of the verb TO BE. The inanimate admits of a further meaning, implying something of the notion of vague extension, like prevalent tone, pervading temper, dominant state of things. Such is the essential idea that comes from the substitution of *-ämigat-* for the animate in the forms that have just been given:

ne'nusu'kā'miga'twⁱ the buffalo-hunt is the all-absorbing topic

ke'pihikā'miga'twⁱ everything is given over to the building of enclosures

kō'genigā'miga'twⁱ the place is astir with the washing of clothes

kī'wātcītähä'miga'twⁱ the place is sad, dolefully sad

ā'kwītähä'miga'twⁱ the air is all in a spleen

kī'yāwā'miga'twⁱ the place is mad with jealousy

ā'kwā'miga'twⁱ it is aflame with anger

It is well to mention at this point an inanimate use of *-gat-*, a component element of *-ämigat-*. The form is sometimes *-gwat-*, *-kwat-*, or *'kwat-*. In function it is not unlike the inanimate

-ā-, shown a little way back as an equivalent of the animate -si-. Furthermore, it has a very common use of expressing ideas of vague existence in space of such things as odor, fragrance, atmospheric states of the weather.

pecí'gwā'kwa'tw' (tree, log, stick) is straight

mā'cāga'tw' it is fuzzy

me'nāgwa'tw' it smells, stinks

mā'cātcī'yāgwa'tw' it is fragrant

me'ca'kwa'tw' it is a clear day or starry night (literally, it is a state of immensity)

negwā'na'kwa'tw' it is cloudy (more literally, a process of covering is going on above)

pōsā'na'kwa'tw' clouds hang heavy, look angry (literally, a condition of enlargement, expansion, is taking place overhead)

(-i-).—The vowel *i*, in the forms -wi- and -hi-, is another element with the office of a link auxiliary. It is a common characteristic of *i*, in one or the other form, to increase or to retain the quantity of the vowel in the preceding syllable. It frequently lends emphasis to the meaning of a whole combination.

kīwāte'sīhi'w^a he is so lonely (for *kīwāte* beside *kīwātcī*, cf. *pyāte* beside *pyātcī* [pyā- § 16]; -sī- = -si-, above)

sānāge'sīhi'w^a he is positively unyielding, incorrigible

The inanimate of the same is—

kīwā'tcāhi'w' the place is so lonely (-ā- inanimate of -si-)

sānāga'tōhi'w' it is certainly tough, formidable

Some instances show that the use of *i* is not always in agreement with the principle of strict pronominal concord; in other words, that it is not a peculiarity of one or the other gender.

me''tōsāne'nīhi'w^a he is mortal, exists as a mortal

wāwāne'skāhi'w^a he is bad, lives an evil life

me''tōsāne'nīhi'w' it is in nature mortal

wāwāne'skāhi'w' it has the stamp of evil on it

A common use of *i* conveys the idea of entrance into a state, or of becoming a part of a condition.

mā'netōwi'w^a he takes on the essence of supernatural power, is supernatural power itself (personified)

ugi'māwi'w^a he becomes chief

mā'netōwi'w' it is charged with, is possessed of, supernatural power; it becomes the supernatural power itself

ugi'māwi'w' it partakes of the nature of sovereignty

§ 21. INSTRUMENTAL PARTICLES

A set of elements denoting different notions of instrumentality incorporate after initial stems and after secondary stems of the first class. They introduce a causal relation, and render verbs transitive. Their nature and type come out in the illustrations.

1. *-h-* is for instrumentality in general.

ka'skaha'mw^a he accomplishes an act with the aid of means

pa'naha'mw^a he failed to hit it with what he used

ha'pi'naha'mw^a he unloosed it by means of something

-h- often gets so far away from its instrumental significance as to be absorbed by a general causal idea.

kiwā'mohā'w^a he puts them to wild flight (*ki-* [§ 16]; *-ā-* [§ 19]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

māne'cihā'w^a he disgraces him

ni'cwi'hā'w^a he owns two (animate objects)

The instrumental form is frequently *-hw-* instead of *-h-*.

pi'tahwā'w^a he buries him (*pit-* [§ 16]; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

pa'guhwa'w^a he makes him run

pōtci'gwāhwā'w^a he pierced him in the eye with something

2. *-n-* refers to the instrumentality of the hand.

no'tāna'mw^a he falls short of reaching it with his hand (*amw^a* [§ 28])

pa'nenamw^a he failed to hold it with the hand

atā''penamw^a he takes hold of it with the hand

The use of *-n-* is so common that its symbolism gets pretty far from its original meaning. In some instances *-n-* refers just as much to mechanical means in general as it does to hand.

nā'nāw^a he goes to fetch him

ā'wanā'w^a he carries him away

me'cenā'w^a he catches him

And in other instances the notion of hand becomes obscure.

māne'wānā'w^a he loves her as a lover

ta'pānā'w^a he is fond of her as a lover, friend, or relative

ka'nōnā'w^a he talks to her (*kan-* [§ 24])

3. *-sk-* expresses the doing of an act with the foot or leg.

ta'geska'mw^a he kicks it

tā'geska'mw^a he touches it with the foot

pata''ketcā'skawā'w^a he spurs him in the side (literally, he pierces him in the side with the foot)

4. *-p-*, *-pu-*, or *-pw-* denotes an act done with the mouth.

sA'gi'pwä'w^a he bites him (i. e., he takes hold of him with the mouth [*sAgi-* § 16]; *-äw^a* [§ 28])

sAgi'putō'w^a he bit it (*-tō-* [§ 37])

kī'ckiku'mä'pwä'w^a he bites off his nose (*kīcki-* cut; *-kum-* nose [§ 18]; *-äw^a* [§ 28])

pō'tetu'nä'pwä'w^a he kisses her (*-tun-* [§ 18]; *-äw^a* [§ 28])

5. *-c-*, *-cw-*, or *-sw-* signifies an act done with something sharp.

pe'tecō'w^a he cuts himself accidentally (with a knife)

kīskāno'wäcwä'w^a he cut off the (animal's) tail

kī'skeca'mw^a he cut it off

kīske'cäswä'w^a he cut off (another's) ear (*-cä-* ear [§ 18])

The association of the two ideas of something sharp, and something thin and film-like, affords an explanation of why *c* refers not only to the ear, but also to the notion of the ear as an instrument; usually, however, in an intransitive sense.

pe'secä'w^a he listens (compare *-cä-* [§ 18])

nanä'tucä'w^a he asks questions (i. e., he seeks with the ear)

6. *-m-*, *-t-*. Farther back were shown a number of attributive elements indicating activities with reference to one or the other gender. The elements were preceded by certain consonants, which had much to do with indicating the gender of what followed. There is an analogous process in causal relations. Certain consonants precede pronominal elements in much the same way as the instrumental particles that have just been shown. These consonants serve as intervocalics, and at the same time point out the gender of what follows. A very common consonant is *m*, which precedes incorporated animate pronominal elements in the objective case. It sometimes means DOING SOMETHING WITH THE VOICE, the act being done with reference to an animate object.

pō'nimä'w^a he stops talking to him (*pōni-* [§ 16])

tanwä'wämä'w^a he quarrels with him (literally, he engages in repeated noise with him; for *wäwä-* compare examples under *-cin-*, *-sen-* [§ 20])

ka'skimä'w^a he gains her by persuasion (*kaški-* [§ 16])

Corresponding with *m* on the inanimate side is *t* or *'t*, but the use appears there in a different sense.

pō'ni'tō'w^a he stops doing it (*pōni-* [§ 16])

tanwā'wā'tō'w^a he bangs away on it (*-ō-* [§ 37])

ka'ski'tō'w^a he gets it, he buys it (*ka'ski-* [§ 16])

It is not always certain if the symbol stands for a genuine instrumental. Its causal force is so indefinite at times as to represent no other function than to make an animate verb transitive.

wā'bāmā'w^a he looks at him (*wāba* same as *wāpa* TO LOOK AT; *-āw^a* [§ 28])

pa'gāmā'w^a he hits him (*pag-* [§ 14]; see also examples under *-cin-* *-sen-* [§ 20])

mā'kemā'w^a he is occupied with (an animate object). It is the idiom for HE WOES HER, HE ATTENDS HIM (in sickness) (*mā'k-* [§ 16])

The parallel of the same thing with *t* and the inanimate would be—

wā'batā'mw^a he looks at it (*-āmw^a* [§ 28])

pa'gatā'mw^a he hits it

mā'ketā'mw^a he is busy with it

7. *-s-*, *-t-*. Another frequent consonant, indicating that the following vowel represents an animate object, is *s*. In the inanimate, *t* replaces *s*.

ku'sāw^a he fears him

ā'sāw^a he owns something animate

ku'tāmw^a he fears it

ā'tōw^a he has it (*-ō-* [§ 37]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

8. *-n-*, *-t-*. It was shown that *n* referred to activity with the hand.

The reference was clear when the object was animate: as—

pyā'nāw^a he fetches him (literally, he comes, bringing him with the hand [*pyā-* § 16])

nā'nāw^a he goes to fetch him with the hand

The instrumental notion of the hand is sometimes lost when the object of the activity is inanimate. In that case *t* replaces *n*.

pyā'tōw^a he fetches it (*-ō-* [§ 37])

nā'tōw^a he goes to fetch it

Substantival Composition (§§ 22-24)

§ 22. CHARACTER OF SUBSTANTIVES

A pure substantive in the strict sense of the word is wanting in the Algonquian languages, but what is here termed a substantive is only part of that. The composition of a so-called substantive-group

is not at all unlike that of a verb. Initial and secondary stems combine in the same kind of way; link-stems also fall in line; and the element to indicate the notion of a specifier is a sort of designating suffix that is susceptible of a comprehensive application. The suffix, in turn, ends with one or the other of the pronominal signs to show which gender the word is—*a* for the animate, and *i* for the inanimate. Often there is no designative suffix at all, but merely a pronominal termination to mark the end of the word, and leaving the idea of a substantive to be inferred from the context. In the illustrations of noun-composition, only the absolute form of the nominative is given, and under the component parts of secondary stems and suffixes.

§ 23. SECONDARY STEMS

-ā'kw- has been met with before in another connection, meaning MASS, usually in linear dimension, and referring to WOOD, TREE. It conveys much the same meaning in the noun.

me'ciwā''kw^a dead fallen tree (*meci-* large [initial])

m_A'gā'kwa''kⁱ tree of large girth (*m_Ag-* large [initial])

mā'ckwā'kwīⁱ red stem (the name of a medicinal plant) (*mäckw-* blood or red [for *meckw-*])

pe'mitā'kwīⁱ collar-bone (*pemi-* spacial notion of SIDE, BY, LATERAL [§ 16])

-ōtā- is probably akin to the same form met with in the verb, and denoting TO CRAWL. It has no such specific meaning in the noun, but refers in a general way to human interests, especially in an objective relation.

me'gō'tāwe'nⁱ dress (of a woman) (*meg-* cover [initial])

me'sōtā'wⁱ rain, wind, rumor, news, the whole world (*mes-* totality [initial]; *-wⁱ* [§ 28])

u'tōtā'm^a or *utō'tām_A'nⁱ* his eldest brother, his guardian, his master, his clan tutelary, his giver of supernatural power (*u-manⁱ* [§ 45])

ō'tāwe'nⁱ TOWN probably belongs to this class

-nā'k- refers to the spacial notion of TOP, CREST, APEX.

kā'watā'na'kīⁱ brittle-top (the name of a medicinal plant) (*kāw-* roughness, asperity)

mäckwā'na'kīⁱ red-top (the name of a plant used for medicine) (*mäckw-* red)

-ōtc- or **-ōt-** conveys the idea of LATENCY, and refers to something used for a purpose. The **-ō-** is the same as that met with before, denoting the notion of passive conveyance.

te'sōtcī' trap (*tes-* to entrap [initial stem])

aca'mōtcī' bait (*acam-* to give to eat)

nā'neskwāputcī' dart (*nāne-* to poise; *nāneskwā* to poise by the neck; *nāneskwāp* to poise by a notch in the neck [done by a knot at the end of a string used in throwing the dart]; for **-ōtc-** : **-ōt-**, cf. *pītc(ī)* : *pīt* [§ 16])

-pyā-, a term incapable of specific definition, denotes something of the vagueness implied in words like ESSENCE, QUALITY, CONDITION.

kī'wāpyā' crawling vine (*kīw-* indefinite movement or space [literally, a something with the attribute of movement almost anywhere about])

kīcō'pyātā'gī' hot water (*kīc-* [initial] and *tā-* [cf. *-tā-* WARMTH [§ 20]). The objective idea of WATER is transferred to the acquired condition; and the term signifying the new state stands for water, although it does not mean water—a common process peculiar to the psychology of the language

-gī- or **-ge-** expresses the idea of SIMILARITY, RESEMBLANCE. With the connective *ā*, as **-āgī-** or **-āge-**, it is used to represent the idea for some kinds of cloth.

mā'netōwāge'n' like the mysterious (the name of an expensive broadcloth used for leggings and breech-clout)

me'ckwāge'nw' like the red (the name of a red woolen broadcloth with white edge)

cō'skwāgī' like the smooth (a fine woolen broadcloth used for garments by women on ceremonial occasions) (*cōsk* [§ 16])

-pa'k- refers to the external structure of a dwelling.

pe'mitōpa'kw' side (of a lodge) (for *pemi-* cf. under **-ā'kw-** above)

tcā'pa'kwā'n' wall (of a lodge) (*tcā-* [initial] refers to interlocation)

a'kwī'tapa'kw' roof (of a lodge) (*a'kw'* on top, surface)

§ 24. NOMINAL SUFFIXES

The examples from this point on to the end contain formatives that make a combination take on more of the character of a substantive. The stems that precede the formatives stand in a kind of attributive relation.

-ask- is a generic term for plants and herbs, and is common in the names for medicines.

tane'tiwa'skw' gambling-medicine (*taneti* MUTUAL ACTIVITY, by inference GAMBLING; *-ti-* [§ 38])

mīcātcine'nīwa'skw' perfume (*mīc* large; *mīcāt* state of largeness; *mīcātcineni* man in a feeling of largeness)

wā'baskw' white medicine (*wāb-* white; also to look at)

-āp- appears in combinations denoting CORD, STRING.

me'tegwā'pi bow-string (*me'tegw'* wood, stick)

ātū'sitā'pi moccasin-string (*-ūsi-* is related to the stem *-usā-* to WALK)

a'sapā'pi string, thread, cord

-min- is a collective term for FRUIT, GRAIN, BERRY.

me'cīmi'nā apple (literally, large fruit; *mec-* initial stem)

a'dāmi'nā corn

wā'bimi'n' white corn

ādā'imi'n' strawberry (literally, heart-berry)

kā'wimi'nā gooseberry (literally, prickly, rough, or thorny berry; cf. *kāwesiwā* he is rough [§ 20])

-pō- or **-āpō-** refers to fluid, liquid.

ne'pōp' soup (*ne'p'* water)

ma'ciskī'wāpō'w' tea (literally, herb-drink or herb-fluid)

wīcku'pāpō'w' wine (literally, sweet fluid)

maskutā'wāpōw' whisky, rum, alcohol (literally, fire-fluid; *-tā-* [§ 20])

wīmeckwāpōgateniw' there shall be a red fluid 184.19 (*meckw-* red [initial stem]; *-gat-* [§ 20]; *wī-* sign of intransitive future [§ 28]; *-w'* [§ 28]; *-ni-* [§ 34]; *-e-* to prevent the cluster *-tn-* [§ 8])

-mutā- is a general term for receptacle as the notion is expressed in POCKET, POUCH, BAG.

mīci'mutā' paunch (*mīc-* littleness, shortness, as in fuzz, and so fuzzy pouch)

maski'mutā' bag, sack (*maski-* as in *ma'skiski'w'* grass, reed, and so reed bag, grass bag)

kā'ki'mutā' bag made from linn-wood bark (*kā'k-* to dry, season, and so a bag of seasoned material)

pīcā'ganimutā' parflèche (*pī'cāga'n'* rawhide, and so rawhide pouch)

-gan- is a comprehensive term expressive of instrumentality.

kepanō'hīga'n' lid (for a bucket, basket) (*kep-* to enclose; *-an-* opening, and so an object for closing an opening)

ke'patci'higa'n^t lid, cork for small opening, as in a bottle

kepī'higa'n^t fence (*kep-* to enclose)

kā'wipu'tciga'n^t file (*kāwi-* rough, serrated; *-pu-* or *-put-* [see § 21; cf. *pīci-* beside *pīti-*] bite, and so an indented tool for taking hold)

apwā'tciga'n^t scaffold for roasting and drying meat on (*apwā-* to roast, and so a thing for roasting)

-gan- is a common element for many nouns denoting parts of the body.

mī'setu'nāga'n^t mustache, beard (*mīs-* hair, fuzz; *-tun-* mouth [§ 18], lips, and so the hair or thread-like arrangement about the mouth)

uwī'piga'n^t marrow (*-wip-* form, length, and roundness vaguely implied)

u'kwāga'n^t neck (*-'kwā-* the space back of the neck [§ 18])

-nā- refers in a general way to place, and is used to denote an inhabited region or community.

Cā'wanō'īnā'w^e Shawnee village (*Cā'wanō'w^a* a Shawnee)

Wacā'cinā'w^e Osage town (*Acāca* an Osage)

Ō'tcipwā'hinā'w^e Ojibwa country (*Ō'tcipwā'w^a* an Ojibwa)

With the locative ending *-g^t*, as *-nāg^t*, the meaning becomes more that of COUNTRY, LAND.

Acā'hinā'g^t in the country of the Sioux (*A'cā^a* a Sioux)

kī'gāpō'hinā'g^t in the Kickapoo country (*Kī'gāpō'w^a* a Kickapoo)

-gān- is another collective term for place. It refers especially to enclosures.

Adā'wāgā'n^t store (*Adāwā-* to sell, and so selling-place)

Ase'nigā'n^t stone house (*A'sen^t* stone)

pa'kwāigā'n^t flag-reed lodge (*pa'kwa^t* flag-reed or flag-reed mat)

-īn-, -wīn-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-. There is one suffix that imparts an abstract meaning to a combination; it is analogous in meaning to *ā'wahī'n^t*, a demonstrative pronoun with an indefinite sense of vague reference, allusion, and having a close parallel to the colloquial "What d'ye call it?" The suffix appears in slightly varying forms, as *-īn-, -wīn-, -wen-, -ān-, -wān-, -ōn-*.

A'papi'n^t chair, seat (*ap-* to sit, and so something to sit on)

kā'nawī'n^t word, talk, report (*kan-* to talk, and so something about talk)

mī'tciwe'n' food (*mī-* or *mīt-* to eat, and so something to eat)
pā'gān' hickory-nut (*pāg-* to hit, alight [§ 14], and so something to drop and hit)
pī'tanwā'n' quiver (*pī-* or *pūt-* to put into [§ 16]; *-an-* receptacle, and so an object to contain something inside)
wā'bāmō'n' mirror (*wābā-* to look at [same as *wāpā-*]; *-m-* [§ 21], and so something to look at)

These few examples are perhaps enough to give an idea of noun-structure. As in the verb, so in the noun, there is much the same general character of vague implication in the component parts when they stand alone. They offer no definite meaning by themselves: it is only as they enter into combination that they convey specific sense to the mind. The moment they fall into composition, they acquire the force of precise statement, which they hold within definite limits. The method of procedure is to advance progressively from one general notion to another, each qualifying the other, with the result of a constant trend toward greater specialization.

§ 25. Reduplication

Reduplication is common, and occurs in the initial stem. Many initial stems have more than one syllable; and, when reduplication takes place, it may be with the first syllable only, or it may include the syllable immediately following. This phase of the process can be observed from the examples that are to be shown. In the examples the reduplicated syllable will appear in Roman type. The vowel of the reduplication is often unlike the vowel of the syllable reduplicated.

Reduplication expresses—

1. Intensity of action.

kāgī'gānō'w^a he held the clan ceremony with great solemnity
tā'tageskawā'w^a he stamped him under foot (cf. § 21.3)

2. Customary action.

mā'micātesī'w^a he always went well dressed (*-si-* [§ 20])
wā'wī cāpenā'w^a he is always hungry (*-cā-* allied to *-cāwe-*; see *-si-* [§ 20])

3. Continuity of action.

pe'peskutcāskā'w^a it (animate) keeps shedding hair of the body
mayo'mayō'w^a he kept on weeping

4. Repetition.

na'nagi'w^a he is constantly stopping on the way (*nagi-* [§ 16]; *-w^a* [§ 28])

pā'ka'pā'kanoskū'w^t it opens and closes alternately

5. Plurality, distribution.

kīski'skecā'w^a he cut off both ears (*-cā-* [§ 18])

sa'sāgigāci'nw^a he lay with both feet exposed (*sāgi-* [§ 16]; *-cin-* [§ 20])

mānemānemeg^a many a thing 112.11

sāsāgiseg^t they stick out 284.14

nā'nesā'tc^t he killed many (animate objects) (*nes-* initial stem TO KILL; *-ātc^t* [§ 29])

nā'nūwisāwā'tc^t they came flying out one after the other (*nūwi-* out; *-isā-* [§ 19]; *ā* lengthened before *wātc^t* [§ 29]; *ā-* lacking)

mā'metāswi^taciw^a'g^t there were ten of them all together (*metāswi-* for *medās^w* [§ 50]; *taci-* [§ 16]; *-wagi^t* [§ 28])

6. Duration.

pāpō'nūw^a'g^t they made long stops on the journey (*pōni-* [§ 16]; *-wagi^t* [§ 28])

wā'pawāpamā'tc^t he looked at him a long time 116.6, cf. 278.2 (*-m-* [§ 21]; *-ātc^t* [§ 29]; *ā-* lacking)

āhapihapi^tc^t he sat there a long while 116.6 (*ā—tc^t* [§ 29]; *-h-* glide [§ 8]; *api-* initial stem TO SIT; *-h-* glide [§ 8])

7. Quantity, size.

mā'micine'kā'w^a he has a great deal of hair on the hand (*mīc-* [§ 24 under *-min-*])

papa'gāhe'nw^t it is thin (*-w^t* [§ 28])

8. Onomatopoeia.

kāskā'skah^a'mw^a he files it, he scrapes it (*-h-* [§ 21]; *-amw^a* [§ 28])

The Verb (§§ 26-41)

§ 26. Pronoun, Voice, and Mode

It has been stated before (§ 14) that animate and inanimate gender are strictly distinguished, that there is a singular and a plural, and that the exclusive and the inclusive first person plural are distinguished. The former is associated with the forms of the first person singular; the latter, with those of the second person. Since both subject and object are expressed by incorporated pronominal forms, the intransitive verb and the transitive verb must be treated separately. Active, middle, and passive voice occur. The pronouns

take entirely different forms in different groups of modes. Three groups of modes may be distinguished,—the indicative, the subjunctive, and the potential,—to which may be added a fragmentary series of imperatives.

§ 27. *Tense*

The expression of tense by grammatical form is slightly developed. There is nothing in the simple form of the verb to mark the distinction between present and past time. It may express an act as in duration, as passing into a condition, or as momentary; but the time of the action, whether present or past, is to be inferred only from the context. This tense is referred to as aorist. It has its peculiar marks, which will be pointed out in the section on modes and pronominal forms. There may be said to be but one distinct grammatical tense, the future, which is indicated by the vowel *i* or the syllable *wi*. A fuller treatment of this tense will also be given further on.

The extreme lack of grammatical form to express tense must not be taken as an indication that the language is unable to make distinctions in the time of an action. On the contrary, stems of the initial class [§ 16] express great variety of temporal relations. Some of these relations are the notions of completion, with an implication of—

Past time.

kī'cipyā'w^a he has come (literally, he finishes the movement hither)

Frequency.

nahī'nāwä'w^a he frequently sees him, he used to see him, he kept seeing him

Continuity.

anemitā''penā'mw^a he is constantly taking it up with his hand

Incipiency.

wä'pipyā'w^a he began coming, he begins to come

Cessation.

pō'nipyä'w^a he no longer comes

Furthermore, temporal adverbs are used to express tense.

Present:

ne''py^a inugⁱ I come now, I came to-day

Future:

nī''py^awābāg^e I shall come to-morrow

Past:

ne'py^aΛ'nāgō'w^e I came yesterday*Pronominal Forms (§§ 28-34)*

§ 28. INDEPENDENT MODE

Aorist

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou	ye	he [lt]	they, animate; [they, inanimate]
Intransitive	<i>ne—</i>	<i>ne—pena</i>	<i>ke—pena</i>	<i>ke—</i>	<i>ke—pwa</i>	{ <i>—wa</i> [<i>—wi</i>]	<i>—wagi</i> [<i>—ōni</i>]
me	—	—	—	<i>ke-i</i>	<i>ke-ipwa</i>	<i>ne-gwa</i>	<i>ne-gōgi</i>
us excl.	—	—	—	<i>ke-ipena</i>	<i>ke-ipena</i>	<i>ne-gundna</i>	<i>ne-gundnagi</i>
us incl.	—	—	—	—	—	<i>ke-gundna</i>	<i>ke-gundnagi</i>
thee	<i>ke-ne</i>	<i>ke-nepena</i>	—	—	—	<i>ke-gwa</i>	<i>ke-gōgi</i>
ye	<i>ke-nepwa</i>	<i>ke-nepena</i>	—	—	—	<i>ke-guwdwa</i>	<i>ke-guwdwagi</i>
him	<i>ne-āwa</i>	<i>ne-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āwa</i>	<i>ke-āpwa</i>	<i>-āwa</i>	<i>-āwagi</i>
them	<i>ne-āwagi</i>	<i>ne-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āwagi</i>	<i>ke-āpwa</i>	<i>-āwa</i>	<i>-āwagi</i>
it, them, inanimate	<i>ne-a</i>	<i>ne-āpena</i>	<i>ke-āpena</i>	<i>ke-a</i>	<i>ke-āpwa</i>	<i>-amwa</i>	<i>-amōgi</i>

In the line containing the intransitive verb the forms for animate subject, third person, are given in the first line; those for inanimate subject, in the second line. In the transitive verb no forms with inanimate subject occur.

The future forms have *nī* and *kī* as prefixes in place of *ne* and *ke*. The future of the intransitive has the prefix *wī*. No future forms of the transitive third person subject with third person object have been recorded.

[Such a form is *wīnesāw^a* HE SHALL SLAY IT (HIS DOG) 178.2. Observe *wī-* as prefix. It may be noted that intransitive futures occur without this prefix; for instance, *nī''py^a* (quoted § 27) I SHALL COME.—T. M.]

The following examples illustrate the use of the intransitive forms:

ne''py^a I come, I came (see *pyā* [§ 16])

nī''py^a I shall come 270.21

ke''py^a you come, you came

'pyāw^a he comes, he came

hīw^a he says, he said 26.12, 14

pyā'migat^{av} it comes, it came (*-migat-* of the inanimate is a secondary stem of a connective, and is a peculiarity of gender [see § 20])

*pyāwag*¹ they came 22.14

pyā' pahōwag they come a-running 276.13 (*-pahō-* [§ 19])

The following examples illustrate the transitive forms:

kewāpamen^o I look at thee (*wāpa* initial stem TO LOOK AT; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; cf. also § 8 end)

kepyātcinānen^o I have come to fetch you away 50.1, 10 (*pyātc-* see under *pyā* [§ 16, also § 8]; *-nā-* to fetch; *-n-* instrumental particle [§ 21]; see also § 8)

kepyātciwāpamen^o I have come to visit thee 242.11

ketepānen^o I am fond of thee 314.4

kīwī' pumen^o I shall eat with you 252.4 (*wī-* [§ 16]; *-pu-* [§ 21]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37])

kīhawīhen^o I shall lend it to thee 302.8

kepyātōnepw^a I have brought to you 90.1 (*pyā-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-ō-* [§ 19])

kīnatomenepw^a I shall call you 356.16

nekusāw^a I fear him 366.2 (*-s-* [§ 21])

newāpamāw^a I look at him (*wāpa* and *m* as above)

nīnawihāw^a I am going to visit him 258.1 (*nawī-* to see; *h* for *kā* [*kīhā-pw*^a you shall go 356.15], or *-h-* [§ 21])

nīmāwīwāpamāw^a I shall go and visit him 230.22 (*māwī-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *nīmāwāpamāw*^a AT 260.12, 268.19 is the same form with loss of the syllable *wī* [cf. § 12])

*nepyātcānānāwag*¹ I have come to take them away (*pyātc-* for *pyātc-* [§ 16]; *-ā* [§ 19]; *nā* to fetch; *-n-* instrumental [§ 21])

*netenāwag*¹ I call them 330.6

*nīwāpamāwag*¹ I shall see them 298.12 (a mild imperative, LET ME SEE THEM)

ne'wāpat^a I look at it (*-t-* [§§ 21, 37])

nepyātcinānāpen^a we (excl.) have come to take him 58.8 (*pyātc-* [§§ 8, 16]; *nā* to fetch; *-n-* [§ 21])

nenesāpen^a we (excl.) have slain him 160.4

kīmāwīwāpatāpen^a we (incl.) shall go look at it 284.8 (*māwī-* [§ 16]; *wāpa-* as above; *-t-* [§§ 21, 37])

kī'kīwīwāpatāpen^a we (incl.) are going on a journey to see it 338.7 (*kīwī-* an initial stem denoting indefinite motion; [cf. *kī-* § 16])

*ke'wāpa'm*¹ thou lookest at me (*-m-* [§§ 21, 37])

kīnesāpen^a we shall slay him 90.6 (a mild command)

*kīwāwāpamipena-tcā'*¹ thou wilt examine us (excl.) 290.23 (*wāwāpa* a reduplicated form of *wāpa-*; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]), a mild command

kewā'pamāw^a thou lookest at him

- kīneckimāw*^a thou wilt scold at him 284.4 (mild imperative)
kīpāgwihāw^a thou wilt run him off 284.5
kīhināw^a thou wilt say to him 98.9, 382.12 (-*n*- is an inter-
 vocalic particle [see § 21])
kīwāpamāwagi thou wilt see them (animate) 246.15
kītāpihāwagi thou wilt make them happy 276.23
kewāpat^a thou lookest at it (-*t*- [§§ 21, 37])
nēwāpamegw^a Le looked at me 368.19 (-*me*- [§§ 8, 21, 37])
kīnaganegunān^a he will leave us (incl. = thee and me) 178.18
pyānāw^a he brought (something alive) 58.5 (*pyā*- [§ 16]; -*n*- [§ 21])
kīyōmāw^a she carries it (her child) about on her back (*kī*- [§ 16];
 -*y*- a glide [§ 8]; -*ō*- [§ 19]; -*m*- [§ 21])
kaskimā^w he succeeds in persuading him (*kaski*- [§ 16]; -*m*- [§ 21])
wāpatamw^a he looks at it
kāsīhamw^a he erases it (*kāsī*- [§ 16]; -*h*- [§ 21])
*netcāgimanihegōg*ⁱ they took everything I had 276.15 (*tcāgi*- [§ 16];
 -*gōg* for -*gōg*ⁱ)
*kīpyānutāgōg*ⁱ they shall come to thee 348.2
*kīwāpesīhihegōg*ⁱ they will set thee crazy 309.20
*kīhamwahamwukōg*ⁱ they will often use thee for food 330.22
 (reduplication to express frequency [§ 25]; -*kōg*ⁱ for -*gōg*ⁱ;
 confusion of *k* and *g* [see § 3]; *amw*- initial stem TO EAT; *h*
 [both times] a glide [§ 8]; -*u*- to prevent -*wk*-)
*kīhigōg*ⁱ they will call thee 110.9

When the initial stem of a verb begins with a vowel in the aorist, an intervocalic consonant -*t*- is inserted between pronoun and stem; in the future this insertion does not occur.

Aorist:

- nē'taw*ⁱ I am, I remain; I was, I remained
*ke'taw*ⁱ you are, you remain; you were, you remained
a'wiw^a he is, he remains; he was, he remained
*awī'miga'tw*ⁱ it is, it remains; it was, it remained (for -*miga*- cf.
 § 20)

Future:

- nī'a'w*ⁱ I shall be, I shall remain
*kī'a'w*ⁱ you will be, you will remain
wī'a'wi'w^a he will be, he will remain
*wī'a'wī'miga'tw*ⁱ it will be, it will remain

§ 29. CONJUNCTIVE, AORIST AND FUTURE; SUBJUNCTIVE, PRESENT AND PAST

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou	ye	he	they	sing. and plur. Inanimate	
Intransitive	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāge wt- } -yāge -yāge'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>
me	—	—	—	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	
us excl.	—	—	—	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	
us incl.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
thou	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāge wt- } -yāge -yāge'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>
ye	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāge wt- } -yāge -yāge'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>
him, them	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāge wt- } -yāge -yāge'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>
§, thou, Inanimate	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāge wt- } -yāge -yāge'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāni wt- } -yāne -yāne'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāgue wt- } -yāgue -yāgu'a</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>	<div>ā- } yāci wt- } -yāci -yāci'e</div>

The indicative negative has the same form as the conjunctive with the negative, which replaces *ä* and *wi*. All the endings have *i* as terminal vowel (never *e*), and take the additional suffix *-ni*.

[It is likely that *ä* and the *i* of *wi* are aspirated vowels. This would account for the regular conversion of *k*, *p*, *t*, to '*k*', '*p*', '*t*', after them; and also for the insertion of *h* after them and before a vowel. The elements *nä-* and *kä-* have a similar effect (see § 28).—T. M.]

Intransitive forms:

winäwiyān' I shall go out 320.20 (conj. fut.)

wi'pyāyān' I shall then come 296.21 (conj. fut.)

wi'penuyān' I am going home 256.14, 258.23 (conj. fut.)

winägwāyān' I shall go (conj. fut.)

ä'pyāyāg° when we (excl.) came (conj. aor.)

wi'icimenvipemātesiyāg° that we (excl.) may have good health (conj. fut.)

ä'pyāyāgw° when we (incl.) came (conj. aor.)

āhiyan' when thou saidst 116.20 (conj. aor.)

winepeyan' thou wilt die 296.20 (conj. fut.)

wiwāpāmoyan' thou hadst better flee for thy life 98.5 (conj. fut.; *wāp-* [§ 16]; *-ā-* [§ 19]; *-m-* [§§ 21, 37]; *-o-* [§ 40])

wi'ātcimoyan' that thou talkest 322.16 (conj. fut.; *-m-* *-o-* [§§ 21, 40])

wihināmoyan' thou shouldst flee 98.8 (conj. fut.)

pemāmoyan° in thy flight 98.5 (subj. pres.)

kicipyātōyan° when thou hast brought (it) here 320.20 (subj. pres.; *kici-* *pyä-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-o-* [§ 19])

wāpikāwusāyan° start and take another step 128.18 (subj. pres.; *wāpi-* [§ 16]; *-usä-* [§ 19])

pyā'yan° if you should come 320.4 (subj. pres.)

ä'pemiwāpāmūt' then he started to begin to flee 154.10 (conj. aor.; *pemi-* *wāpi-* [§ 16]; *-ā-m-u-* [§§ 19, 37, 40])

ä'pemusāt' then he walked along 104.19 (conj. aor.; *pem-* for *pemi-* [§ 16] before vowel; *-usä-* [§ 19])

āhite' then he said 48.21; 58.26, 27; 114.2, 9; 118.21, 23 (conj. aor.)

ä'kiyusāt' then he walked about 252.17 (conj. aor.; *kä-y-usä-* [§§ 16, 8, 19])

ānāgwāt' then he started away 240.19 (conj. aor.)

āpyāt' then he came 326.22 (conj. aor.)

ä'penūt' then he went away 326.2 (conj. aor.)

pyānit° should he come 156.21 (subj. pres.)

pitigāte° that he entered 18.4 (subj. past)

wi'pyānit' when he would come 298.11 (conj. fut.; *-ni-* [§ 34])

- āhanemiwāpusāwātē*¹ they continued to start off on a walk 108.5
 (conj. aor.; *hanemiwāp-* [*wāpi-*] *-usā-* [§§ 16, 19])
*ā'kiyusāwātē*¹ they tramped about 136.14 (*kī-y-usā-* [§§ 16, 8, 19])
*ā'pyāwātē*¹ when they came 120.7, 166.22 (conj. aor.)
*ā'pōnīwātē*¹ then they halted to camp 166.13 (conj. aor.; *pōni-*
 [§ 16])
*ānagīwātē*¹ they halted 166.7 (conj. aor.; *nagi* [§ 16])
*ānepāwātē*¹ they slept 334.19 (conj. aor.)
*ā'penuwātē*¹ then they went away 334.19 (conj. aor.)
*wī'pemāmuwātē*¹ then it was their purpose to begin to flee (conj.
 fut.; *pem-ā-m-u-* [§§ 16, 19, 21, 37, 40])

Transitive forms:

- wīta'cīnesag*¹ I shall kill her 102.1 (conj. fut.; *nes-* to kill)
*āgwītā wīnesenānin*¹ I do not mean to kill thee 54.23 (conj. fut.:
*-n*¹ negative suffix)
*āwāwīta'mawīyan*¹ when you (singular) taunted me about him
 330.16 (conj. aor.)
*ā'a'camīyan*¹ you (singular) gave them to me to eat (conj. aor.)
wīpāpagamenāg^o we (excl.) shall now club you to death 160.6
 (conj. fut.; *pāpaga-* reduplicated form of a stem allied to
pag[i]- [§§ 14, 20]; *-me-* [§§ 8, 21])
neciyan^o if thou slay me 54.21 (subj. pres.; *nes-, nec-* to slay [see §9])
*wīhāwanātē*¹ wilt thou carry them away? 54.21 (conj. fut.)
wiketeminawīyāgw^o that ye will bless me 380.7 (conj. fut.)
āwāpamātē he looked at her 298.20 (conj. aor.; *-tē* for *-tē*¹ before
 a vowel)
*ā'kusātē*¹ he feared him 366.22 (conj. aor.; *-s-* [§ 21.7])
*ā'hinātē*¹ he said to him (her) 240.16, 290.18 (conj. aor.; *-n-* [§ 21])
*ā'kīcīnesātē*¹ after she had slain (an animate object) 254.19 (conj.
 aor.; *kīci-* [§ 16]; *nes-* to slay)
*āwī'pumātē*¹ he then ate with them 296.8 (conj. aor.; *wī-pu-m-*
 [§§ 16, 21, 37])
ā'kaskimātē she succeeded in persuading her 102.6 (conj. aor.;
kaski -m- [§§ 16, 21]; *-tē* for *-tē*¹ before a vowel)
*āpyātōhātē*¹ he then fetched (an animate object) 266.15 (conj.
 aor.; *pyā-t-ō-hw-* [§§ 16, 8, 19, 21])
*āwāpātāg*¹ he then looked at (the inanimate thing) 222.22, 248.3
 (conj. aor.; *-t-* [§§ 21, 37])
*nā'kākōgenag*¹ she also washed it 178.21 (conj. aor.; *nā'ka* also,
 again; *-a* lost before *ā-*; *kōg-n-* [§§ 8, 16, 21])
*āpemwūtāg*¹ so he shot at (the inanimate object) 252.19 (conj.
 aor.; *-t-* [§§ 21, 37])
*āwāpācīmiwātē*¹ when they poke fun at me 322.12 (conj. aor.;
wāpa to look at)

*inācinatutamu'k*¹ thus they begged of thee 382.14 (conj. aor.)
*ānesāwātē*¹ then they killed him 294.8, 296.2 (conj. aor.)
*āhināwātē*¹ then they told him 32.5 (conj. aor.; -n- [§ 21])
nāwāwāt^o should they see them 192.11 (subj. pres.)

[It would seem that under some conditions *ā-* and *wi-* may be used with the subjunctive (see § 35.4). Examples are:

ā'pōnīwāte^o when they had camped 96.2 (pronominal form of subjunctive past)
wīwāpāmute^o it was his purpose to flee 218.14 (pronominal form of subjunctive past; *wāp-ā-m-u-* [§§ 16, 19, 21, and 37, 40])
wīmītcite^o she would have eaten 96.3
wīpemwage^o I would have shot it 254.20 —T. M.]

§ 30. POTENTIAL, POTENTIAL SUBJUNCTIVE, AND PROHIBITIVE¹

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou	ye	he	they	sing. and plur. inanimate
Intransitive . . .	-k'a'a -k'a'a -ka	-k'age'e -pa'age'e -k'age	-k'age'e -pa'age'e -k'age	-k'apo -k'a'pa -k'ani	-k'age'u'a -pa'age'u'a -k'age	-k'itci -sa -k'itci	-k'itci -u'osa -u'itci	-sa -k'itci
me	—	—	—	-i'kani -i'kapa -i'kani	-i'k'age -i'k'age -i'k'age	-i'k'itci -sa -i'k'itci	-i'k'itci -i'k'itci -i'k'itci	—
us excl.	—	—	—	-i'k'age -i'k'age	-i'k'age -i'k'age	-i'k'itci -i'k'itci	-i'k'itci -i'k'itci	—
us incl.	—	—	—	—	—	-i'k'itci -sa -i'k'itci	-i'k'itci -i'k'itci	—
thee	-na'age'a -na'age'a -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	—	—	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	—
ye	-na'age'a -na'age'a -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	—	—	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	—
him, them, animate	-i'pa'age'a -i'pa'age'a -i'pa'age	-i'pa'age'e -i'pa'age'e -i'pa'age	-i'pa'age'e -i'pa'age'e -i'pa'age	-i'pa'age -i'pa'age -i'pa'age	-i'pa'age -i'pa'age -i'pa'age	-i'pa'age -i'pa'age -i'pa'age	-i'pa'age -i'pa'age -i'pa'age	—
it, them, inanimate	-na'age'a -na'age'a -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	-na'age'e -na'age'e -na'age	-na'age -na'age -na'age	-na'age -na'age -na'age	-na'age -na'age -na'age	-na'age -na'age -na'age	—

¹ The first form is the potential; the second, the potential subjunctive; the third, the prohibitive.

Apparently these forms are distantly related to the other dependent modes. This appears clearly in the forms for the third person animate, exclusive, inclusive, and second person plural. The character of most of the potential forms is -'k-. Examples are—

nāsā'kap^a you (sing.) would have come back to life 116.17 (potential)

mānāhiyākap^a you (sing.) would have much of it (potential)

kīyāwami'kanⁱ you (sing.) might be jealous of me 216.15 (*kīyāwa* jealous; -m- [§ 21]; potential)

inenagā'a I should have said to thee 314.3 (potential)

uḡimāwis^a he would have become chief 26.16 (potential subjunctive)

nesegus^a he would have been killed 168.13 (*nes-* initial stem TO KILL; -e- [§ 8]; -gu- [§ 41]; potential subjunctive)

māciyāḡāḡu^a you (pl.) might give to him (potential subjunctive) 32.11

kāt^a aiyāpami 'ai'yohipyā'kanⁱ thou shalt not return to this place again 146.20 (prohibitive; -pyā- from *pyā-* [§ 16]); *aiyō^a* here; *aiyāpami* back)

kāta kuse'kyā'kāk^u be ye not afraid 190.21 (prohibitive; -'kak^u for -'kag^u; confusion of -g- and k [§ 3]; -se- [§§ 8, 21])

kāta nūwī'kāḡ^u do not go out 12.4 (prohibitive; *nūwī* initial stem OUT)

kāta, nesīmāhetigā, sāpīḡwā'kaku don't, oh my little brothers, peep 282.4, 6, 8, 10 (prohibitive; -ku for -gu)

kāta wīn^a sāpīḡwā'kitci let no one of you peep 280.25 (prohibitive)

kāta natawāpi'kanⁱ thou shalt not try to peep at me 118.10 (prohibitive; -wāp- for *wāp_A* LOOK AT)

kāta, nī'kā'ne, asāmihi'kanⁱ don't, my friend, be too cruel with me 330.17 (prohibitive)

kāt^a ātcimi'kāḡ^e ye shall not tell on us (excl.) 152.10 (prohibitive)

kāta wīna natawāpi'kitc uwiya^a none of you shall try to look at me 280.19 (prohibitive; *wāp* for *wāp_A*)

§ 31. IMPERATIVE

	we excl.	thou	ye	he	they
Intransitive	-tāwe	-nā'	-pa'	-tce	-wātce
me	—	-inu	-ku	-tce	-iwātce
us excl.	—	-inage	-ināge	-iyāmetce	-iyāmetce
us incl.	—	—	—	-nāgūtce	-nāgūtce
thee	—	—	—	-netce	-netci
ye	—	—	—	-nowatce	-nowatce
him, them, animate	-ādwē	-i	-ku	wā-āci	wā-āwāci
it, them, inanimate	-ādwē	-anu	-anu'ku	wā-āci	-āwāci
				-Atce	-A nowatce

It will be noted that in the third person these forms are similar to those of the subjunctive, except that *-tce* is found when the subjunctive substitutes *-te*.

pyā'tāw^e let us come (from *pyā-* [§ 16])

pyā'nu or *pyānu'* come thou 304.17

tetepusān^u walk thou in a circle 376.12 (*tetep-* [§ 16]; *-usā-* [§ 19])

nuwīnu out of doors with you 292.15 (*nuwī-* out)

kīyusān^u walk thou about 300.2 (*kī-* [§ 16]; *-y* [§ 8]; *-usā-* [§ 19])

hawīn^u stay thou 42.21

hapīn^u sit down 28.3 (*api-* initial stem TO SIT; *h-* really belongs to *aiyō*)

pyā'gu or *pyāgu'* come ye

hawīk^u remain ye 48.23 (confusion of *k* and *g*)

nāgwāku begone 58.13

māwinanegō^u go ye in pursuit 358.24 (*māwi-* [§ 16]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *-* [§ 8]; *-gō*^u for *-gu* [§ 6])

pyātc^e let him come

pyāwātce^e let them come

wāpamin^u look thou at me 322.3 (*wāpa-* to look at; *-m-* [§ 21])

pōnīmi speak thou no more to him 56.3 (*pōni-* [§ 16]; *-m-* [§ 21])

māwinatumi ask him to come 366.19, 368.2 (*māwi-* [§ 16])

wāpame'k^u look ye at him 242.19 (*wāpa-*; *-m-* [§ 21]; *-e-* [§ 8])

[In *āpinahwināge* OPEN IT AND SET US (excl.) FREE 290.22 *-nāge* is a palpable error for *-nāge*, for the subject is THOU.—T. M.]

§ 32. THE INTERROGATIVE MODE

There is an interrogative mode that plays the rôle of an indirect question. It has some points in common with the conjunctive mode; it is a subordinate mode; it makes use of the syllabic augments *ā* and *wī* to express indefinite and future tenses; it has a com-

set of pronominal forms from which, in turn, are derived forms that are used to express further degrees of subordination. The forms are as follows:

Interrogative Conjunctive, Aorist and Future

	Singular		Plural
1st per.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} w\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}ni$	Exclu.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} w\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}ni$
		Incl.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} w\ddot{a}g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$
2d per.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} w\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}ni$	2d per.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} w\ddot{a}g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$
3d per. an.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$	3d per. an.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}hi\ddot{g}i$
3d per. inan.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}ni$	3d per. inan.	$\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix} \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} \ddot{a}- \\ w\ddot{i}- \end{matrix}} \right\} g\ddot{w}\ddot{a}hi\ddot{n}i$

These forms appear in various connections. An example of a use is—

wiwäpipemutiwagwän' when we shall begin shooting at each other 20.12 (indirect question; *wäpi-* [§ 16]; *pemu-* in *äwäpipemutiwät'* then they began shooting at each other 20.14; cf. *nī'pemwāw'* I am going to shoot at him 248.14; *-tī-* reciprocal [§ 38])

Three of those used for the aorist will be shown. One is an indirect question after an imperative statement.

kīnanātucäpw' ä' 'cisenogwä'n' you should inquire how the affair stood

Another is in an indirect question after a declarative, negative statement.

ägwinötägäyānīn' äcisowanän' I did not learn what their name was

A third use is in the salutation of a first meeting after a long absence.

ä'pyāwanän'! and so thou hast come!

Without *ä*, this interrogative appears in

ägwi meckwähäw' näwägwin' did you not see a red swan 80.5, 16; 82.6 (*nä-* to see [§ 16]; *-wägwi* [§ 32]; *-n'* [§ 29])

[No transitive forms are given in the above table for the interrogative subjunctive. Note, however,

nesägwāni (somebody) must have killed him 66.7

This is a form of this class; *-ā* corresponds to *ā* of *-āw^a* in this independent mode; *-gwān^t* as in the table; but *ā-* is lacking.—T. M.]

The subjunctive of the indirect question omits the temporal prefix and has throughout final *-e* instead of *-i* (*-wānāne*, *-gwāhine*, etc.).

[*nāsāgwān^a* SOMEBODY SLEW HIM 26.15 (the change of the stem vowel *e* to *ā* as in the participial *nāsāt^a* HE THAT SLEW HIM 26.13; should be noted.—T. M.]

§ 33. PARTICIPIALS

	I	we excl.	we incl.	thou
Intransitive	<i>-yāni</i>	<i>-yāge</i>	<i>-yāgwe</i>	<i>-yāni</i>
me	—	—	—	<i>-iyāni</i>
us excl.	—	—	—	<i>-iyāge</i>
us incl.	—	—	—	—
thee	<i>-nāni</i>	<i>-nāge</i>	—	—
ye	<i>-nāgwe</i>	<i>-nāge</i>	—	—
him	<i>-āga</i>	<i>-āgea</i>	<i>-āgwa</i>	<i>-āta</i>
them, an. . . .	<i>-āgigi</i>	<i>-āgetcigi</i>	<i>-āgwigigi</i>	<i>-ātcigi</i>
it	<i>-āmāni</i>	<i>-āmāge</i>	<i>-āmāgwe</i>	<i>-āmāni</i>
them, inan. . .	<i>-āmānini</i>	<i>-āmāgini</i>	<i>-āmāgwini</i>	<i>-āmānini</i>

	ye	he	they, an.	it	they, inan.
Intransitive	<i>-yāgwe</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-tcigi</i>	<i>-miga'ki</i>	<i>-miga'kini</i>
me	<i>-iyāgwe</i>	<i>-ita</i>	<i>-itcigi</i>	<i>-gwi'yāni</i>	<i>-gwi'yānini</i>
us excl.	<i>-iyāge</i>	<i>-iya meta</i>	<i>-iya metcigi</i>	<i>-gwi'yāge</i>	<i>-gwi'yāgini</i>
us incl.	—	<i>-nāgwa</i>	<i>-nāgwigi</i>	<i>-gwi'yāgwe</i>	<i>-gwi'yāgwini</i>
thee	—	<i>-ka</i>	<i>-kigi</i>	<i>-gwi'yāni</i>	<i>-gwi'yānini</i>
ye	—	<i>-nāgwa</i>	<i>-nāgwigi</i>	<i>-gwi'yāgwe</i>	<i>-gwi'yāgwini</i>
him	<i>-āgwa</i>	<i>-āta</i>	<i>-ātcigi</i>	<i>-gwi'ci</i>	<i>-gwi'wātcini</i>
them, an. . . .	<i>-āgwigi</i>	<i>-āta</i>	<i>-ātcigi</i>	<i>-gwi'wātcigi</i>	<i>-gwi'wātcini</i>
it	<i>-āmāgwe</i>	<i>-āga</i>	<i>-āgigi</i>	<i>-āmōmiga'ki</i>	<i>-āmōmiga'kini</i>
them, inan. . .	<i>-āmāgwini</i>	<i>-āgini</i>	<i>-āgigi</i>	<i>-āmōmiga'ki</i>	<i>-āmōmiga'kini</i>

It may be well to point out here some of the differences between the participle and the conjunctive verb. In the first place, the participle lacks the temporal augment *ā* to denote indefinite tense. In the second place, the vowel of the first syllable of the initial stem undergoes change; this, however, is not always maintained if the vowel be *i*, *o*, or *u*. Finally, as observed from the table, the singular of the third person animate intransitive ends in *-ta*, the plural of the same person and gender ends in *-tcigi*, and the ending of the plural of the third person inanimate is *-miga'kini* instead of *-miga'ki*. Some

f these differences can be seen from a comparison of a few participles with their related conjunctives:

- ä'hanemihā'tc'* when he went yon way
äne'mihā't^a he who went yon way
ä'nemihā'tcig' they who went yon way
ä'nemihāmiga'ki'n' they (the stones) that went yon way
ä'pe'me'kā'tc' when he passed by
pä'me'kā't^a he who passed by
ä'hutci'tc' when he came from thence
wä'tcīt^a he who came from thence
wä'tcīmiga'ki'n' they (the things) that came from thence
ä'ki'witā'tc' when he staid around them
kīwi'tātci'g' they who staid about them
kīwi'tāmiga'ki'ni they (the things) that remained about
pāmine'ka'watci'g' they that chase 70 TITLE (stem-vowel *e*)
mā'kadāwīt^a he who was fasting 186 TITLE (stem-vowel *a*)
mānwānetag^a he who preferred it 136.5 (stem-vowel *e*) [ending
-ag^a for *-ag^a*—T. M.]
wāpinīgwāt^a the white-eyed one 150.1 (stem-vowel *ā*)
tāpānāt^a the one whom you love 150.1 (stem-vowel *e*)
wānimāt^a the one whom he had forsaken 150.7 (stem-vowel *i*)
nāsāt^a he that slew him 26.13, 17 (stem-vowel *e*)
tcāgānātowātci'g' they of every language 22.14 (*tcāg* for *tcāgi*
 [§ 16])
mī'kemātci'g' they who had been making love to her 46.5 (*mī'k-*
 [§ 16]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-m-* [§ 21])

The transitive pronominal forms differ most widely where the third person is involved in the subject. The transitive participle of the third person sometimes has the force of a possessive construction combined with that of an objective. Its sense is then more of the nature of a noun. Its pronominal endings are slightly different, as can be seen from the table.

	he	they
him	-ātcini	-āwātcini
them	-ātcī'	-āwātci''
it	-Agi	-Amowātcī
them	-Agiini	-Amowātcīni

These forms occur in situations like these:

tcīnawā'mātci'n' his relative; viz., one to whom he is related
 (*-m-* [§ 21])

tcīna'wā'ta'g' his object of relation; viz., a thing to which he is bound by a tie (-*t*- [§ 21])

tcīnawāmā'wātcī'n' their relative

tcīnawā'ta'mowā'tc' their object of relation

wāpamā'wātc' the animate objects of his view; viz., the animate objects at which he is looking (*wāpa*- to see; -*m*- [§ 21])

wāpa'tagi'n' the inanimate objects of his view (-*t*- [§ 21])

wītāmā'wātcī' their companions; viz., ones with whom they were in company (*wi*- [§ 16])

wītā'tamowātcī'n' their accompaniments

wītāmātcīn' he who accompanied him 70.14 (full analysis, note 23, p. 869; translation in Fox Texts not accurate)

pyānātcīn' she whom he had brought

pāgamemetcīn' he who was being hit 26.25 (from *pāg*- [§ 14])

§ 34. THIRD PERSON ANIMATE

The third person animate, singular and plural, has two forms. The first of these forms is *-tcī* for the singular, *-wātcī* for the plural; the second is *-nitcī* for both singular and plural. The latter form is used in two cases. One is syntactic, and occurs when the dependent verb is subordinate to a principal verb. The other is psychological, and occurs when the subject of the dependent verb plays a less important rôle than the subject of another verb; it is a frequent construction in narration. The subjective noun of the dependent verb takes on an objective ending *-ani* for the singular, and *-wa'i* or *ha'i* for the plural.

ā'pyātc' ā'pyāni'tc' when he came the other was arriving

ō'ni ne'gute'nu' ā'nāgwā'tc' . . . kā'geyā' ā'pyāni'tc' so then once went he away . . . then by and by here came another
ite'pihā'wa āha'wini'tc' i'kwāwa'n' he went over to the place where the woman was

ugi'māwa'g' ā'piti'gdwā'tc', ō'ni uskina'wāha' ānū'wini'tc' the chiefs then went inside, and thereupon the youths came on out

The same thing happens to a transitive verb in the same relation. The change takes place with the form representing the subject, but the form representing the object remains unchanged. The change occurs when the subject of a dependent verb becomes the object of a principal verb. The subjective noun of the dependent verb has the objective ending *-ani* in the singular, and *-a'i* in the plural. In the following examples, the first two show the construction with an intransitive dependent verb, and the next two show the construction with a transitive verb.

wā'pamā'wā ine'niwa'n' ā'pyāni'tc' he watched the man come
wā'pamā'wā ine'niwa''i ā'pyāni'tc' he watched the men come
wā'pamā'wā ine'niwa'n' āne'sāni'tc' *pecege'siwa'n'* he watched the
 man kill a deer
nā'wāwā ine'niwa''i āwāpā'māni'tc' *ne'niwa'n' ānesānitc'* *pecege'-*
siwa'n' he beheld the men looking at a man killing a deer

In the third example, *ā* in *āne'sāni'tc'* refers to *pecege'siwa'n'*, the object that was slain. In the fourth example, *ā* in *āwāpā'māni'tc'* refers to *ne'niwa'n'*, the object looked at by the plural *ine'niwa''i*; *ne'niwa'n'*, in turn, becomes the subject of *āne'sāni'tc'*, and *pecege'siwa'n'* is the object.

[Dr. Jones is slightly mistaken regarding *-nitci* in transitive forms. From the Fox Texts I can make two deductions: namely, that when the object is the third person animate, the form is *-ānitci* (as Dr. Jones also saw); when third person inanimate, the form is *-aminītcī* (with *-aminītcī* as a variant). The *-ā-* of *-ānitci* is the same pronominal element to be seen in *ā-āwātcī* (§ 29), etc.; while *-ami-* is related to *am-* in *-amwa* (§ 28); *amo* in *ā-amowātcī* (§ 29); *-amō-* *-amarw-* of the double object, etc. Contrast *ā'tcāgamānitc'* THEN THEY ATE IT ALL (animate) 294.10 (*ā-nitc'* [§ 29]; *tcāg-* for *tcāgi-* TOTALITY [§ 16] by contraction [§ 10]; *am-* for *amw-* TO EAT [§ 16] by elision [§ 12]) with *kā'kāwataminītc'* THEY CRUNCHED THEM (bones: inanimate) 294.10 (*kā-* reduplication [§ 25]; *'kāwa-* TO CRUNCH [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 21]; *ā-* dropped [§ 12]). And observe *nā'kā'tcāgamāwātc'* AGAIN THEY ATE IT (animate) ALL 296.3 (for *nā'kā* AGAIN *ā-* [§ 10]; *ā-āwāwātc'* [§ 29]) and *ā'kā'kāwatamowātc'* THEN THEY CRUNCHED THEM (bones: inanimate) 296.5 (*ā-amowātc'* [§ 29]), where no change in the third person subject occurs. Note also *ōnāmenataminītc'* THEN THEY VOMITED THEM (inanimate) 294.13 (for *ōn'-ā-*), but *āmemenatamowātc'* THEN THEY VOMITED THEM (inanimate) 296.6 (for *ā-amowātc'* [§ 29]). Further compare *ā'ā'tā'penaminītc'* 172.19, *ā'ā'dā'penaminītc'* 172.16, THEN HE TOOK IT IN HIS HAND (*ā'dāp-*, *ā'tāp-* initial stem; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21]) with *ā'ā'dā'penag'* THEN HE TOOK IT 172.5 (*ā-Ag'* [§ 29]; *ā'ā'tāpenag'* 174.15 is a variant; *inā'ā'dā'penag'* 172.12 is for *in' ā-*). See also 22.23; 68.13; 150.15, 17; 160.18; 166.19; 172.14, 17; 174.8; 188.21; 244.14; 348.18, 22, 23. This *ami* is also to be seen in an interrogative verbal form (§ 32); namely, *ā'tan-wātaminigwān'* 340.11, 17. The inserted *-ni-* is also noteworthy. The analysis of this is *ā-gwān'* (§ 32); *tan-* TO ENGAGE IN (§ 16); *wā* SOUND (§ 20). HE SOUNDED IT (i. e., his voice) OUT is a close rendering.

It should be observed that the same device of inserting *-ni-* is used in the subjunctive; e. g., *pyāni'* 156.21 SHOULD HE CHANCE TO COME.—T. M.]

Use of the Possessed Noun as Subject of a Verb

An independent verb with the possessed noun of the third person used as the subject changes the form of its pronominal ending from *-wa* to *-niwaⁿ* in the singular and from *-wa^g* to *-niwaⁱ* in the plural. The change is one of concord between the subject and the verb.

utānemō'hemaⁿ *pyä'niwaⁿ* his dog comes

utānemō'he'mwāwaⁿ *pyä'niwaⁿ* their dog comes

utānemō'hemaⁱ *pyä'niwaⁱ* his dogs come

utānemō'he'mwāwaⁱ *pyä'niwaⁱ* their dogs come

The next set of examples are of the independent transitive verb. It is to be noted that the change of the pronominal ending concerns only the one representing the subject; the one standing for the object remains the same.

utānemō'hemaⁿ *wā'pamāniwaⁿ* *ma'hwāwaⁿ* his dog looked at the wolf (*ā* in *wā'pamāniwaⁿ* is an objective sign, and refers to *ma'hwāwaⁿ*, the object of the verb)

utānemō'hemaⁱ *wā'pamāniwaⁱ* *ma'hwāwaⁱ* his dogs watched the wolves

If the object of the verb become in turn the subject of a dependent clause, it will still keep its objective form; but its verb will be of the dependent group. The object of the main verb will be represented as subject of the dependent verb by *-nitci* (*ni* in *-nitci* is the same as *ni* in *-niwaⁿ*). As in the case of the independent verb, so in that of the dependent verb, the sign of the object is unmodified.

utānemō'hemaⁿ *wāpamāniwaⁿ* *ine'niwaⁿ* *āne'sāni'tci* *ma'hwāwaⁿ* his dog looked at the man who was killing the wolf (*ā* in *āne'sāni'tci* refers to *ma'hwāwaⁿ*, the object that was killed; and *nitci* in the same verb refers to *ine'niwaⁿ*, the subject who did the killing; the verb is of the conjunctive mode).

If the verb of the possessed subject contain a dependent clause with object, it will keep the singular *-niwaⁿ*, even though the possessed subject be plural.

utānemō'he'mwāwaⁱ *wā'pamāniwaⁿ* *ma'hwāwaⁿ* *ā'pemin-ka'wāni'tci* *kō'kō'cāhaⁿ* their dogs looked at the wolf chasing the pig

utānemō'he'mwāwaⁱ *wā'pamāniwaⁿ* *ma'hwāwaⁱ* *ā'pemin-ka'wāni'tci* *kō'kō'cāhaⁱ* their dogs watched the wolves chasing the pigs

There is also a peculiarity of construction belonging to the possessed inanimate noun of the third person when used as the subject of an intransitive verb. The pronominal ending representing the subject of the independent verb is changed from *-wʰ* to *-niwʰ* in the singular, and from *-ōnʰ* to *-niwʰanʰ* in the plural. These peculiarities can be observed from an illustration of an independent intransitive verb.

utaʰseniʰmʰ pyäʰmigatēniʰwʰ his stone comes this way

utaseʰnimʰanʰ pyäʰmigateʰniwʰanʰ his stones come hitherward

The construction is not so simple with a transitive verb. If the verb takes an object which in turn becomes the subject of a subordinate clause, then its pronominal subject becomes *-niwʰanʰ* for both the singular and the plural.

utaʰseniʰmʰ mecugwiʰniwʰanʰ neʰniwʰanʰ äʰpemineʰkaʰwāniʰtcʰ
iʰkwāwʰanʰ his stone hit the man who was chasing the woman
utaseʰnimʰanʰ mecugwiʰniwʰanʰ neʰniwʰanʰ äʰpemineʰkaʰwāniʰtcʰ
iʰkwāwʰanʰ his stones hit the men who were in pursuit of the women

If there be only the subject, verb, and object, then the verb assumes dependent form. The ending of the pronominal element presenting the subject of an assertive verb is *-nitci*, which at once looks like an animate form of the conjunctive. But there are three peculiarities which point toward a passive participial. One is the presence of *-gwi-* before *-nitci*. This *-gwi-* seems to be the same as *-g-* or *-u-*, which, occurring in the same place, expresses a passive relation. Another peculiarity is that the first vowel of the initial stem undergoes change. Finally, the syllabic augment *ä* is wanting. Change of the vowel of an initial stem, and the absence of the augment *ä*, are the peculiar characteristics of a participial.

utaʰseniʰmʰ mācuʰgwiniʰtcʰ ineʰniwʰanʰ his stone hit the man

utaseʰnimʰanʰ mācuʰgwiniʰtcʰ ineʰniwʰanʰ his stones struck the man

The active transitive form of the verb is *meʰcwāwʰ* HE HIT HIM WITH A MISSILE. The animate passive conjunctive is *ämeʰcuguʰtcʰ* WHEN HE WAS STRUCK BY A MISSILE.

[Here should be mentioned the peculiar treatment of a possessed inanimate noun of the first person with a transitive verb taking an animate object. In this case the form of the verb is precisely the same as in the passive (§ 41), but the incorporated pronominal object

immediately precedes the final termination. An example is *nīpik netāwatāgw*^a MY ARROW WAS CARRYING IT AWAY (FROM ME) 80.19; 82.8, 21; *nīpiku*^t *netāwatāgw*^a MY ARROW WAS CARRYING IT AWAY (FROM ME) 80.8. The analysis of the last is *n-* MY; *m-* suffix omitted (§ 45); *īpi* ARROW; *-ku*^t VERILY; *ne—gw*^a I AM (§ 41); the *-ā-* before the *-gw*^a is the same objective incorporated third person pronoun met in §§ 28, 29 (e. g., *ānesātc*^t THEN HE SLEW HIM). The *t* after *ne-* is inserted according to § 28; *āwa-āwa-* is an initial stem (§ 16) meaning TO CARRY AWAY; the following *t* seems to be a reflex of the inanimate subject (see § 21). I may add, *nīpi-k*^u is merely a reduction of *nīpi-ku*^t by stress (§ 6).—T. M.]

Use of the Possessed Noun of the Third Person as the Object of a Verb

Ambiguity is likely to arise when a possessed noun of the third person, like *ō'san*^t HIS FATHER, becomes the object of a verb. In a sentence like *nāwāw*^a *ō'san*^t HE SAW HIS FATHER there are two possible fathers: one is the father of the subject, and the other is the father of somebody else. The sentence, however, implies but a single father, but which one is meant is not made positive by any special form. As the sentence stands, the reference is rather to the father of the subject. But if the father of another be in mind, and there be a desire to avoid ambiguity, then one of two methods is employed. In the one the name of the son appears before the possessed noun, the name ending with the sign of the objective:

nā'wāw^a *Pāgwā'nīwa*ⁿ *ō'san*^t he saw Running-Wolf's father

In the other, use is made of an incorporated dative construction.

nātā'mawā'w^a *ō'san*^t, the literal rendering of which is HE SAW IT FOR HIM HIS FATHER; and the sense of which is HE SAW HIM WHO WAS FATHER TO ANOTHER. The vowel *a* after *t* is an inanimate pronominal element. It is objective, while *ā* of the penult is animate and in a dative relation. [*nā-* is an initial stem, TO SEE; *-t-* is an intervocalic (§ 8); *-āw*^a (§ 28).—T. M.]

The¹ *-amaw-* of *nāt-amawāw*^a is identical with the *-amaw-* of *apī'amawin*^u UNTIE THIS FOR ME 312.12 (*apī-* UNTIE (§ 16); *-in*^a (§ 31)); *ā'apī'amawāt*^t THEN HE UNTIED THE THING AND TOOK IT OFF FROM HIM 312.13 (*ā—āt*^t (§ 29)); *pemutāmawinū* SHOOT HIM FOR ME 202.18; 204.9 (*pemu-* for *pemwu-* (§ 12); *-t-* (§ 21); *-inū*, a prolongation of *-in*^u (§ 31)); *siḡahāmawin* POUR IT OUT FOR HIM (ME) 236.8 (*-a-* (§ 8); *-h-* (§ 21); *-in* for *-in*^u (§ 31) by contraction (§ 10) and stress (§ 6)).

¹ From here to p. 838, addition by T. Michelson.

the question of the double object in Algonquian is not raised by Dr. Es. It surely is found, but I have been unable to gather more than fragmentary series from the Fox Texts. The pronominal form of third person object, singular or plural, animate or inanimate, is *awo-* before vowels, *-amō-* (*-amu-*) before consonants. This occurs immediately before the other suffixal pronominal elements. It is clear that *-amaio-* and *-amō-* are related to the *-am-* in *-amw^a* of the independent mode (§ 28), *-amān^t*, *-amagw^e*, *-amowāt^t*, etc., of conjunctive subjunctive (§ 29); *-amāge^e*, *-amāgu^a*, *-amowās^a*, etc., of the potential, potential subjunctive, prohibitive (§ 30); *-amāg^e*, *-amāgin^t*, *-amagw^e*, *-amāgw^e*, *-amōmiga^k*, etc., of the participial (§ 33); *-am^k*, *-amowāt^e*, etc., of the imperative (§ 31). Following are examples:

kēsa'kahamōn^e I burn him for you (sing.) 380.1 (*kē—n^e* [§ 28]; *sa'k-* initial stem; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

kēsa'kahamōnepw^a I burn him for you (pl.) 380.6 (*kē—nepw^a* [§ 28]; the rest as above)

pemutamawinū shoot him for me 202.18 (*pemu-* for *pemw-* TO SHOOT; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-inū* for *-in^u* [§ 31] by prolongation [§ 5])

āharcatenamawāt^e then he handed it to him 348.8 (with *shē* as subj. 174.17) (for *ā—āt^t* [§ 29] by contraction [§ 10]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *awā* for *āwā*, an initial stem [§ 16]; *-te-* [§ 8], *-n-* [§ 21]); see also 348.10, 12, 14

kīsa'kahamawāpw^a ye will burn him for them 180.14 (*kī—āpw^a* [§ 28]; *sa'k-* an initial stem; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

apī a'mawin^u untie it for me 312.12 (*apī* [*āpī-*] to untie [§ 16]; *-in^u* [§ 31])

ā a'pi a'mawāt^t then he untied it for him 312.13 (*ā—āt^t* [§ 29])

ā'pyātenamawīcāt^t then they brought it to me 376.9 (*ā—īwāt^t* [§ 29]; *pyā-* motion hitherward [§ 16]; *-te-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21])

pyātenamawiyāgw^e when you (pl.) brought me it 376.1 (*ā-* dropped [§ 12]; *ā—iyāgw^e* [§ 29])

ānāgonamawāt^t then he shoved it into them 358.1 (*ā—āt^t* [§ 29]; *-n-* [§ 21]; the initial stem is *nāgo-* [*nāgu-* 358.3] TO SHOVE)

pyātenamawin^u hand me them 242.13 (graphic variant for *pyātenamawin^u*; *pyā-* [§ 16]; *-te-* [§ 8]; *-in^u* [§ 31])

nīmāwinatutamawāw^a I shall go and ask him for it 252.20 (*nī—āw^a* [§ 28]; *māwi-* to go [§ 16]; *natu-* [*nato-*] to ask [§ 16];

kenatotamōn^e I ask it of you 380.2, 4 (*kē—n^e* [§ 28])

āsa'kahamawāt^t when he burns him for him TITLE 380 (*ā—āt^t* [§ 29]; *sa'k-* initial stem TO BURN AS AN OFFERING; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

āsa'kahamawāwātē^d when they burn him for them TITLE 38
(*ā—āwātē*^d [§ 29])

ketecinatutāmōnē such is what I ask of thee 380.5 (graphic variant for *ketacinatutāmōnē*; *ke—nē* [§ 28]; *taci-* initial stem meaning NUMBER)

inācinatutamu'kē is what they beg of thee 382.14 (for *in' aci-*; *in'* [§ 47]; *ā—'kē* [§ 29]; *ici* thus)

*wītāmawin** tell them to me 350.19 (the stem is *wīt-* [or *wi-*; *-t* as in § 8?]; *-in** [§ 31])

kewītāmōn I told it to you 114.22 (for *ke—nē* [§ 28] by contraction [§ 8])

*kīwītāmawāwō** thou wilt tell it to him 178.1 (*kī—āwō** [§ 28])

āwītāmōnān' I tell it to thee 314.1 (*ā—nān'* [§ 29])

*kīwītemōne-mā** go ahead and tell it to me 112.15 (*kī—ne* [§ 28]; *-emō-* variant of *-amō-*)

kīwītemōnepica I will tell it to you (pl.) 356.6 (*kī—nepica* [§ 28])

*wī'i'ciwītāmōnagōwō** what I should tell you (pl.) 280.13 (*wi—nagōwō** [§ 29]; *ici-* initial stem THUS; *-amō-* variant of *-amō-*)

āwāwītāmawīyan' when thou tauntedst me about him 330.16 (*ā—īyan'* [§ 29]; *wā-* [§ 25])

*wīwītāmawīyāgē** what we (excl.) would you (sing.) declare to us 364.20 (*wī—īyāgē** [§ 29])

ākicīwītāmōnān' I have nothing more to say to thee 330.13 (*ā—nān'* [§ 29]; *kici-* an initial stem denoting COMPLETION [§ 16]; an excellent example to show that *kīci-* in Algonquian is not as is assumed in some purely practical grammars) merely a tense-prefix to form the perfect)

*kīwītāmawī-tāmeg** I should merely like you to tell it to me 328.14 (*kī—i* [§ 28])

I do not understand *awītameg* wītāmōnenagā'a* I OUGHT NOT TO HAVE TOLD YOU 314.2. It is clear that *nagā'a* belongs in § 30; *-amō-* also needs no elucidation. The *-ne-* is a puzzle; I wonder if it stands for *-ni-* and is the same as the negative suffix *-ni* in § 29?

According to Dr. Jones, *ā ketemināmawīyāgō** 374.14 (and similarly *inācinākaketemināmawīyāgō** 374.9) means, not IN THAT YOU HAVE BLESSED THEM FOR MY SAKE,—which the analysis would require,—but IN THAT YOU HAVE DONE THE BLESSING FOR ME.

wīwītāmawāgē'e at 350.17 is clear enough in structure (*wī—āgē'e* [§§ 29, 35]), but certainly does not fit well with Dr. Jones's explanation (Fox Texts, p. 351, footnote 3). I suspect that the real sense is I MEANT TO HAVE TOLD (YOU) ABOUT THEM FOR HIS SAKE.

This *-amaro-* is also to be seen in indefinite passives, conjunctive mode [§ 41]. Examples are:

ä'ke'kahamawig^t when I was pointed it out 374.16 (*ä—ig^t*; *ke'k-* an initial stem, TO KNOW, TO FIND OUT; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21])

ä'ke'kahamawut^t it was pointed out for him 62.8 (*ä—ut^t*; *-amaro-* represents the inanimate object)

kīcesamawut^t when it was done cooking for him 14.18, 21 (*kīce-kīci-* COMPLETION [§ 16]; *-amaro-* variant of *-amaro-*; *ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *ä—ut^t*)

äpapa'kenamawut^t then it was taken away and torn off him 158.19 (*ä—ut^t*; *pa-* [§ 25]; *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *pa'k-* to separate)

ä a'kasamawut^t they deprived him of it and burnt it up 158.19 (*ä—ut^t*; contrast with this *ä a'kasut^t* HE WAS BURNT UP 160.1)

ä 'pa'kwäcamawut^t then it was sliced away for him 14.22 (*-c-* [§ 21]; contrast 14.23 *ähanemisa'kwäcut^t*; *hanemi-* [§ 16])

Also this *-amaro-* is to be seen in the pronominal termination a transitive verb with possessed noun of the third person as object 34):

äne'tamawagw^e osīman^t because we slew his younger brother 344.10 (*ä—agw^e* [§ 29]; *ne't-* a variant of *nes-* TO KILL [§§ 9, 16]; *osīman^t*; *o* for *u*; *u—man^t* [§ 45]).

The *-amō-* is certainly also to be seen in a transitive form of the interrogative mode, which, though not given by Dr. Jones, nevertheless existed:

keke'känetamōwanän^t you knew all about it 288.5 (*ke-* [§ 25]; *ke'k-* initial stem; *äne-* [§ 18]; *-t-* [§ 8 or § 21]; *ä-* dropped [§ 12]; *ä—wanän^t* [§ 32])

nätawänetamōwanän^e what you desire in your own mind 180.9 (*nätaw[i]-* to desire; *-wanän^e* [§ 32])

In this connection the peculiar use of *-amā-* in certain cases should be mentioned:

ä'kicwītāmāgut^t when he was told about them 54.13 (*ä—t^t* [§ 29]; *kīci-* completion; *wīt-* to tell; *-gu-* [§ 41])

önäsīgahāmāgut^t then she poured it for her 316.23 (for *ön^t* *äsīgahāmāgut^t* by contraction [§ 10]; *ä—t^t* [§ 29]; *sīg-* an initial stem meaning TO POUR; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21]; the English idiom prevents this being translated as a passive)

pyätāmāgut^t she was fetched it 318.1 (*pyä-* [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 8]; *-a-* variant of *-e-* [§ 8]; *-n-* [§ 21]; *ä—t^t* [§ 29]; *-gu-* [§ 41])

kenätawänetāmāgōg^t they ask it of you 382.12 (*ke—gōg^t* [§ 28]; *nataw-* a by-form of *natu-* TO ASK; *äne-* [§ 18]; *-t-* [§ 21])

nīwītāmāgwa-mā of course he will tell me it 328.21 (*nī—gwa* [§ 28]; *wīt-* to tell)

ōnā'pāpākahamāgute then it was tapped on by him 346.15 (for *ōnā'pāpākahamāgute'*; *ā-tc'* [§ 29]; *-gu-* [§ 41]; *pā-* [§ 25]; *pā-* [cf. *ā'pāpāgepyāhaminītc'* 68.13] to tap; *-a-* [§ 8]; *-h-* [§ 21]; note that the subject grammatically must be animate)

A double object is clearly to be seen in 344.5, 7, 15, 24; 346.8: but unfortunately I can not completely analyze the form; *pāpākātamaw-* is a variant for *pāpagatamaw-*, and the double object is clear (*pā-* [§ 25]; *paga-* [*pāgi-*] to strike with a club).

A couple of examples where the subject is the third person plural and the direct object third person singular (or plural), with the second person singular as indirect object, are—

kīpyātāgōg' they will bring them to you 348.3 (*kī—gōg'* [§ 28]; *pyā-* motion hitherward [§ 16]; *-t-* [§ 21] and

kīhawātāgōg' they will fetch them to you 348.4 (for *kī—gōg'* [§ 28] by contraction [§ 10]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *awa-* variant of *āwa-* TO FETCH [§ 16]; *-t-* [§§ 8, 21]). The *-ā-* is the same objective pronominal element seen in *ne—āwa*, *ke—āpwa*, etc. [§ 28]; *ā—ātcī*, *ā—āwātcī*, etc. [§ 29]; *-āsa*, *-āwāsa* [§ 30]; *-āta*, *-ātcigi*, *-ātcini*, *-āwātcini*, etc. [§ 33].

Allied to the double object is the treatment of a possessed noun as the object of a transitive verb. Dr. Jones has treated the possessed noun of the third person as the object of a transitive verb of the third person [§ 34]. But there are other cases.

Thus *nemīcām'* *nelāwatāgw^a* SHE CARRIED MY SACRED BUNDLE AWAY 326.24; 328.5, 14; 330.2 (*ne-* [§ 45]; *ne—gw^a* [§ 28]; *-ā-* as above; *-t-* [§ 28]; *āwa-* [*awa-*] TO CARRY AWAY; *-t-* [§ 8 or § 21?]). As far as the verb is concerned, the structure is the same as in *neka'kitāgw^a* SHE HAS HIDDEN IT FROM ME 326.17 (*ka'ki-* is an initial stem meaning TO CONCEAL). Furthermore, it should be noted that although the noun is inanimate, *-ā-* is animate. An example of where the possessed noun is the first person plural (incl.) and the subject is the second person singular is *keta'ko'konān'* *kīhawānāw^a* THOU WILT TAKE OUR (incl.) DRUM ALONG 348.9 (*ke—nān'* [§ 45]; *-t-* [§ 45]; *kī—āw^a* [§ 28]; *-h-* [§ 8]; *awa-* a variant of *āwa-*; *-n-* [§ 21]). Observe that *a'ko'kon'* (348.10, 17) DRUM is inanimate, as shown by the termination *'* (§ 42); and that the pronominal elements of *keta'ko'konān'* are inanimate; nevertheless the pronominal elements incorporated in the verb are animate.¹

Two kinds of participles drop the final sign of the subject, and take on a lengthened termination when it becomes necessary for them to enter into a relation involving the use of *-n'* as a final ending. One is the transitive participle with an animate subject and an inanimate object; the nominative ending of this participle is *-g^a*.

¹ From p. 834 to here, addition by T. Michelson.

pāmīwā'sāska'g^a one who passes by flashing a light
nā'wāw^a pāmīwāsā'ska'minitci'nⁱ he saw him that went past
 flashing a light

The same ending with similar change occurs with an intransitive participle.

pā'waci'g^a one who shakes his (own) body while lying down
wā'pāmā'w^a pāwacimi'nitci'nⁱ he looked at him who lay shaking
 his own body

The other kind of participle is with the subject ending in *-t^a*. The dropping of *-t^a* is common with the indefinite passive participle.

mī'net^a one to whom he was given
āhigutⁱ mīne'metci'nⁱ and so he was told by the one to whom he
 was given (*-m-* [§ 21]; see also § 8)

§ 35. Syntactic Use of Modes and Tenses

1. *Future*.—The future sometimes denotes expectation, desire, and exhortation.

nī'py^a I hope to come
kī'py^a may you come
wī'pyāw^a let him come

2. *Conjunctive*.—Tense for the present and past is indicated by the syllabic augment *ā-*. If the conjunctive preserves its purely subordinate character, as when it stands in an indirect relation to an idea previously expressed or to an independent statement, then the augment *ā-* is more likely to refer to an action as past. Thus:

ā'skatcⁱ ā'pyātciⁱ in course of time he came (cf. 38.14)
ne'py^a ā'pyāy^anⁱ I came when you arrived

But if the conjunctive departs from its subordinate function, then the syllabic *ā-* may, according to context, refer to an occurrence as past, or as extending up to, and as taking place during, the present. This is the same indefinite tense of the independent verb.

āne'pāyā'nⁱ I slept; I am sleeping
āne'pāy^anⁱ you slept; you are sleeping
ā'nepā'tciⁱ he slept; he sleeps

It is to be observed that the translations are finite assertions, and are in the indicative mode, as would be the case for an independent verb of the same tense. They illustrate a peculiar use of the con-

junctive,—a use that belongs to all narrative discourse, as in the language of myth, legend, tradition.

This finite use is parallel to that found in the Latin construction of accusative with infinitive.

The conjunctive has a future tense, which is indicated by the prefix *wi-*. The temporal prefix also occurs with the third person of animate and inanimate independent forms. [See my note to § 25.—T. M.]

As in the independent series, so here, the future can be used to express vague anticipation and desire.

wi'hāyā'n'? dost thou expect to go?

wihāt' he wants to go

3. *Dependent Character of the Pronominal Forms of the Negative Independent Verb.*—It is convenient at this point to make mention of the negative forms of the independent intransitive verb. The negative adverb is *āgw'* NO, NOT. Its position is before the verb, and its use involves a modification of the conjunctive. In the first place, the temporal vowel *ā-* drops out, and so there is no sign to indicate indefinite tense. In the second place, all the pronominal elements take on a terminal *-ni*, all the terminal vowels of the conjunctive being *e*.

The following examples show some of the forms with stem:

ā'gwi pyā'yāni'n' I do not come; I did not come

ā'gwi pyā'yāni'n' thou dost not come; thou didst not come

ā'gwi pyā'tcin' he does not come; he did not come

ā'gwi pyāmi'ga'ki'n' it does not come; it did not come

ā'gwi pyā'yāgi'ni they and I do not come; they and I did not come

For the future, the negative independent verb has the prefix *wi-*.

The negative of the conjunctive verb is indicated by *pwā'wi*. Its use brings about no change in the form of the verb. It stands between the tense particles *ā-* and *wi-* and the verbal stems.

ā'pwāwipyāyā'n' when I did not come

wi'pwāwipyā'tc' while he has no desire to come

4. *The Subjunctive.*—The subjunctive has a variety of uses. In one it is used to express an unfulfilled wish.

nā'sāt' may he get well

pō'nepyä't' would that he ceased from drunkenness

In another it is employed to express a wish, as of a prayer. In

its use, it occurs with an adverb *tai'yāna*, which conveys the desiderative sense of WOULD THAT! OH, IF!

*tai'yāna pyā't** oh, if he would only come!

The subjunctive is also used to express the possibility of an action.

*pe'musä't** he might pass by on foot

*tetepu'säyA'n** thou shouldst walk around in a circle

The same subjunctive is employed to express two kinds of conditions. In the one, where the condition is assumed as possible, the subjunctive stands in the protasis; while the future indicative of an independent verb is in the conclusion. The tense of the subjunctive is implied, and is that of the future.

*wi'u·pi'tähä'w^a pyä'miga''k** he will be pleased if it should come

In the other, where the condition is assumed as contrary to fact, both clauses stand in the subjunctive. The tense of both clauses is implied; that of the protasis is past, and that of the conclusion is present.

upi'tähä't pyä'miga''k** he would be pleased if it had come

The forms of this subjunctive are connected with past action. The idea of relative time is gathered more from implication of the context than from the actual expression of some distinctive element calling for past time. Some of the uses to which this subjunctive is put are the following:

It is used to express an unattained desire. It occurs with *taiyāna*.

*tai'yāna ki'wäte''** oh, if he only had turned and come back!

It is used as a potential.

*ta'kAmusä'yane''** thou mightest have gone by a short way in your walk across country

It frequently has the force of an indicative, and, when so used, the verb makes use of the tense particles *ä* and *wi*. [See my note to § 29.—T. M.] But the action is always represented with reference to an event in the past.

*i'ni te'pe'kw' ä''pemāmute''** it was on that night when he fled for his life (*pem*- [§ 16]; *-āmu*- [see *-ā*- § 19])

In this connection it often occurs with an adverb, *ke'yāha'p^a*, which has such meanings as IT WAS TRUE; IT WAS A FACT; WHY, AS A MATTER OF FACT.

ke'yāha'p^a wī·A·ceno'wāte''^e now, as a matter of fact, it was their intention to be absent

5. *The Potential*.—The potential is used to express a possibility.

nahinā'gā'ki'tc' he might learn how to sing

pyā''kā^a I am likely to come

The potential subjunctive is used in a verb that stands in the conclusion of a past condition contrary to fact, while in the protasis stands a verb in the past subjunctive.

nahinā'gāte''^e. ūte'pihā's^a had he known how to sing, he would have gone to the place

6. The negative of the verb in the protasis is *pwā'w^t*, and the negative of the verb in the conclusion is *a'wit^a*.

pwā'w^t nahinā'gāte''^e a'wit^a ūte'pihā's^a if he had not known how to sing, he would not have gone to the place

7. The prohibitive imperative is introduced by *kāt^a*, a negative adverb with the meaning NOT or DO NOT.

8. *The Imperative*.—It was observed how the future independent was used as a mild imperative. There is still another light imperative, one that is used in connection with the third person animate. It is almost like a subjunctive (see § 31). The forms of this imperative have a passive sense, and are best rendered by some such word as LET.

Pre-pronominal Elements (§§ 36-41)

§ 36. FORMAL VALUE OF PRE-PRONOMINAL ELEMENTS

In §§ 20-21 a number of stems have been described which precede the pronouns, and which have in some cases the meaning of a noun, or less clearly defined instrumentality; in others, a classificatory value relating to animate and inanimate objects; while in many cases their significance is quite evanescent. Many of these elements have more or less formal values, and correspond to the voices of the verbs of other languages; while still others seem to be purely formal in character. For this reason these elements, so far as they are formal in character, will be treated here again.

§ 37. CAUSAL PARTICLES

-*m*- animate, -*t*- inanimate. (See § 21)

As has been stated before, these particles sometimes imply that something is done with the voice, but ordinarily they simply

§§ 36, 37

indicate the transitive character of the verb. The animate-*m*-immediately precedes an animate, pronominal element. When the object is animate, it comes before the form that represents an objective relation; but when the object is inanimate, then it stands preceding the sign that represents the animate subject. The intervocalic *t* stands in front of the vowel that represents the inanimate object. (See examples in § 21.)

The consonant *t* often has a whispered continuant before articulation ('*t*'). With one form or the other, the consonant has an inanimate use which is peculiar to itself alone. It often conveys the idea of work; of the display of energy; of activity which implies the use of some agency, but without expressing any particular form of instrumentality. This use of the intervocalic consonant involves a difference in the form of the objective pronominal sign. In the examples that were just cited, the sign of the objective inanimate pronoun was *a* or *ʌ*. With this other use of *t* or '*t*', the inanimate sign of the objective pronoun is *o* or *ō*.

pō'ni'tō'w^a he no longer works at it; he no longer makes it (*pōni-* [§ 16])

nesʌ'nagi''tō I had a hard time with it; I had trouble making it

h, hw, w.

There is one group of causal particles which have a common function of reference to instrumentality in general. They are *h*, *hw*, and *w*. Comparing the use of one of these with that of *t* or '*t*' brings out clearly the difference between causal particles with the instrumental sense limited and *t* or '*t*' that has the instrumental function unlimited. With *h*, for example, the emphasis is rather upon the connection of the action of the verb and the means taken to act upon the object. On the other hand, with *t* or '*t*' the connection is closer between the action of the verb and the object of the verb. The idea of instrumentality is so vague as to be left wholly to inference.

kʌ'skahʌ'mw^a he accomplished the work (by the help of some kind of agency) (*kʌsk-* [§ 16]; *-ʌmw^a* [§ 28])

kʌ'ski'tō'w^a he accomplished the work

ä'pyätōhwāt^c he then fetched it 266.15 (*pyä-t-ō-* [§§ 16, 8, 19]; *-āt^c* [§ 29])

One more comparison will perhaps suffice upon this point.

There is a causal particle *m* which has already been mentioned. It has a common use associated with the instrumentality of the mouth, more particularly with that of speech.

pō'nimā'w^a no longer does he speak to him

pō'ni'tō'w^a no longer does he do it

§ 38. THE RECIPROCAL VERB

Now that the tables of the transitive pronominal elements have been shown, it will be convenient to take up the other two classes of transitive verbs; viz., the reciprocals and reflexives. They can be dismissed with a few remarks. Both have much the character of an intransitive verb; in fact, their form is that of an intransitive. The reciprocal expresses mutual participation on the part of two or more subjects, and so the verb does not occur except in plural form or with a plural sense. The reciprocal notion is expressed by *tī* incorporated between the stem of the verb and the final, pronominal sign. [It should be noted that in all the examples given, *-tī-* is the incorporated element, not *-ti-*.—T. M.] The reciprocal has a reflexive sense, in that it represents the subjects as objects of the action. Its force as a transitive is gathered from the context.

mīgā'tīwā'g^t they fought together; they fought with one another

ne'wāpatīpe'n^a he and I looked at each other

ke'nīmihetī'pw^a you danced together

ā'tānetīg^t at a place where gambling one with another is going on

nawihetīwāgāpe'^e they always visit one another 238.23

āhitīnītē^t they said one to another 76.14 (*-nītē^t* [§ 34])

ānāwutīwātē^t as one was eyeing the other 112.8

mānetīcīg^t they who played the harlot with each other 150 TITLE

[so text; error for *-tīg^t*]

ā'kakānōnetītē^t she and he talked together a great deal 176.21

(*kān-* reduplicated)

māmātīwāgāpe they are always taking things from each other

276.16 (*-āg-* for *-āgi* before *-āpe*)

kī'tānetīpen^a let us make a bet with each other 296.18

āhitīwātē^t they said one to another 358.25

ā'pōnikānōnetīwātē^t so with no further words to each other 62.6

nīmīgātīpen^a he and I shall fight against each other 60.6

tcāgānatīwātē^t then an invitation was extended to all, every one asking every one else 60.13 (*tcāg-* for *tcāgi-* ALL)

§ 39. THE REFLEXIVE VERB

In the reflexive verb the action refers back to the subject. The sign of the reflexive is *-tisu-* or *-tiso-* with the *u* or *o* vowel in either case sometimes long. The reflexive sign occurs in the same place as the reciprocal; viz., between the stem and the final pronoun. The difference of meaning between the two signs is, that *-tisu-* represents the subject solely as the object of the action, and does not, like *-ti-*, convey the reciprocal relation which two or more subjects bear to one another. Reflexive *-ti-* in *-tisu-* is plainly the same element as the reciprocal *-ti-*.

wābā'tisō'w^a he looked at himself (*wābā-* same as *wāpā*)

pāgā'tisō'w^a he hit himself (*pāgā* allied with *pāgī* TO STRIKE)

āhitisutē he then said to himself 286.22 (*hi* to say)

§ 40. THE MIDDLE VOICE

Thus far the description has been of verbs in the active voice. Two other voices are yet to be mentioned,—the middle and the passive. The middle voice represents the subject in close relation with the action of the verb. It is a form of construction of which the dialect is especially fond. The form of the verb is active, and mainly of a predicative intransitive character; but the meaning is passive. The voice is distinguished by animate and inanimate signs. Only two sets of signs will be taken up, the two most frequently met with. The animate sign is *o* and *u* long and short, and the inanimate is *ä*. These vowels are immediately preceded by intervocalic consonants, among which are *s* for the animate and *t* for the inanimate. It is perhaps better to refer to the combinations of *so* and *sō*, *su* and *sū*, and *tä*, as some of the signs of the middle voice. These forms are incorporated between the stem and the pronominal ending. The combinations of *sū* and *tä* were met with before in the section on secondary connective stems (§ 20). They appeared there in the rôle of co-ordinative stems, and the sense they conveyed was that of HEAT and WARMTH. They were used with reference to an existence or condition of the subject, and occurred among verbs of an intransitive nature. The same verbs used in the examples there can all be classed in the middle voice. The same signs can be used without the meaning of HEAT and WARMTH.

ä'wäwäpīsu'tc' when he swung
*wī'tō'kāsoyā'n** if thou shouldst help
*ka''kīsa'w** he is in hiding
*ne'tōw** he killed himself 66.8 (-'t- [§ 9])
kūwā'gwātā'w' it lies on the ground
āne'mīpugōtā'w' it floats yon way; it moves away, carried by the
 water (*ānemi*- [§ 16]; *-pugō*- [§ 19]; *-w'* [§ 28])

The middle voice sometimes represents an animate subject as acting upon itself in an indirect object relation. The action of the verb refers back to the subject in something like a reflexive sense. In this use of the middle voice appears the instrumental particle, and it stands in the place of *s*.

*kō'gītepānū'w** he washes his own head (with the help of his hand)
 (*kōg*- [§ 16]; *-n*- [§ 21])
*kā'sītepāhō'w** he wipes his own head (with something) (*kāsi*-
 [§ 16]; *-h*- [§ 21])
*pe'tecō'w** he accidentally cut himself (with something sharp)
 (*-c*- [§ 21])

The subject of a verb in the middle voice is often expressed as if acted upon in a passive sense.

*ta'gwa'hōsō'w** he is caught in a trap
*pemī'pugō'w** he floats by (more literally, he is carried past by
 the water; *pemī*- *pugō*- [§§ 16, 19])
*kīyō'megō'w** he rides about on horseback (literally, he is carried
 about; *kī*- [§ 16]; *-y*- a glide [§ 8]; *-ō*- [§ 19]; *-m*- [§ 21; also
 § 8])

§ 41. THE PASSIVE VOICE

The use of the passive voice proper is confined to an agent in the third person. The sign of the passive is *g* or *gu*; it occurs between the stem and the final pronominal ending. The sign with pronominal element can be seen in the tables of transitive forms. It is to be observed that the sign occurs more frequently with independent than with dependent forms.

The Passive with Subject and Object

A peculiarity of the passive construction is the difference of the form of the animate agent when the action of the verb is directed against the first or second person, and the form of the animate agent when the action is directed against a third person. If the action of the verb be directed against a first or second person, then the agent

steps the normal form of the nominative; but if the action of the verb be directed against the third person, then there is a change in the form of the agent: *-ni* is added to the nominative singular to mark the singular agent, and *'i* is added to the same to mark the plural agent. Furthermore, if the object of the action be singular and the agent plural, the form of the verb will be singular. If the object of the action be plural, then the form of the verb will be plural. A few examples will illustrate the use of the passive forms with an animate agent.

newâ'pame'gwâ ne'niwâ I am seen by the man

newâ'pame'gwâ ne'niwâ thou art seen by the man

wâ'pame'gwâ ne'niwâ'nî he is seen by the man. [In this and the next case, *-wâ* is the pronominal termination; *-g-* the passive sign; i. e., *g-wâ*, not *-guâ* (for *gu + a*), as in the first two examples.—T. M.]

wâ'pame'gwâ ne'niwâ''i he is seen by the men

wâpâ'megô'gî ne'niwâ'nî they are seen by the man

wâpâ'megô'gî ne'niwâ''i they are seen by the men

The same examples turned into the conjunctive mode would be—

âwâpamegwâgî ne'niwâ when I was seen by the man

âwâpamegwâtcî ne'niwâ when thou wert seen by the man

â'wâpamegu'tcî ne'niwâ'nî when he was seen by the man

â'wâpamegu'tcî ne'niwâ''i when he was seen by the men

âwâ'pameguwâ'tcî ne'niwâ'nî when they were seen by the man

âwâ'pameguwâ'tcî ne'niwâ''i when they were seen by the men

The Indefinite Passive

There is an indefinite passive—indefinite in the sense that the agent is referred to in an indefinite way. The forms of two modes will be shown,—one of the indefinite tense of the independent mode, and another of the same tense of the conjunctive mode.

INDEFINITE PASSIVE INDEPENDENT MODE

	Singular		Plural
1st per.	<i>ne-gôpi</i>	Excl.	<i>ne-gôpena</i>
		Incl.	<i>ke-gôpena</i>
2d per.	<i>ke-gôpi</i>	2d per.	<i>ke-gôpwa</i>
3d per. an. }	<i>-âpi</i>	3d per.	<i>-âpi</i>
3d per. inan. }			

It is to be observed that some of the independent forms end with a final *-pi*, which may have some relation with *i'pi*, a quotative with

such meanings as THEY SAY, IT IS SAID. The quotative sometimes occurs alone, but is most frequently met with as a suffix. Some of the forms just shown are the same as the ones seen in the independent transitive list; viz., the forms of the plural of the first and second persons. The following examples illustrate some of the uses of this passive:

ne'wâpamegô'p' I am looked at (-*me-* [§§ 8, 21])
ke'wâpamegô'pw' you are looked at
wâ'pamâ'p' he is looked at; they are looked at
wâ'patâ'p' it is looked at; they are looked at
kenatomegô'p' you are asked 368.4 (-*me-* [§§ 8, 21])

The conjunctive forms show the passive sign in the plural. The first and second persons singular end in -*gi*,—a suffix denoting location when attached to substantives, and indicating plurality of the third person of the independent mode. It is possible that there may be some connection between this ending and the passive sign; but it has not yet been made clear. The following are the indefinite passive forms of the conjunctive of indefinite tense:

INDEFINITE PASSIVE, CONJUNCTIVE MODE

	Singular		Plural
1st per.	<i>ä-igi</i>	Excl.	<i>ä-gwi'yäge</i>
		Incl.	<i>ä-gwi'yägwé</i>
2d per.	<i>ä-negi</i>	2d per.	<i>ä-gwi'yägwé</i>
3d per. an.	<i>ä-(u)tcí</i>	3d per. an.	<i>ä-gwiwâtci</i>
	<i>ä-(e)tcí</i>		
3d per. inan.	<i>ä-amegi</i>	3d per. inan.	<i>ä-amegi</i>

änatumene'k' when you were asked 372.12 (*k* for *g*, as in -*kâpâ-* for -*gâpâ-* and in other similar cases)

nätumik I being asked 374.1 (-*m-* [§ 21])

âha'kasameg' they (inan.) were set on fire 16.1

The third person animate singular of the indefinite passive can refer to four different relations. The form is the same, whatever may be the number of the object and the agent. The number of the object and the agent is often inferred from the context, but in the two examples to be shown each passive expression will appear with agents. If the agent be singular, then the ending will be -*ni*; if plural, then the noun ends in -*i*. It will be observed that this construction is much like that of the passive with *g* and *gu*. The object

the action of the verb will be omitted; if expressed, it would be in the nominative.

ä'hine'tc' ne'niwa'n' he was told by the man
ä'hine'tc' ne'niwa'' he was told by the men
ä'hine'tc' ne'niwa'n' they were told by the man
ä'hine'tc' ne'niwa'' they were told by the men
ä'näwu'tc' i'kwäwa'n' she was seen by the woman
ä'näwu'tc' i'kwäwa'' she was seen by the women
ä'näwu'tc' i'kwäwa'n' they were seen by the woman
ä'näwu'tc' i'kwäwa'' they were seen by the women

§ 42. Syntactic Forms of the Substantive

Substantives have forms to distinguish gender, number, and four case-relations. The case-relations are the nominative, the vocative, the locative, which is the case of spacial and temporal relations, and the objective. All these forms are expressed by suffixes. They are as shown in the following table:

	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
nominative	-a	-gi	-i	-ni
vocative	-e, -i	-ige	(-e), -i	-ni (-ne)
locative	-gi	-nigini	-we, -e, -gi	-gini
objective	-a, -ni	-gi, -i	-i	-ni

These forms will be shown with two nouns,—*A'nägw^a* STAR, and *senⁱ* STONE.

	Star.		Stone.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
nominative . . .	<i>A'nägw^a</i>	<i>A'nägw^agi</i>	<i>A'senⁱ</i>	<i>A'senyä'nⁱ</i>
vocative	<i>Anä'gwe</i>	<i>Anä'gwe<i>li</i>'ge</i>	<i>Ase'nⁱ</i>	<i>A'senyä'nⁱ</i>
locative	<i>A'nägwⁱgi</i>	<i>Anägwⁱnigⁱni</i>	<i>A'seni'gi</i>	<i>Ase'nigⁱnⁱ</i>
objective	<i>A'nägwⁱgi</i>	<i>a'nägw^agi</i> <i>Anägwu'gi</i>	<i>A'senⁱ</i>	<i>A'senyä'nⁱ</i>
	<i>A'nägw^a</i> <i>A'näga'nⁱ</i>			

There is no difference of form between the objective and some forms of the possessive. Thus:

ö'sanⁱ his father (animate).
u'wīcⁱ his head (inanimate)

The ending *-gi* to express animate plurality is no doubt the same as the one denoting location, thus suggesting the probability of a common origin.

§ 43. The Adjective

The attributive relation is expressed by a form analogous to an inanimate construction, which does not inflect for number or case. There are primary and derived adjectives. The former contains the descriptive notion in the stem; as, *ke''tci* GREAT, *tca'gi* SMALL. The derived adjective is one that comes from a noun; as, *ma'netō'w* (from *ma'netō'w* MYSTERY BEING), *A'cā'* (from *A'cā'* A SIOUX). Both kinds of inanimate adjectives agree in form and function; they have a singular, inanimate ending, and they occur in an attributive relation.

ke''tci ma'netō'w a great mysterious being

tca'gi wīgiyāpā' a little dwelling

ma'netō'wi a''k' a mysterious country

A'cā'hi ne'niw a Sioux man

As has been said, such adjectives do not change their form to agree with nouns for number and case.

ke''tci ma'netō'w! O great mystery!

ma'netō'wi a''kyān' mysterious lands

A'cā'hi ne'niwā'g' Sioux men

By virtue of its position, the adjective of inanimate forms takes on the function of an initial stem, and as such it enters into combinations with secondary elements to form—

Nouns:

tca'gi'nāgā'' small bowl

me'cimi'n' apple (literally, large fruit)

ase'nigā'n' stone dwelling

Acā'hinā'w Sioux country

Verbs:

tca'gāhenuh'w' pī'cāgā'' it is a tiny buckskin string

ne'niw me'cināgusi'w the man looked big (*-nāgu-* [§ 18]; *-si-* [§ 20])

Adjectives, when used as predicates, have the form of an intransitive verb. The verb is built up on the regular order of stem-formation with the qualifying notion of the combination resting mainly in the initial member. The sense of the stem undergoes restriction by other elements, and concord of gender and pronoun

is maintained. Such a combination agrees with a noun in gender and number. It stands before or after the noun it modifies.

me'cāwi si'pōw^t large is the river (*mec*-large; *-ā-* [§20]; *-wi* [§28])
i'kwāwΛ'g^t kănō'siwaΛ'g^t the women are tall (*-si-* [§20]; *-wΛg^t* [§28])

Pronouns (§§ 44-49)

§ 44. The Independent Personal Pronoun

The incorporated forms of the personal pronoun have been treated §§ 28-34. The independent pronoun is closely related to the pronouns of the independent mode of the intransitive verb (§ 28).

I *nīn*^a

we (exclusive) *nī'nān*^a

we (inclusive) *kīnān*^a

thou *kīn*^a

ye *kī'nwāw*^a

he (an.) *īn*^a

it (inan.) *īn*ⁱ

they (an.) *ī'nig*^t

they (inan.) *ī'nin*^t

§ 45. The Possessive Pronoun

Possession is expressed by prefixes and suffixes which are related to the pronouns of the independent mode. The suffixes differ for nouns of the animate and for those of the inanimate class, and for singular and plural of the object possessed.

OBJECT POSSESSED

	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
.....	<i>ne-ma</i>	<i>ne-magi</i>	<i>ne-mi</i>	<i>ne-mani</i>
n (excl.)	<i>ne-menāna</i>	<i>ne-menānagi</i>	<i>ne-menāni</i>	<i>ne-menānani</i>
s (incl.)	<i>ke-menāna</i>	<i>ke-menānagi</i>	<i>ke-menāni</i>	<i>ke-menānani</i>
'	<i>ke-ma</i>	<i>ke-magi</i>	<i>ke-mi</i>	<i>ke-mani</i>
ir	<i>ke-muḍwa</i>	<i>ke-muḍwagi</i>	<i>ke-muḍwi</i>	<i>ke-muḍwani</i>
.	<i>u-mani</i>	<i>u-ma'i</i>	<i>u-mi</i>	<i>u-mani</i>
dr	<i>u-muḍwani</i>	<i>u-muḍwa'i</i>	<i>u-muḍwani</i>	<i>u-muḍwani</i>

A few examples will serve to illustrate the use of the forms. The word for dog is *Λ'nemō*^a, a noun of animate gender. [The inserted *Λ* in the following examples is presumably the same as in *ne'taw*^t AM (§ 28).—T. M.] The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the same number would be—

ne'tānemōhe^m my dog (*-t-* [§ 8])

ke'tānemōhe^m thy dog

*utΛ'nemōhema*ⁿ his dog

Let the same persons remain in the singular, and let the noun be in the plural, and the forms would be—

neʔa' nemōhema'g' my dogs

keʔa' nemōhema'g' thy dogs

uʔa' nemōhema'' his dogs

The word for rock is *a'sen'*, a noun of inanimate gender. The forms of the three persons of the singular used with the noun in the singular would be—

neʔa'seni'm' my rock

keʔa'seni'm' thy rock

uʔa'seni'm' his rock

The forms with the same persons in the singular and the noun in the plural would be—

neʔa'senima'n' my rocks

keʔa'senima'n' thy rocks

uʔa'senima'n' his rocks

The consonant *m* of the suffix is often omitted with certain classes of substantives: as—

In terms denoting relationship.

no's^a my father

ke'gy^a thy mother

u'taiyā'n' his pet (referring to a horse or dog)

In words expressing parts of the body.

ne'tā'' my heart

ke'gā'k' thy chest

u'wīc' his head

In some names of tools.

netō''pwāga'n' my pipe

ke'me'tā'' thy bow

u'wīpā'n' his arrow

[It should be observed that under special stress the vowel of the *a* suffix is split into two vowels (§ 6); likewise it should be noticed that under unknown conditions *t* is not inserted after *ne*, *ke*, *u*, before initial vowels: then the terminal *e* of *ne* and *ke* is elided, while a glide *w* (§ 8) is inserted after *u*.

Examples of possessives with the *m* of the suffix, from the Texts are—

nesīmā' my younger brother 330.16

nete'kwām^a my sister 84.2, 12, etc.

nesīmāhag' my little brothers 282.13

- necicīpemag*¹ my ducks 284.2
nesimāhenān^a our (excl.) younger brother 90.12; 96.1
*nōcisemenānan*¹ our (excl.) grandchild (obj. case) 160.9
kesimāhenān^a our (incl.) little brother 90.6; 96.7
kīnemunān^a our (incl.) sister-in-law 92.16 (-u = -e-)
*ketōgimāmenān*¹ our (incl.) chief 300.24 (*t* inserted)
*kesimāhenānag*¹ our (incl.) younger brothers 122.5, 11, 18
*ketūgimāmenānag*¹ our (incl.) chiefs 62.22 (*t* inserted)
kenāpām^a thy husband 162.15, 23; 178.1
kōcisem^a thy grandson 290.24
kesimā^a thy little brother 252.1
*ketekumag*¹ thy foods 314.14
*unāpāman*¹ her husband 162.23, 24
usīman his younger brother 314.17
*usimāhā*¹ his younger brothers 90.14, 15
*usīma*¹ his younger brothers 90.10
*ucisema*¹ her grandchildren 160.11
*utūtūma*¹ his sisters 208.15
*uwīnemō*¹ his sisters-in-law 96.11 (*w* a glide)
*utōkaneman*¹ his bones 16.5
utūkaneman his bones 16.1
*utahīneman*¹ his garments 274.20
*usimāwāwan*¹ their younger brother 156.13, 16; 160.2
*usimāhwāwan*¹ their younger brother 94.19
*uwīnemowāwan*¹ their sister-in-law 92.8 (*w* a glide; -o- inserted)

Examples from the Texts, of possessives without the *m* of the suffix,
 are—

- negwī*¹ my son 182.4; 184.8
nemecōmes^a my grandfather 206.6
necisā^a my uncle 12.14
negy^a my mother 38.15 (for *negi*^a; cf. *ugiwōāwan*¹ their mother)
nīkān^a my friend 14.12; 26.17
*nīp*¹ my arrow 84.20
*nīpan*¹ my arrows 290.20
nemecōmesenān^a our (excl.) grandfather 160.5
*kenātarwinōnenān*¹ our (incl.) medicine 308.22
ketariy^a thy pet 178.14
*ketōtāwen*¹ thy town 16.4 (contrasted with 16.18)
*kegwisag*¹ thy sons 172.6
kesesāhwāwa your elder brother 294.18
*ucemisan*¹ his niece 12.17, 20
*ugwisa*¹ her sons 170.1; 238.6
*uwīkāna*¹ his comrades 14.5, 6, 8; 20.1; 24.4 (*w* a glide)

*uwōicimāskōtāwa*¹ his people 16.6
*ugiwāwan*¹ their mother 154.9
*ugwiswāwan*¹ their son 172.17
*ugwiswāwa*¹ their sons 172.20
*unūcāneswāwa*¹ their children 160.13

It should be observed that in certain terms of relationship, *u-* of the third person is not used. Contrast *ōcīsemwāw*¹ THEIR GRANDCHILDREN 154.18 with *kōcīsem*^a THY GRANDSON 290.24; *ōsān*¹ HIS FATHER 20.15 with *kōswāwan*¹ YOUR FATHER 232.5 (owing to the exigency of English grammar, Dr. Jones is forced not to be strictly literal in his translation); *ō'komesān*¹ HIS GRANDMOTHER 234.4, 6 and *ō'kumeswāwan*¹ THEIR GRANDMOTHER 160.7 with *kō'komesenāna* OUR (incl.) GRANDMOTHER 262.3.—T. M.]

§ 46. The Reflexive Pronoun

What stands for the reflexive pronoun in the absolute form is in reality an inanimate, possessive combination. The thing possessed is designated by *a-*, which has an essential meaning of EXISTENCE. BEING. The forms are—

*nī'yaw*¹ myself
*kī'yaw*¹ thyself
*u'wīya'w*¹ his self
*kī'yānā'n*¹ ourselves (I and thou)
*nī'yānā'n*¹ ourselves (I and he)
*kī'yāwā'w*¹ yourselves
*uwī'yāwā'w*¹ their selves

These forms appear frequently as the object of a transitive verb; and when so used, the combination of both pronoun and verb is best rendered by an intransitive form.

*netā'pāne'ta nī'yaw*¹ I am independent (literally, I own my own bodily self)
*wā'paci'tōwa'g' uwī'yāwā'w*¹ they are bad, sinful (literally, they defame their own bodily selves)

§ 47. The Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns occur in absolute form, and number and gender are distinguished. Some of the forms are slightly irregular in passing from singular to plural and from one gender to another. Three of the pronouns point to an object present in time and space with much the same force as English THIS, THAT, YONDER.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
this	<i>mana</i>	<i>māhagi</i>	<i>mani</i>	<i>māhani</i>
that	<i>ina</i>	<i>inigi</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>inini</i>
yonder	<i>ināga</i>	<i>ināmāhagi</i>	<i>ināmani</i>	<i>ināmāhani</i>

The demonstrative *ina* is also the third person, personal pronoun.

These demonstratives are used in the following relations:

ma'na ne'niw^a this man (who is in the presence of both speaker and person addressed, but not necessarily within the immediate presence of both, or within their hearing)

i'na ne'niw^a that man (who is farther removed, or who is subordinate in point of interest)

i'nāga ne'niw^a yonder man (who is farther still removed, and who can be out of hearing, but not out of sight)

One demonstrative is used in answer to a question, and corresponds to English **THAT**, **YONDER**, when both are used in a weak, indefinite sense. The object referred to is present and visible.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
that	<i>inama</i>	<i>inimāhagi</i>	<i>inima</i>	<i>inimāhani</i>

This pronoun is used when reference is made to a particular object selected from a list; as, *i'nama ne'niw^a* **THAT MAN**, as in the question, Which of the men do you wish to see?

Another pronoun has a temporal force, and refers to an object as invisible and in the past.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
that	<i>iniya</i>	<i>inipāga</i>	<i>inīye</i>	<i>inipāne</i>

I'niya ne'niw^a **THAT MAN** refers to a man known to both speaker and person addressed, but who is at present absent, or is no longer alive.

A demonstrative performs the function of an adjective; and when one is used alone without some noun, it still retains the force of a qualifier.

ma'ni ä-i'cinägä'te' this is the kind of song he sang
ini ä-i'cisege' that is how the affair stands

§ 48. Indefinite Pronouns, Positive and Negative

There are three sets of indefinite pronouns. One inflects for number and gender, and means OTHER. The second inflects for number, but has separate forms for each gender; the animate answers to SOMEBODY, SOME ONE, and is used of persons; while the inanimate refers to SOMETHING, and is used of things without life. The third expresses the negative side of the second set, as NOBODY, NO ONE, NOTHING. The negatives are compound forms of the second set with the adverb *ägwí* NO, NOT, occupying initial place. The three sets of demonstratives stand in the table in the order named.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
other	<i>ku'taga</i>	<i>ku'taga'ye</i>	<i>ku'tage</i>	<i>ku'tage'ne</i>
somebody, something . . .	<i>ä'wiyä'</i>	<i>uwei'pöha'ye</i>	<i>kä'gö</i>	<i>kä'göha'ne</i>
nobody, nothing	<i>ägü'wiyä'</i>	<i>ä'guwei'pöha'ye</i>	<i>ägwí'gögö'</i>	<i>ä'guwí'gögö'ne</i>

The first of these forms usually plays the part of an adjective, while the others often stand alone and appear as nouns.

ku'taga ne'niw^a the other man
u'wiyä''^a pyä'w^a somebody is coming
ägü'wiyä''^a ai'yō'ⁱ nobody is here
ägwí'kägö''ⁱ a'tägi'nⁱ nothing is left

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronoun asks about the quality of a noun, and inflects for number and gender. There are two pronouns used absolutely.

Pronoun.	Animate.		Inanimate.	
	Singular.	Plural.	Singular.	Plural.
who, what	<i>wöndä'</i>	<i>wöndähagi</i>	<i>wögund'</i>	<i>wögundähani</i>
which	<i>tāna</i>	<i>tānigi</i>	<i>tāni</i>	<i>tānigi</i>

The first pronoun asks of quality without reference to limitation.

wā'nā^a tca' īna ne'niw^a who is that man?

wāgunā^t pyātōyāni what dost thou bring?

The second pronoun expresses quality with more of a partitive sense.

tā'na'tcā ī'na ne'niw^a? which is the man? where is that man?

tā'ni pyātōyā'n^t? which didst thou bring? where is the thing that thou broughtest?

The examples show the predicate use of the pronouns. The pronouns have also an attributive function.

wā'nā^a ne'niw^a? what man? Also, who is the man?

tā'na ne'niw^a? which man? Also, which man of several?

Numerals (§§ 50-52)

§ 50. Cardinal Numbers

The numeral system as exemplified in the form of the cardinals starts with a quinary basis. The cardinals in their successive order are as follows:

ne'gut^t one

nī'cw^t two

ne'sw^t three

nyā'w^t four

nyā'nānw^t five

ne'gutwāci'g^a six

nō'hig^a seven

ne'cwāci'g^a eight

cā'g^a nine

me'dāsw^t } ten

kwī'tc^t

medāswi'negu't^t } eleven

medāswinegutinesīw^t

medāswinīcw^t } twelve

medāswinīcwī'nesī'w^t

medā'swine'sw^t } thirteen

medāswineswī'nesī'w^t

medā'swinyā'w^t } fourteen

medāswinyāwī'nesī'w^t

medāswi'nyānā'nw^t } fifteen

medāswi'nyānānwī'nesī'w^t

medāswinegu'twāci'g^a } sixteen

medāswinegutwāci'gā'nesī'w^t

<i>medāswinōhig^a</i>	} seventeen
<i>medāswinōhigā'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>medāswine'cwāci'g^a</i>	} eighteen
<i>medāswinecwāciḡā'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>medā'swicā'g^a</i>	} nineteen
<i>medāswicāḡā'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nīwābit^ag^t</i>	twenty
<i>nīcwābit^aḡineḡu't^t</i>	} twenty-one
<i>nīcwābit^aḡineḡutinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>neswā'bit^ag^t</i>	thirty
<i>neswābit^aḡinī'c'w^t</i>	} thirty-two
<i>neswābit^aḡinīcwinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nyāwā'bit^ag^t</i>	forty
<i>nyāwābit^aḡine'sw^t</i>	} forty-three
<i>nyāwābit^aḡineswinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nyānānā'bit^ag^t</i>	} fifty
<i>cegi'kanaw^t</i>	
<i>nyānānābit^aḡinyā'w^t</i>	} fifty-four
<i>nyānānābit^aḡinyāwinesi'w^t</i>	
<i>negutwāciḡā'bit^ag^t</i>	sixty
<i>negutwāciḡābit^aḡinyānā'nw^t</i>	} sixty-five
<i>negutwāciḡābit^aḡinyānānwī'nesi'w^t</i>	
<i>nōhigā'bit^ag^t</i>	seventy
<i>nōhigābit^aḡineḡutwāci'g^a</i>	} seventy-six
<i>nōhigābit^aḡineḡutwāciḡānesi'w^t</i>	
<i>necwāciḡā'bit^ag^t</i>	eighty
<i>necwāciḡābit^aḡinōhī'g^a</i>	} eighty-seven
<i>necwāciḡābit^aḡinōhigānesi'w^t</i>	
<i>cāḡā'bit^aḡi</i>	ninety
<i>cāḡābit^aḡinecwāci'g^a</i>	} ninety-eight
<i>cāḡābit^aḡinecwāciḡānesi'w^t</i>	
<i>ne'gutwā''kw[*]</i>	one hundred
<i>negutwā'kwe'negu't^t</i>	} one hundred and one
<i>negutwā'kwenegutī'n^a</i>	
<i>nī'cwā'kw[*]</i>	two hundred
<i>nīcwā'kwemedāswīnanīcwī'n^a</i>	two hundred and twelve
<i>ne'swā'kw[*]</i>	three hundred
<i>neswā'kwenīcwābit^aḡineswī'n^a</i>	three hundred and twenty-three
<i>negutwāciḡat^aswā''kw[*]</i>	six hundred
<i>nōhigat^aswā''kw[*]</i>	seven hundred
<i>nacwāciḡat^aswā''kw[*]</i>	eight hundred
<i>cāḡā't^aswā''kw[*]</i>	nine hundred
<i>me'dāswā''kw[*]</i>	ten hundred
<i>negutima'ka''kw[*]</i>	one thousand

<i>medāswinegutinesīwitāswā''kw*</i>	} eleven hundred
<i>mē'dāswā''kwe nā''kāna ne'gutwā''kw*</i>	
<i>ne'gutima'ka''kwe nā''kāna ne'gutwā''kw.</i>	

The cardinals from one to five terminate with the inanimate ending *-i*. They begin with the consonant *n*, a symbol that has already been shown to be intimately associated with the hand. The symbol is valuable for the suggestion it throws upon the probable origin of the numeral system. It has some connection, no doubt, with the method of counting with the fingers. Furthermore, it will be noticed that within the quinary series (viz., within one and five, inclusive) there are four different vowels standing immediately after *n*. What part and how much vowel-change may have played in the formation of the system is yet uncertain.

Negu'twāci'g^a, the cardinal for SIX, contains three elements. The first is *negut-*, and stands for ONE. The second is probably an initial stem *āc-*, and means OVER, ACROSS, MOVEMENT ACROSS.

ā'cōw^t over, beyond, an obstruction or expanse

ā'cowi'w^a he wades across a stream

ā'ci'ta'm^t again, in turn, by way of repetition or continuity

The third element is the ending *-g^a*; it is a frequent termination for words expressing quantity. It is to be found in all the series that SIX, SEVEN, EIGHT, and NINE enter; and its vowel sometimes lengthens to *ā* when another element is added.

medāswinegutwāci'gā'nesi'w^t sixteen

But the vowel does not lengthen in *negutwāci'gāswā''kw^e* SIX HUNDRED.

Nō'hig^a, the cardinal for SEVEN, does not yet admit complete analysis. Initial *n-* and final *-g^a* are the only intelligible elements that can be reduced at the present.

Ne'cwāci'g^a, the cardinal for EIGHT, has three parts, as in the case of the cardinal for SIX. The first is *nec-*, and stands for THREE; the second is *āc-*, and is the same as the one in the word for SIX; the third is the numeral ending *-g^a*.

Cā'g^a, the cardinal for NINE, is difficult to analyze. The numeral ending *-g^a* is clear, but *cā-* is doubtful. It is possible that *cā-* may be the same as *cā-*, an initial stem conveying the idea of freedom of movement, passage without friction, without obstruction, without impediment.

cā'powā'wā he cries out, sending his voice through space
cāpu'nigā'nī a needle (that is, an instrument for piercing through
 an obstacle with ease). This explanation is offered for the
 reason that, in counting hurriedly from one to ten, an adverb
kwi'tc' is given for TEN. The adverb means THE END, and *cā*
 may possibly express the idea of an easy flow of the count
 up to the adverb *kwi'tc'*, which marks the end of the series.

Me'dāsw', the word for TEN, is in the form of an intransitive verb
 of the third person singular inanimate. Its middle part *-dās-* may
 be the same thing as *tās-*, which signifies quantity, usually with the
 notion of AS MANY AS, AS MUCH AS. An explanation of initial *me-* is
 as yet impossible. [The element *tās-* occurs always in the form *tāsri-*,
 which is an initial stem. See § 16. —T. M.]

With the cardinal TEN the numeration apparently changes over to
 a decimal system. After every new decimal, the cardinals take one
 or the other of two forms. One is a cumulative compound, wherein
 the part indicating the decimal comes first, and the smaller number
 second.

medāswinegu't' ten one (meaning eleven)

nīcwābitāgine'sw' twenty-three

negutwā'kwenegu't' one hundred one (meaning one hundred and
 one)

The other is also cumulative, but in the form of an intransitive
 verb of the third person singular inanimate. Furthermore, the com-
 bination incorporates *nesi-*, an element used in the word for FINGER,
 between the pronominal ending and the part expressing the numeral.

me'dāsw' it is ten

medāswinyāwinesī'wi it is ten four

The initial member indicating the decimal can be omitted, if the
 numeration is clear from the context. For example, *negutinesī'w'*
 can mean ELEVEN, TWENTY-ONE, THIRTY-ONE, FORTY-ONE, and so on
 up to and including NINETY-ONE. It jumps such numbers as a
 hundred and one and a thousand and one; but it can be used to
 express a hundred and eleven, and a thousand and eleven, and all the
 rest of the one-series, as in the instances just cited. In the same
 way *nīcwinesī'w'* can be used to express a two-series; *neswinesī'w'*, a
 three-series; and so on up to and including *cāgānesī'w'*, a nine-series.

The element expressing HUNDRED is *-ā'kw^e*, the same thing, probably, as the collective suffix used to indicate things which are wooden: as—

cegā'kw^a pine [literally, skunk-tree.—T. M.]

ma''kwā'kw^a bear-tree

pa'sigā''kw^a board

The suffix ends with *e*, which is characteristic of an adverb. Numeration in the hundreds is expressed with the smaller number coming after the higher. There are two forms,—one with simply the combination of high and low number:

nīcwā''kwenī'cwⁱ two hundred two (for two hundred and two)

the other with this combination terminated by the local demonstrative adverb *ī'naⁱ* THERE, IN OR AT THAT PLACE:

nīcwā'kwe'nīcw'īn^a two hundred two there

The suffixed adverb has very nearly the force of ALSO, TOO, as used thus with numerals. In the series between six and nine, inclusive, where the numeral ending is *-ga*, the quantitative element *-tas-* [*taswi-*, see § 16. —T. M.] comes in between the cardinal and the sign for the hundred.

negutwācigat^aswā''kw^e six times hundred (for six hundred)

cāga't^aswā''kw^e nine times hundred (for nine hundred)

It takes the same place in hundreds after a thousand.

medāswinegutit^aswā''kw^e ten one times hundred

medāswinegutinesīwit^aswā''kw^e one ten times hundred

Both of the preceding examples mean ELEVEN HUNDRED.

THOUSAND is expressed in two ways,—one by the combination of TEN and the sign for HUNDRED, *medāswā'kw^e*; the other, and the one more usual, by a compound expressing ONE BOX, *negutima'ka''kw^e*. The word for BOX is *ma'ka'kwⁱ*, of inanimate gender. With the meaning A THOUSAND, it takes the form of an adverb by ending with *e*. The term is of recent origin. In some of their earlier sales of land to the government, the people received payment partly in cash. This money was brought in boxes, each box containing a thousand dollars. From that circumstance the term for ONE BOX passed in numeration as an expression for A THOUSAND. The term is now a fixture, even though its form is less simple than the more logical word.

The psychological reason for the preference is not altogether clear. The fact that the word for ONE BOX stood as a single term for a definite high number may have had something to do with its adaptation. The word for TEN HUNDRED, on the other hand, represents ten groups of high numbers, each group having the value of a distinct number of units. To use one word that would stand for a high decimal number may have seemed easier than to express the same thing by the use of smaller integers in multiple form. As a matter of fact, very little is done with numerations that extend far into the thousands; yet, in spite of the little effort to count with high numbers, it is within the power of the language to express any number desired. To express TEN THOUSAND, and have it generally understood, is to say—

ne'gutima'ka''kw me'dāse'now' īnī'tase'now'*, which is, in the order as the words come, ONE BOX, IT IS TAKEN TEN TIMES, THAT IS ITS SUM

A number like FORTY THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN would be—

ne'gutima'ka''kw nyä'wābitagita'swima'ka''kw* nī'cwā'kwā'n* medā'swineswī'n^a*. The words in their order mean ONE BOX, FORTY IS THE NUMBER OF TIMES THE BOX IS TAKEN, TWO HUNDRED PLUS, TEN THREE ALSO [*Taswi* is the same as the initial stem *taswi*.—T. M.]

The more intelligent express such high numbers in shorter terms.

Cardinals occupy initial place in composition when they stand in an adjective relation: as—

ne'guti'nenī'w^a one man
nī'cwi'kwā'g^t two women
negu'tīhi'w^a he is alone
nī'ciwā'g^t they are two

Cardinals are used freely as nouns, and it will be observed that in this connection they do not inflect for number or gender.

ne'nāwā'w^a ne'gut^t I saw one animate (object)
ne'nā^a ne'gut^t I saw one inanimate (object)
nepyā'nāwā'g^t nyä'w^t I fetched four animate (objects)
ne'pyāt^o nyä'w^t I fetched four inanimate (objects)

§ 51. Ordinals

The ordinals are combinations with the initial parts derived from cardinals; but the first ordinal has a separate, distinct word. Begin-

ing with the second ordinal is an incorporated *-ōnameg^t* or *-ānameg^t*, the final ending of which is the suffix *-g^t*, met with so frequently in a locative relation; that is the sense of it here. With the eleventh ordinal, and every other after, occurs the numeral element *tas-* between the cardinal and the compound ending *-ōnameg^t* or *-ānameg^t*. Ordinals do not inflect for number or gender. They are as follows:

<i>me'ne't^a</i>	first
<i>nīcō'name'g^t</i>	second
<i>nesō'name'g^t</i>	third
<i>nyäō'name'g^t</i>	fourth
<i>nyānānōname'g^t</i>	fifth
<i>negutwācigā'name'g^t</i>	sixth
<i>nōhigāname'g^t</i>	seventh
<i>necwācigāname'g^t</i>	eighth
<i>cāgā'name'g^t</i>	ninth
<i>medāsō'name'g^t</i>	tenth
<i>medāswinegutitāsōname'g^t</i>	}eleventh
<i>medāswinegutinesiwitāsōname'g^t</i>	
<i>nīcwābitagitāsōname'g^t</i>	twentieth
<i>negutwā'kwetāsōname'g^t</i>	hundredth
<i>medāswāk'wetāsōname'g^t</i>	}thousandth
<i>negutima'ka'kwetāsōname'g^t</i>	

§ 52. Iteratives and Distributives

Iteratives indicate repetition in point of time, as ONCE, TWICE, THRICE. They are derived from cardinals, and take the form of an inanimate, intransitive verb. With the sixth iterative occurs the numeral element *-tas-*, denoting quantity; it is incorporated after the cardinal elements, and is found with all the rest of the iteratives. The iteratives follow thus in order:

<i>ne'gute'nw^t</i>	first time
<i>nī'cenw^t</i>	second time
<i>ne'senw^t</i>	third time
<i>nyä'wen^t</i>	fourth time
<i>nyā'nane'nw^t</i>	fifth time
<i>negutwācigatase'nw^t</i>	sixth time
<i>nō'higatase'nw^t</i>	seventh time
<i>ne'cwācigatase'nw^t</i>	eighth time
<i>cā'gatase'nw^t</i>	ninth time
<i>me'dāse'nwi</i>	tenth time
<i>medāswinegutitase'nw^t</i>	}eleventh time
<i>medāswinegutinesiwitase'nw^t</i>	

nīcwābit_Agitase'nw' twentieth time
negutwā'kwetase'nw' hundredth time
nīcwā'kweneswābit_Aginyāwinesīwitase'nw' two hundred and thirty-fourth time
negutima'kaikwetase'nw'
medāswā'kwetase'nw' } thousandth time

Distributives express the number of things taken at a time, as EACH ONE, TWO AT A TIME, EVERY THIRD ONE, FOUR APIECE. The distributive idea is expressed by reduplication of the first numeral syllable. In the following are some distributive cardinals:

nā'negu't' each one
nānīcw' each two
nānesw' or *nā'nesw'* each three
nā'nyāw' or *nānyāw'* each four
nā'nyān_A'nw' each five
nānegutwācī'g^a each six
nā'nōhī'g^a each seven
nā'necwācī'g^a each eight
cā'cag^a each nine
mā'medā'sw' each ten
mā'medāswīnegu't'
mā'medāswīnegutinesī'w' } each eleven
nā'nīcwābit_A'g' each twenty
nā'nīcwābit_Aginī'cw'
nā'nīcwābit_Aginīcwinesī'w' } each twenty-two
nā'neswābit_A'g' each thirty
nā'nyāwābit_A'g' each forty
nā'nyān_Anwābit_A'g' each fifty
nā'negutwācīgābit_A'g' each sixty
nā'nōhīgābit_A'g' each seventy
nā'necwācīgābit_A'g' each eighty
cā'cāgābit_A'g' each ninety
nā'negutwā'kw^e each hundred
mā'medāswā'kw^e
nā'negutim_A'k_A'kw^e } each thousand

Examples of distributive ordinals are—

māmene't^a every first
nā'nīcōn_Ame'g' every second
nānesōn_Ameg' every third
mā'medāsōn_Ame'g' every tenth
nā'negutwā'kwetāsōn_Ame'g' every hundredth

Distributive iteratives are expressed in a similar way.

nā'negute'nw' it is once at a time

nā'nīce'nw^t it is twice at a time

nā'nese'nw^t it is thrice at a time

These distributives are often followed by the local demonstrative adverb *i'c^t*, denoting TOWARD, MOVEMENT AWAY TOWARD SOMETHING. The adverb adds to the distributive notion the idea of movement by groups.

nā'nīcwi'c^t two at a time

nā'neswi'c^t three at a time

mā'medāswinīcwinesīwi'c^t thirteen at a time

nā'nīcwābitagitasōnamegi'c^t every twentieth

nā'nōhigatasenwi'c^t every seventh time

In the multiplication of two numbers, the cardinal is the multiplicand, and the iterative the multiplier.

ne'guti nā'negute'nw^t one is taken once at a time

nī'cwi nā'nīce'nw^t two is taken twice at a time

ne'swi nā'nese'nw^t three is taken thrice at a time

NOTE.—Half and fourth are the only fractions made use of by the dialect. The word for HALF is expressed absolutely by *ā'pe'ta'w^t*, an adverb denoting half. It forms the denominator, while a cardinal is used in the numerator.

negutā'pe'ta'w^t one half

nīcwā'pe'ta'w^t two halves, two parts

The word for FOURTH is *ā'sep_A'n^e*, an adverbial form of *ā'sep_A'n^a* RACCOON. The term comes from the fourth of a dollar, which was the price paid for a raccoon-skin at the trading-store. It is the denominator, while the cardinal is the numerator.

negutā'sep_A'n^e one-fourth, quarter of a dollar

neswā'sep_A'n^e three-fourths, seventy-five cents

There is a demonstrative adverb *īna'* with the meaning usually of THERE, AT THAT PLACE. When it comes after such phrases as have been given, it has the meaning of PLUS; the fraction is partly broken, and the terms then express addition.

negutāpe'ta'wīna' one and a half

negutāsep_A'nīna' plus a fourth

§ 53. Adverbs

There are numerous adverbs that express great variety of relationship. By far the greater number of them are used as adjuncts. As

adjuncts, some have great freedom of position, and others have not that freedom. Among the adverbs of free position are those expressing time.

i'nug^t ä''pyäyā'n^t to-day was when I came
pyä'w^a a'cawa'iy^a he came long while ago
askA'tcīmā''^t nī'py^a by and by I will come

Other adverbs are less free as to position. Such are those that do the double office of prepositions and conjunctions.

ne''kani pe'pōn^t during the whole year
ne''kan ä''pemātesī'tc^t during all the time that he lived
ä'yā'pwā'w^t nā'wa'kwā'g^t before noon; before mid-day
ä'yā'pwāw^t pyā'tc^t before he came

These limited adverbs occurring in first position really perform the office of initial stems. The following examples show adverbs in composition with secondary stems:

tcī'gepyä'g^t at the edge of the water
a'kwitapa'kwī on top of the lodge

Some adverbs express a modal sense, and have the force of either a clause or a sentence.

kaci'wāto'w^t of course it is true (said in answer to a question)
kaci'wī'to'w^t I don't care what happens; it makes no difference
ma'sātcī pyä'w^a he had a hard time getting here

The qualifying force of some adverbs is so extensive as to make them into conjunctives. Amongst their many values as conjunctives are—

General connectives:

nā''k^a AND, as—

kī'na nā''kanī'n^a thou and I

ce'wān^a BUT, in which an objection is implied, as—

ātci'mohā'p^t ce'wāna wA'nī'kū'w^a he was told, but he forgot

Introductives:

nahī' WELL, I SAY, as—

nahī', nīātesō''kānā'w^a — well, I will tell the story of him —

kaho', with much the same meaning and use as *nahī'*

kA'cinā'^t WHY! HOW NOW! as—

ka'cinā'^t, ā'gwināgwai'yani'n^t why, thou hast not gone yet!

kA'cinā'gw^a is much like *kA'cinā'^t*

§ 54. Interjections

There are also numerous interjections. Naturally most of them have to do with the expression of subjective states of the mind. There are two interjections of very common use, and they will be the only ones to be mentioned. One is *tai'yāna*⁴ 'WOULD THAT I MIGHT WISH! It is used with the subjunctive to express a prayer.

*Tai'yāna*⁴ *pyā'te!* oh, I wish he would come!

The other interjection is *tcī*, expressing wonder. It can and often does occur alone, but it is more common as a suffix.

ä'pyātcitci! when, lo, here he came!

§ 55. CONCLUSION

On account of the limitation of space, the description of the grammatical processes of this Algonquian dialect is to be taken rather as a general summary. A good deal of matter has been lightly touched on, and much has been wholly left out. It has been the plan to put out in as few words as possible such features as would give an intelligible idea of what the grammar of this one Algonquian dialect is like. The description will close with the text of a myth that was purposely abbreviated in the telling. It is told in a straightforward manner without any attempt at rhetorical emphasis, which often goes with the language of myths. The translation keeps close to the order of the ideas expressed in the text. There is also a short analysis of some of its morphology and syntax.

TEXT

[Cf. Fox Texts, pp. 70-74.]

Ma'kwan¹¹
Bear

pāmine'kawātcig^{1,2}
they who are in pursuit of him.

Inip¹³
It is said

acawayi⁴
long ago

negutenw¹⁵
It was once

ā'pepōg¹⁶
when it was
winter

ā'A'skime'pu¹⁷
when first it had
snowed

ā'A'skānwīg¹⁸
while the first
snow was on

neswi⁹
three

neniwag¹⁰
men

ācicāwāt¹¹
they went to
hunt for game

māmai¹²
early

kegiceyāp¹⁴
in the morning

Apatā'kig¹⁴
On the hillside

ā'pe'kwisāsaga'k¹⁵
where it was thick
with growth

ma'kwan¹⁶
bear

ā'pītcī'kawānit¹⁷
he went in making a
trail.

¹ *ma'kwan* object of the following participle (*ma'kwa* animate noun, nominative singular; -*n* objective animate singular suffix [§ 42]).

² *pāmine'ka'wātci'gi* third person plural, animate, transitive participle (*pāmi-* for *pemi-* [initial stem denoting MOVEMENT FAST; *e* of *pemi-* becomes *ā* in the participle, § 33]; -*ne'ka-* a secondary stem meaning TO DRIVE, TO PURSUE [§ 19]; -*w-* [§ 21 (?)]; -*d-* refers to the animate object *ma'kwan*; -*ci'gi* animate, third person, participial plural [§ 33]).

³ *Inip* combination of an introductive and a quotative (*I'ni* [§ 47] singular, inanimate, demonstrative pronoun used as an introductive; *i'p* impersonal quotative, occurring usually as a suffix [§ 41]).

⁴ *acawayi* temporal adverb expressing remote time in the past (§ 53).

⁵ *ne'gule'niwi* iterative (§ 52) in the form of the third person singular, inanimate, intransitive verb of the independent series (§ 28).

⁶ *ā'pepōgi* third person singular inanimate intransitive verb of the indefinite conjunctive mode with temporal augment; *pep-* initial stem used to express notions of WINTER, COLD, SNOW [§ 16]; -*gi* suffix with a locative sense (§ 42)).

⁷ *ā'A'ski'me'pu'gi* same kind of verb as in note 6 (*ask-* initial stem signifying EARLY, SOON, FIRST; -*sk-* initial stem common with words for SNOW, ICE, COLD; *me'pu-* TO SNOW).

⁸ *ā'A'skānwē'gi* an impersonal verb of the intransitive conjunctive mode (*ask-* same as in note 7; -*awē-* secondary stem denoting STATE, CONDITION; -*gi* suffix with locative sense).

⁹ *ne'wi* cardinal used as an adjective to the following noun.

¹⁰ *ne'niwa'gi* animate, plural noun, subject of the following verb (*ne'niwa* nominative singular; -*gi* suffix denoting PLURALITY [§ 42]).

¹¹ *ācīcāwātci* (*cicā* initial stem TO HUNT; third person plural, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

¹² *māmai* temporal adverb expressing relative time.

¹³ *kegi'ceyāpa* temporal adverb referring to that part of the morning just before and immediately after sunrise.

¹⁴ *apa'ā'ki'gi* independent, intransitive, verbal combination used like a noun (*apa-* akin to *d'p'p'w* signifying HALF, PART OF; -*ā'ki-* akin to *a'k-* meaning EARTH, GROUND, LAND; -*gi* locative suffix).

¹⁵ *āpe'kwisāsaga'k* same kind of verb as in note 6 (*ā-* vowel augment same as in note 6, but used here as in other places of the text, with a relative force; *pe'kw-* initial stem denoting DENSITY, THICKNESS [§ 16]; *sasag-* reduplicated form of the initial stem *sag-* [see *sagi-* § 16], which has taken on the sense of TAKING HOLD OF; -*k* third person, inanimate, pronominal ending of the conjunctive mode [§ 29]).

¹⁶ *ma'kwan* objective form of an animate noun used as the subject of the subordinate verb that follows.

¹⁷ *ā'pītcī'kawānitci* third person singular, animate, intransitive verb of the conjunctive mode, used with a subordinate subject in the objective relation (*pītc-* initial stem denoting MOVEMENT INTO AN ENCLOSURE [§ 16]; for the *tc-* of *pītc-* cf. *pyūtc-* under *pyū-*, also § 8; -*ka-* secondary stem expressing the notion of MAKING AN IMPRINT, SIGN, TRACK, and of MOVING, GOING [§ 18]; -*wā-* connective stem [§ 20]; -*n* incorporated representative of an objective relation, and parallel in construction to -*n* in *ma'kwan*). It belongs with -*tc-* in *nītc-*, and so enters into a subjective relation [§ 34]).

leguti¹⁸ a'pitcināganātē¹⁹ ā'a'ci'kahwātē²⁰ "Wātcikēsīyāgicisāwā!"²¹
 One he went in following after him he set him to going. "To the place whence the source of cold is he going fast!"

hinātē²² wītāmātē²³
 said he to him him whom he accompanied.

Wātcikēsīyāgi²⁴ wāse'kag²⁵ "Wātcināwā'kwāgicisāwā!"²⁶ āhite²⁷
 From the place where it is cold he who went round by way of, "Towards the place whence the mid-day is he hurrying!" said he.

Ini²⁸ nā'ka²⁹ wātcināwā'kwāgi³⁰ wāse'kag²⁵ "Ā'pagicimugicisāwā!"³¹
 And another to the place whence the source of the noon-day he who went round by way of "towards the place of the falling down is he hastening!"

ihite²⁷
 said he.

Aiyācō'k^a ā'kiwināmō'tātiwātē³² Askatēip³³ petegipyāyāt³⁴
 To and fro long did they together keep him in flight from them. Later on it is said behind he who was coming

ī'kigāhināpitē³⁵ ā'ā'skipagāme'kwisenigitē³⁶ keyāhapaiy^u ā'pemeg³⁷
 on the ground as he looked, it lay with a green surface lo, it was the fact to a place above

¹⁸ *ne'guti* cardinal (§ 50) used as an adjective modifying a noun understood.

¹⁹ *ā'pitcinā'ganātē* third person singular, animate, transitive verb of the conjunctive mode (*pīl*-same as in note 17; *nāga*-initial stem meaning TO FOLLOW AFTER [§ 16]; *-n*-an intervocalic causal particle [§§ 8, 21]; *ā*-objective pronominal element referring to the bear; *-tē* pronominal sign standing for the third person singular subject, conjunctive [§ 29]).

²⁰ *ā'a'ci'kahwātē* same kind of verb as in note 19 (*-ka*-secondary stem, same as in note 17; *-hw*-causal particle [§ 37]; *ā*-same as in note 19; *-tē* same as in note 19).

²¹ *wātcikēsīyāgicisāwā* third person, singular, animate intransitive verb of the independent series (*wātc*-initial stem [from *utci*, a locative adverb meaning WHENCE, SOURCE FROM, AWAY FROM (§ 16)]; *kesīyā*-initial combination expressing COLD; *-gi* locative suffix denoting PLACE WHERE [§ 42]; *wātcikēsīyāgi* WHENCE COMES THE COLD is an inanimate participial construction; *ici* a locative adverb denoting HITHER, AWAY, TOWARD; it often occurs as a suffix [§ 52]; *wātcikēsīyāgici* TOWARD THE PLACE WHENCE COMES THE COLD takes the place of an initial stem to the rest of the combination; *-isā* secondary stem expressing SWIFT MOVEMENT [§ 19]; *-wā* third person singular, pronominal sign representing an independent animate subject, lengthened from *wa* [§§ 6, 28]).

²² *āhinātē* same kind of verb as in notes 19 and 20 (*ā*-as in note 15; *hi*-initial stem meaning TO SAY [§ 16]; *n*-as in note 19; *ā*-as in note 19; *-tē* as in note 19).

²³ *wītāmātē* third person singular, animate, transitive participle (*wi*-initial stem denoting COMPANIONSHIP [§ 16]; *-tē* [§ 8]; *ā*-secondary stem denoting CONDITION; *-m*-animate causal particle [§§ 21, 37]. *ā*-animate objective sign; *-ātē* contains both subject and object, being a possessive, transitive participial [§ 33]).

²⁴ Explained in note 21.

²⁵ Participial (§ 33), intransitive animate: hence the termination *-ga*, not *-ta* (see § 34); *-ka*-a secondary stem meaning TRACK, IMPRINT (§ 18).

²⁶ *wātc*-as in note 21; *nāwā'kwāgi* (§ 53); the final *i* elided (§ 12) before *ici*- (§ 16), the final *i* of which is likewise lost; *-isāwā* as in note 21.

²⁷ *hi* an initial stem as in *āhinātē* (note 22); the form is the third person singular animate intransitive of the conjunctive mode (§ 29).

²⁸ See note 3.

²⁹ An adverb (§ 53).

³⁰ See note 26.

³¹ *ā*-prefix; *pagi*-an initial stem meaning TO STRIKE (§ 14); *-icisāwā* as in notes 21, 26; *gi* locative suffix.

³² *ā*-prefix; *kiwi*-an initial stem cognate with *ki*- (§ 16); *-n*-intervocalic (§ 8); *ā*-a secondary stem often used to indicate FLIGHT (§ 19); *-m*-instrumental particle (§§ 21, 37); *ā*-sign of middle voice (§ 40); *-tē*-an intervocalic (§ 8); *ā*-is not clear; *-tē*-sign of reciprocity (§ 38); *-wātc* sign of third plural animate intransitive conjunctive mode (§ 29).

³³ For *askatē+ipi*; *askatē* cognate with *aski*- (§ 16); *ipi* as in note 3.

³⁴ *petēgi*-an adverb; *gi* locative suffix, as in notes 7, 8, 14; *pyāyāt* contains *pyā* an initial stem denoting MOVEMENT HITHER (§ 16); *yā*-an initial stem meaning the same (see below *āyāwātē*, note 41); from the analogy of *pyāyāt* (from *pyā*) it is likely that the true stem is *yā*; *-tē* termination of the animate intransitive participial, third person singular (§ 33).

³⁵ For *ā'kig* + *āhināpitē*; *ā'kig* ON THE GROUND; *-gi* a locative suffix (§ 42); *āhināpitē* (*ā*-*tē* [§ 29]); *-h*- (§ 8); *-tē* for *ici* THUS (§ 12); *-n*- (§ 8); *āpi* TO SEE.

³⁶ *-sen*-a connective stem meaning RECLINING, LYING DOWN (§ 20); *ā*-*gi* as in note 6; *-tē* (§ 54).

³⁷ I have altered *ā'pemeg* of Dr. Jones to *ā'pemeg*. The first can not be analyzed; the second can, and is supported by *ā'pemeg* of the Fox Texts (72.1). The *ā'pemeg* of the Fox Texts at 72.2 apparently is a typographical error. The analysis is *ā*-*gi*, as in note 6.

ā'i'ciweneguwātē³⁸ ma'kwan¹ Sasaganig³⁹ ā'tetepine'kawāwātē⁴⁰
 was the way along which the bear. At the thick growth while round in a circle they
 they were led by
 keyāhapaīy⁴¹ ā'pemeg⁴² āyāwātē⁴³
 was really the time into the above when they went.
 Ini ā'kōwepyāyāt⁴⁴ ā'kōwātcin⁴⁵ ā'kwāgōhōmātē⁴⁶ "Mātāpyē⁴⁷
 There-upon behind he who him who was then did he cry out to "O Union-of-Rivers
 kiwātāwē⁴⁸ ā'pemegiku⁴⁹ keteciwēnegonānā⁵⁰ āhinātē⁵¹ Mātāpyā⁵²
 let us turn back! Into the sky truly he is leading you and said he to him Union-of-Rivers
 han⁵³ cewāna⁵⁴ ā'pwāwipeme'tāgūtē⁵⁵
 him, but not a reply did he get from him.
 Mātāpyā⁵⁶ tcāwine'k⁵⁷ pāmipahut⁵⁸ wīsagenūhāhan⁵⁹ āhutaihitē⁶⁰
 Union-of-Rivers in the middle space he who ran past little Hold-Tight did he have for his pet
 Tāgwāginig⁶¹ āmatanāwātē⁶² ma'kwan⁶³ ānesāwātē⁶⁴
 In the fall of the year then they overtook him bear-him; then they killed him:
 kicinesāwātē⁶⁵ me'tegumici u'te'kunan⁶⁶ ā'kickickahamowātē⁶⁷
 after they had slain him oak boughs much did they cut them
 nā'ka⁶⁸ ma'komicyān⁶⁹ āhapackinanihāwātē⁷⁰ ma'kwan⁷¹ kiciwina⁷²
 likewise sumachs; then they put him to lie on bear-him; when they
 top of

³⁸ *ici* initial stem THUS (§ 16); *-we-* variant of *wa* (from *āwa* [§ 16] by § 12); *-n-* (§ 21); *-t-* (§ 9); *-gu-* sign of the passive (§ 41); *ā-wātcē* (§ 29).

³⁹ *sasag-* reduplicated form of *sag-* an initial stem (§ 16), as in note 15; *-a-* as in *paga-* beside *papi-* STRIKE; *-ni-* (§ 34); *-g'* locative suffix (§ 42).

⁴⁰ *ā-* temporal particle; *tetepi-* a collateral form of *tetep-* (§ 16), an initial stem denoting MOVEMENT IN A CIRCLE (cf. *pemi-* and *pem-*); *nē'ka-* (§ 19) as in note 2; *-w-* apparently a glide (§ 8); *āwātcē* termination of the conjunctive mode (§ 29), showing that the subject is the third person plural animate, and the object the third person animate, singular or plural.

⁴¹ Third person plural animate past subjunctive intransitive (§ 29).

⁴² Compare *ā'kōwātcin* note 43; *pyāyāta* as in note 34.

⁴³ A participial (see § 33).

⁴⁴ *ā-wātcē* (§ 29); *-m-* (§§ 21, 37).

⁴⁵ For *āp* cf. *āpō* (§ 24); the form is a vocative singular animate (§ 42); see also § 6.

⁴⁶ For *kiwā+āwātcē*; *kiwā-* initial stem to TURN BACK (§ 16); *-āwātcē* for *-āwē* (§ 6) sign for first person plural (excl.) intransitive imperative (§ 31).

⁴⁷ *ā'pemig'*, explained in note 37; *-ku* VERILY.

⁴⁸ For *ke-gunānā* with prolongation of the final vowel as in *-āwātcē* (see note 21); *ke-gunānā* is the pronominal sign showing that the subject is the third person singular animate, and the object the first person plural inclusive independent mode (§ 28); *tēci-* variant of *tāci-* (§ 16); *-wēn-* as in note 38.

⁴⁹ *Ani* sign of the singular objective case singular animate (§ 42).

⁵⁰ See § 53.

⁵¹ *pwāwī-* the negative of the conjunctive verb; it stands following the particles *ā-* and *ari-*, and before the verbal stems (see § 35.3); *-gu-* sign of the passive (§ 41); *ā-wātcē* (§ 29).

⁵² A participial (§ 33); *pāmī-* for *pemi-* by reason of the change of vowel in the participle; *pemi-* (§ 16); *pahu-* same as *pahō-* (§ 19).

⁵³ *Ani* as in note 49; *wī-sag-* (§ 16).

⁵⁴ *ā-wātcē* (§ 29); *-h-* a glide (§ 8); *-u-* possessive pronoun HIS (§ 45); for the omission of the suffix see p. 852.

⁵⁵ *-g'* locative suffix; *-ni-* as in note 39.

⁵⁶ *ā-* temporal prefix; *n-* an instrumental particle (§ 21); *-āwātcē* pronominal sign showing the subject to be the third person plural animate, and the object the third person, singular or plural, animate, conjunctive mode (§ 29); *māta* TO OVERTAKE (§ 16).

⁵⁷ *nē-* an initial stem meaning to SLAY (§ 16); *ā-wātcē* as in note 56.

⁵⁸ *kici-* an initial stem denoting COMPLETION (§ 16).

⁵⁹ *ā-A mowātcē* (§ 29); *kic-* (§ 25); *kick-* (§ 10); *-a-* (§ 8); *-h-* (§ 21).

⁶⁰ *ā-wātcē* (§ 29); *-h-* (§ 8); see note 91.

nihāwātē ⁶¹	āwāpinenyāskwā'kāwātē ⁶²	Wātāpagīc ⁶³	āhinā'kāwātē ⁶⁴			
finished skinning	then began they to throw them	Eastward	was where they			
and cutting him up	everywhere.		threw			
uwīc ⁶⁴	pāpōgin ⁶⁵	ā'katawiwāpag ⁶⁶	anāgwag ⁶⁷	ketcīwagāpe ⁶⁸		
his head;	in the winter time	when nearly morning	stars	are they accustomed		
				to rise;		
īnīpiyōw ⁶⁹	īnī	ma'kōwīc ⁷⁰	Nā'ka ²⁹	uta'tagāgwān ⁷¹	ā'e'g ⁷²	
it is said in times	that	bear-head	and	his back-bone	also	
past						
wātāpag ⁷³	āhinā'kāwātē ⁷⁴	Ā'e'gāpe ⁷⁴	pepōg ⁷⁵	nāwāp ⁷⁶	anāgwag ⁶⁷	
to the east	was where they threw.	Also it is wont	in the winter	they are seen	stars	
āsīpōcīgīg ⁷⁷	īnīpiyōw ⁶⁹	īnī	uta'tagāgwān ⁷¹			
they that lie close	and it is said of old	that	his back-bone.			
together.						
īnīpī ³	nāka ²⁹	iyōwe	wīnwāw ⁷⁸	īnīgī ⁷⁹	nīgānī nyāwī	anāgwag ⁶⁷
It is said	also	in the past	they	these	in front	four
						stars
īna	ma'kwā ⁸⁰	nā'ka ²⁹	petegī	neswī	īnīgīpiyōw ⁸¹	ma'kwān ¹¹
that	bear	and	behind	three	they are said in	bear-him
					the past	
pāmine'kawātēcīg ⁷	Tcāwine'kitcā ⁸²	īna ¹	tcāgī	anāgō ⁸³	acitā'kwagō	
they who were in pursuit	Truly in the middle	there	little	tiny star	near to does	
of him.	space					
tcīnwā ⁸⁴	īnāpī ⁸⁵	anēmōhā ⁸⁶	utaiyān ⁸⁷	Mātāpyā ⁸⁸	Wisagenōhan ⁸⁹	
it hang.	It is said	little dog,	his pet	Union-of-Rivers	Hold-Tight.	
	that one					
Tāgwāgīgīn ¹⁸⁸	me'tegumīcyān ¹⁸⁹	nā'ka ²⁹	ma'kumīcyān ¹⁸⁹	wātcīmēck		
Every autumn	oaks	and	sumachs	why they are		

⁶¹ *kīc*- as in note 58; *-āwātē* pronominal termination of conjunctive mode (§ 29), as in notes 56, 57; *-h-* (§ 21); *wīnwān*- (§ 16).

⁶² For *ā-āwātē*; *wāpī*- an initial stem denoting INCEPTION (§ 16).

⁶³ *wātāpagīc* for *wātāpagī* (note 73); *īcī* (§§ 10, 52).

⁶⁴ *u-* HIS; for the absence of the *m* suffix see § 45; *-ī* (§ 42).

⁶⁵ Compare *ā'pepōgī* (note 6) and *pepōgī* (note 73); the form is a locative (§ 42).

⁶⁶ A locative; cf. *pācā'kāwāwīwāpānīg* UNTIL NEARLY MORNING 298.2; *-wāpā-* is the same as the initial stem *wāpā-* TO SEE; note, too, *āwābā-nīg* AT BREAK OF DAY 222.15, with the common fluctuation of *b* and *p* (see § 3).

⁶⁷ Noun, animate plural (§ 42).

⁶⁸ For *ketcīwagī+āpe'e*; for *āpe'e* see § 14; *ketcīwagī* (*-wagī* is the sign for the third person plural inanimate intransitive of the independent mode (§ 28)).

⁶⁹ For *īnī+īpī+iyōwe*; see note 3 and *iyōwe* next paragraph.

⁷⁰ *ma'kwā+uwīcī* (see § 12).

⁷¹ *u-AN* (§ 45).

⁷² See § 10; *ā-gī* as in note 6.

⁷³ A locative.

⁷⁴ See §§ 10, 14.

⁷⁵ See note 6.

⁷⁶ *nāw-* an initial stem meaning TO SEE; cf. *ānāwāwātē(ī)* THEY BEHELD HIM 198.2; *-āp-* the termination of the third person plural indefinite passive, independent mode (§ 41).

⁷⁷ See *-cīn-* (§ 20) and also § 12.

⁷⁸ Accidentally omitted in § 44.

⁷⁹ Animate plural of *īna* (§ 47).

⁸⁰ I have altered *īnīnī ma'kwānī* of Dr. Jones to *īna ma'kwā* (see 72.8), as is required by the analysis (cf. §§ 42, 47).

⁸¹ For *īnīgī ipī iyōwe* see notes 69 and 79.

⁸² *-tā* VERILY.

⁸³ See § 12 for the formation of the diminutive formation of *anāgwā*.

⁸⁴ *-cīn-* (§ 20?); *-wā* (§ 28).

⁸⁵ For *īna+īpī* see notes 3 and 80.

⁸⁶ *a* shows that the noun is animate singular (§ 42).

⁸⁷ See § 45.

⁸⁸ *-gīn* termination of the locative plural (§ 42).

⁸⁹ Inanimate plural (§ 72).

wipaga'k'⁹⁰ āhapaskinanicigāwāt'⁹¹ āmeskōwig'⁹² tā'tupagōn.⁹³ Inā'⁹⁴
 red at the leaf when they put to lie on top of then bloody became leaves That
 tāgwāgigin¹ wāttimeckwipaga'k'⁹⁰ me'tegumicyān⁹⁵ nā'k'⁹⁶
 In the fall why the leaves became red oaks and
 ma'komicyān¹.⁹⁰
 sumachs.
 Inā'kwitc'⁹⁵
 That is the end.

[Translation]

THEY WHO ARE IN PURSUIT OF THE BEAR

It is said that once on a time long ago when it was winter, when it had snowed for the first time, while yet the first fall of snow lay on the ground, there were three men who went forth to hunt for game early in the morning. At a place on the side of a hill where there was a thick growth of shrub did a bear enter in, as was shown by the sign of his trail. One (man) went in after him and started him going in flight. "Away toward the place from whence comes the cold is he making fast!" called he to his companion.

He who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the cold, "In the direction from whence comes the source of the mid-day time is he hurrying away!" he said.

Then another who had gone round by way of the place from whence comes the noon-time, "Toward the place where (the Sun) falls down is he hastening away!" said he.

Back and forth for a long while did they keep the bear fleeing from one and then another. After a while, according to the story, as one that was coming behind looked down at the earth, lo! the surface of it was green. For it is really the truth that up into the sky were they led away by the bear. While about the place of the dense growth of shrub they were chasing him, then was surely the time that into the sky they went.

Thereupon he who came behind cried out to him who was next, "O Union-of-Rivers, let us turn back! Verily, into the sky is he leading us away!" said he to Union-of-Rivers, but no reply did he get from him.

Union-of-Rivers, who went running between (the man ahead and the man behind), had Hold-Tight (a little puppy) for a pet.

⁹⁰ wātci- as in notes 21, 26, 30; meckwi- BLOOD, same as meskwī (see § 9); -pa- as in tā'tupagōn¹ LEAVES -ga- (§ 20); -ki' (§ 29).

⁹¹ ā-wātci' (§ 29); -gā- (§ 20); -ci- for -cin- (§ 20); loss of n (§ 12); -ā- presumably a glide (§ 8); apaskinani same as apackinani in āhapackinani-hāwāc above (see note 90).

⁹² āmeskōwig' a variant for āmeskōwī'ki; ā-ki' (§ 29); meskō- for meskwī (note 90, § 12 near the end) -wi- (20).

⁹³ Plural of tā'tupagōwī (see §§ 12, 42); -pa- as in wāttimeckwipaga'ki'.

⁹⁴ See note 3.

⁹⁵ For Inā'kwitci' (§ 10); ā-tci' (§ 29).

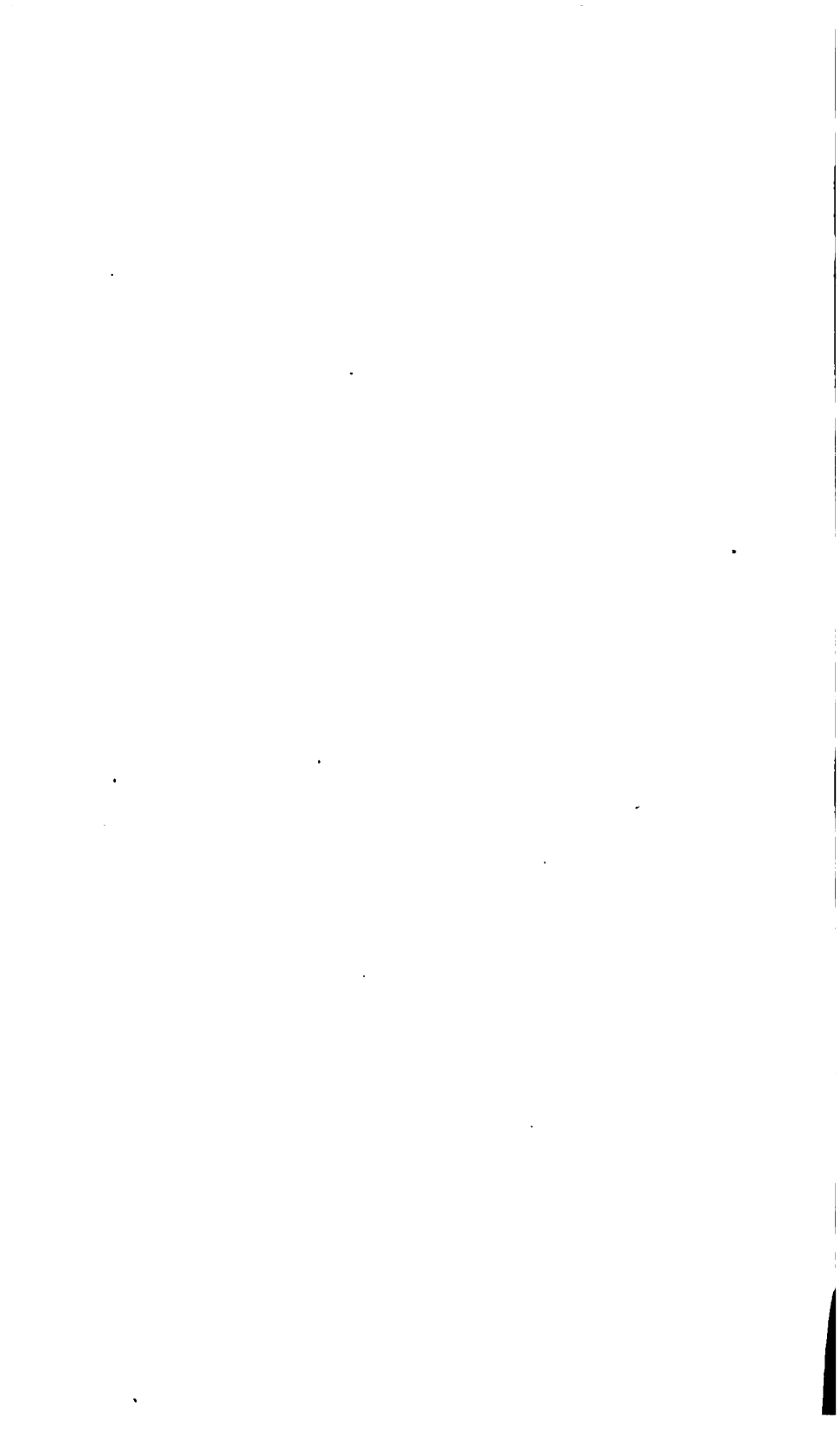
In the fall they overtook the bear; then they slew him; after they had slain him, then many boughs of an oak did they cut, likewise sumachs; then with the bear lying on top (of the boughs) they skinned him and cut up his meat; after they had skinned him and cut up his meat, then they began to scatter (the parts) in all directions. Toward the place from whence the dawn of day hurled they the head; in the winter time when the dawn is nearly breaking, (certain) stars were wont to appear; it has been said that they were that head. And his back-bone toward the east did they also fling. It is also common in the winter time for (certain) stars to be seen lying close together. It has been said that they were that back-bone.

And it has also been told of them (viz., the bear and the hunters) that the (group of) four stars in front was the bear, and that the three behind were they who were in pursuit of the bear. There in between (the star in front and the star behind) a tiny little star hangs. They say that was a little dog, Hold-Tight, which was pet to Union-of-Rivers.

As often as it is autumn the oaks and sumachs redden at the leaf for the reason that when they (the hunters) place (the bear) on top of (the boughs), then stained become the leaves with blood. That is why every autumn the leaves of the oaks and sumachs redden.

That is the end of the story.

SIOUAN
DAKOTA (TETON AND SANTEE DIALECTS)
WITH REMARKS ON THE PONCA AND WINNEBAGO
BY
FRANZ BOAS AND JOHN R. SWANTON



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SIOUAN

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§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Siouan languages are spoken in a considerable number of dialects. One group of tribes speaking Siouan languages lived on the western plains, extending from the northern border of the United States far to the south. Another group of dialects was spoken by tribes inhabiting the southern Appalachian region; and two isolated dialects belonged to the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, east of the Mississippi river and the lower Yazoo river, respectively. At present the last two groups are on the verge of extinction.

The following sketch of Siouan grammar is based mainly on the Santee and Teton dialects of the Dakota language, which embraces four dialects—Santee, Yankton, Teton, and Assiniboin. Santee and Yankton are spoken by the eastern Dakota bands, Teton by the western bands, and Assiniboin by those of the northwest. The material for the present sketch is contained mainly in the grammar, texts, and dictionary of the Santee, published by S. R. Riggs (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vols. VII, IX). This account has been the basis of Dr. John R. Swanton's studies of a series of Teton Texts, in possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology, written by George Bushotter, a Teton Dakota. In the summer of 1899 Doctor Swanton revised these texts on the Rosebud Indian reservation with the help of Mr. Joseph Estes, a Yankton Dakota, who had been long resident among the Teton, and who was at that time teacher in one of the Government schools. Doctor Swanton's notes, contained in the present account, refer to the Teton dialect, while the material based on Riggs's published Santee material has been discussed by F. Boas.

The Ponca material has been gleaned from a study of J. Owen Dorsey's work, *The Ojibwa Language* (Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. vi¹). The Winnebago material is based on the unpublished collections of Mr. Paul Radin. The notes on both of these dialects have been written by F. Boas. Page references in the sections describing Santee and Ponca refer to the publications by Riggs and Dorsey referred to before.

PHONETICS (§§ 2-4)

§ 2. System of Sounds

Since Riggs, in his grammar and dictionary, does not distinguish the aspirates and surd stops, which were first discovered by J. Owen Dorsey and which are of such frequent occurrence in American languages, we give here the description of the Teton as obtained by Doctor Swanton. In order to preserve as nearly as possible the usage employed in printing Dakota books, Riggs's alphabet has been adhered to; but *p'*, *k'*, *t'*, and *č'* have been added to designate the aspirates of the corresponding surds. Doctor Swanton also distinguishes a fortis *s* and *š*; *ɛ* is an obscure vowel, related to short *ö* and *ê*.

TABLE OF SOUNDS OF TETON

CONSONANTS										
Stops				Continued						
	Sonant	Surd	Aspirate	Fortis	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Nasal	Lateral	Whistling-vowels
Labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>p</i>	—	—	—	<i>m</i>	—	<i>w</i>
Dental	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	—
Dorso-palatal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>y</i>
Affricatives	—	<i>č</i>	<i>č'</i>	<i>č</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
Alveolar	—	—	—	—	<i>ž</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>	—	—	—
Palatal	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>k</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—
Velar	<i>g</i>	—	—	(<i>ʔ</i>)	—	<i>h</i>	—	—	—	—
Open breathing	—	—	—	—	<i>h</i>	—	—	—	—	—

VOWELS

A						
Pure	<i>i</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
Nasalized	<i>iⁿ</i>	—	<i>eⁿ</i>	<i>aⁿ</i>	<i>oⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿ</i>

¹ See F. Boas, Notes on the Ponca Grammar (Congrès International des Américanistes, xv^e session, Québec, 1907, vol. II, pp. 317-337).

The affricatives have been placed in the group of stops because they are closely associated with them. It is doubtful whether the *stis* velar occurs.

The affricative *č* series corresponds to the English CH in CHURCH; *š, ś* series to Z in AZURE and to SH in SHORE; *h* to the velar CH in German.

The phonetic system of Santee is quite similar to that of Teton, except that *l* is absent and is replaced by *d* and *n*. Teton *n* is either initial or follows *h* or *g*.

In Ponca, *y* of the series of sounds enumerated before is absent, and is throughout replaced by *ç* (English sonant TH). According to Dorsey, this sound approaches the *l* and *r* of other dialects; i. e., it is pronounced slightly laterally and with a tendency to a trill. The sonant of the affricative series, *ʃ*, occurs in Ponca, and *l* is absent. In Kansas, which is closely related to Ponca, the Teton *y* is replaced by *l*.

In Winnebago the Teton *y* is replaced by a weakly trilled linguo-apical *r*. Two *n* sounds are found, one, *n*, more strongly sonant than the other *n*. In the velar series the sonant continued sound *ŋ* occurs besides the surd *h*.

In the printed Ponca texts published by Dorsey an alphabet is used which does not conform to the Dakota alphabet used by Riggs and in other publications based on Riggs. Dorsey's alphabet agrees in many respects better with the systems of transcription used in rendering American languages than Riggs's alphabet. Nevertheless we have adhered here to the Riggs system and have avoided the awkward inverted letters used by Dorsey.

Riggs	Dorsey
<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>ḑ, ṭ, ḱ</i>
<i>s, ś</i>	<i>s, ṣ</i>
<i>č</i>	<i>ṡ</i>
<i>p', t', k'¹</i>	<i>p, t, k</i>
<i>s, ś¹</i>	<i>(?)</i>
<i>č'¹</i>	<i>tc</i>
<i>p, t, k</i>	<i>p', t', k'</i>
<i>č¹</i>	<i>tc'</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>ʃ¹</i>	<i>dj</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>q(?)</i>
<i>g</i>	<i>x(?)</i>

¹Supplementary symbols used in this sketch.

We are not quite certain whether the sounds *ʒ* and *ʒ̣* occur in Ponca. The sounds *s* and *c* of Ponca have been rendered here by analogy by *s'* and *ś'*, but their character has not been definitely ascertained.

In Santee consonantic clusters in initial position are common, while they are absent in terminal position. In these consonantic clusters three groups may be distinguished,—clusters with initial surd stops: those with initial *m* and *h*; and those with initial *s*, *ś*, *h*. The first of these groups never occurs in Ponca, the second shows a remarkable variability in different dialects, while the third seems to be common to Dakota, Ponca, and Winnebago.

The following table illustrates these three groups of consonantic clusters:

Initial consonant	SANTÉE									
	Second consonant of cluster									
	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ć</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>p</i>	—	<i>pt</i>	—	<i>ps</i>	<i>pś</i>	<i>pć</i>				
<i>t</i>	<i>tp</i>	—	<i>tk</i>	—	—	—				
<i>k</i>	<i>kp</i>	<i>kt</i>	—	<i>ks</i>	<i>kś</i>	<i>kć</i>				
<i>m</i>							<i>md</i>	<i>mn</i>		
<i>h</i>							<i>hd</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hb</i>	<i>hm</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>sp</i>	<i>st</i>	<i>sk</i>	—	—	<i>sć</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>sn</i>	<i>sb</i>	<i>sm</i>
<i>ś</i>	<i>śp</i>	<i>śt</i>	<i>śk</i>	—	—	<i>ść</i>	<i>śd</i>	<i>śn</i>	<i>śb</i>	<i>śm</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>hp</i>	<i>ht</i>	<i>hk</i>	—	—	<i>hć</i>	<i>hd</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hb</i>	<i>hm</i>

Besides these clusters which belong to the stem, or to pronominal forms, others are admissible. These originate by composition of a stem ending in a consonant with another stem beginning with a consonant. We have found in this series—

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 & & & & & th & \\
 mt & mk & ms & & mc & mh & \\
 & sk & & & & & \\
 & hk & & & & & \\
 & & gs & & gc & gb & \\
 np & & & & & &
 \end{array}$$

and it is likely that others occur.

It will be noticed that in the stem, sonants, affricatives, and *n* do not occur as the first sound of a consonantic cluster; that sonants, except *d* and *b*, and *h*, do not appear at the end of a consonantic cluster. Fortes occur neither in initial nor in terminal position. No sound except

and *ś* occurs with another one of the same class. Clusters of three consonants may occur when a stem beginning with a biconsonantic cluster follows a stem with terminal consonant, but these combinations are rare.

In Ponca and Winnebago stems the following consonantic clusters occur, which, however, are never terminal.

PONCA										
Initial con- sonant	Second consonant of cluster									
	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ć</i>	<i>ç</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>b m</i>
<i>b</i>							<i>bç</i>			
<i>g</i>							<i>gç</i>			
<i>h</i>								<i>hn</i>		
<i>s', s</i>	<i>s'p'</i>		<i>s'k'</i>						<i>sn</i>	
<i>ś', ś</i>	<i>ś'p'</i>	<i>ś't'</i>	<i>ś'k'</i>			<i>ś'ć'</i>			<i>śn</i>	
<i>h</i>	<i>hp'</i>	<i>ht'</i>				<i>hć'</i>	<i>hç</i>			

WINNEBAGO						
Initial con- sonant	Second consonant of cluster					
	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ǰ</i>	<i>ć</i>
<i>ć</i>		<i>ćg</i>				
<i>k</i>			<i>ks</i>	<i>kś</i>	<i>kǰ</i>	
<i>s</i>	<i>sd</i>	<i>sg</i>				
<i>ś</i>		<i>śg</i>			<i>śǰ</i>	<i>ść</i>
<i>h</i>		<i>hg</i>		<i>hś</i>	<i>hǰ</i>	

§ 3. Syllables and Accent: Teton

Syllables of Teton may consist of single vowels, a consonant followed by a vowel, or two consonants followed by a vowel. In the first case the first consonant is never a sonant or fortis (see p. 882). In other instances an obscure vowel-sound is heard between the two consonants, which may either be inserted for euphony or be a sign of composition. On the other hand, such stems may be considered as having been originally dissyllabic.¹

¹This view, expressed by Doctor Swanton, does not seem to be supported by the phonetic characteristics of other dialects. It has been pointed out before that the consonantic clusters beginning with the surd stops, *p, t, k*, do not occur in Ponca and Winnebago; while those with initial *s, ś, h*, are quite common in these dialects. Winnebago has a strong tendency to repeat the vowel of a syllable between certain consonantic clusters (see pp. 888, 923), but it does not seem probable that this is an original condition from which the consonantic clusters of Dakota and Ponca have originated.—F. B.

The sounds *é* and *l* are almost the only consonants found closing a syllable in which no contraction is known to have taken place, although it seems significant that both these sounds result from supposed contraction of syllables.

The placing of the accent is said sometimes to constitute the only difference between words, but it is possible that other vocalic modifications, not hitherto observed, may be involved.

§ 4. Phonetic Changes

In this section we give a summary of the phonetic changes occurring in Teton, Ponca, and Winnebago.

TETON

1. After a nasalized vowel or the syllable *ni* there is a strong tendency for the following vowel to be nasalized; and this tendency is particularly marked in the causative auxiliary *ya*, as in the following cases:

kiⁿ'yaⁿ to fly
tohaⁿ'huⁿniⁿ'yaⁿ as long as
icitehaⁿ'yaⁿ far apart
taⁿ'yaⁿ well
wa^{ci}nⁿ'yaⁿpi they trusted to him
niyaⁿ' he cures him (literally, causes him to live)
wiyu^škiⁿ'yaⁿ in a holy manner
lipaⁿ'yaⁿpi they caused it to be softened with water
teuⁿ'yaⁿpi we caused him to die

Ya to go sometimes changes similarly, as—

uⁿyaⁿ'pi we go.

2. After *o*, *u*, *oⁿ*, *uⁿ*, the semivocalic *y* is apt to change to *w*, especially in the imperative forms, as—

uⁿéi, *u* *wo* be coming, O grandmother!
taⁿ'yaⁿ' *éaⁿ'noⁿ'we* well have you done

Here may belong forms like—

noⁿ'waⁿ he swims
lowaⁿ'pi they sing

3. The final *a* of most verbs is changed into *iⁿ* when followed by *na* AND, or *k'ta* (the future particle).

é'eya'-uⁿpiⁿ' na you roast and— (instead of *é'eya'-uⁿpa' na*)
yaⁿ'kiⁿ na he sat and— (instead of *yaⁿ'ka na*)

keyi' na he says that and— (instead of *keya' na*)

yu' zi' k' ta he will take her (instead of *yu' za k' ta*)

Final *a* is usually treated similarly.

hec' o' hi' na she was doing that and— (instead of *hec' o' ha' na*)

e' to' wi' na he looks at and— (instead of *e' to' wa' na*)

4. Terminal *a* very often changes to *e*, but it is not certain that this change is of a purely phonetic character. It occurs before the sounds of the *s* and *š* series:

slolaye' šni he knew not (for *slolaya' šni*)

yuzi' k' te šni he will not take her (for *yuzin k' ta šni*)

kini' k' te se' ce he will revive perhaps (for *kini' k' ta se' ce*)

ki' ye se it flew, as it were (for *ki' ya se*)

ye hēcha' na he went just then (for *ya hēcha' na*)

This change also occurs when the following word begins with *e*:

u' yi' k' te e' i' ya she said to him, "We will go" (for *u' yi' k' ta e' i' ya*)

k' te e' i' na "I will [travel]," he thought (for *k' ta e' i' na*)

le eha' ta' š if you go (for *la eha' ta' š*)

It occurs before the articles *ki'* and *ko'*, and before the conjunction *ya' š*. In all these cases it is connected with a change of the initial sounds of these verbs into the corresponding affricative. Examples are given under 5.

Since verbs change into nouns by a transformation of final *a* to *e* or by change of suffix *a* to suffix *e*, it is not certain that these phenomena can be considered as purely phonetic in character.

The change from *a* to *e* usually accompanies word composition. Examples are:

tuwe' ni whoever (for *tuwa' ni*)

tuwe' wak' a' na what is holy (for *tuwa' wak' a' na*)

hēcha' na just then (for *hēa- ha' na*)

a' k' ap' eya to throw beyond the bounds (from *a' k' ap' a* the outside)

ak' a' šp' a and *ak' a' šp' eya* to be provoked

The rules relating to terminal *a* suffer many exceptions. The verbal stem *hu* TO HAVE, and some verbal stems, like *wa* and *ta*, seem to be variable:

batuha' šni I have not

wi' a' yak' u' wa k' te you will treat them (*wi' a* them; *ya* thou)

iya' kita šni he did not cause him to behave

5. The palatals *k*, *k'*, and *k'*, when preceded by *e* or *i*, change to the corresponding dental affricative.

le'c'o'n' he did this

kak'o'n' he did that

le'c'a this sort

to'k'a that sort

This happens most frequently in the case of the articles *k'i* and *k'a*, and the conjunction *keya's* EVEN, THOUGH.

ista'gamuze ci'n the eyes closed (instead of *ista'gamuza ki'n*)

k'te ci'ha'n' if he will (for *k'ta ki'ha'n'*)

yu'ka'he co'n he was lying in the past (for *yu'ka'ha ko'n*)

hi'yuye co'ha'n' he caused it to come forth (for *hi'yuya ko'ha'n'*)

ya'ke' caya's although he sat (for *ya'ka' kaya's*)

This change is regular only when the preceding *e* stands in place of *a* of the independent forms of the verb; but the change also takes place at times, although not regularly, when the verb ends in *e*.

k'te ci'n kill the (for *k'te ki'n*)

According to Riggs, the same change takes place after *i*, in verbs, when the *k* is followed by a vowel.

icalu fan (from *i-*, prepositional prefix [see §12]; *kalu'* to blow away with hand)

icasla a scythe (from *i-*; *kasla'* to cut off)

kicableca to break for one by striking (from *ki-* for; *kableca* to break by striking)

The analogous changes occur throughout in Santee.

6. Contraction. Words ending in certain consonants followed by *a*, when compounded with other words that follow them, and when duplicated, lose their final *a* and change their consonants as follows:

p' to *b* or *m*

g to *h*

c, t to *l*

z to *s*

k' to *g*

z to *s*

Examples:

tob p'asala'tapi they stick four into the ground (for *to'p'a*)

was'a'g-icila' he thought himself strong (for *was'a'ka*)

kali-wi'c'asi he told them to make (for *ka'ga*)

yus-ige'yin holding him, he sent him (for *yu'za*)

p'a'sp'a'n'zu soft (reduplicated from *p'a'n'za*)

ap'si'l and *ap'si'ca* to jump on

oyu'l and *oyu'ta* to eat

When a word ending in one vowel is compounded with another one beginning with the same vowel, the two vowels are generally contracted.

hiyotak^a to come and sit down (for *hi iyotak^a*)

Terminal *a* before the particle *lo* (see p. 933) changes to *e* because it requires a preceding particle *ye*, which with *a* is contracted into *e*.

bal^a'he lo I am going

PONCA AND WINNEBAGO

Ponca and Winnebago have vocalic changes analogous to those of Dakota.

The negative auxiliary, the future, the quotative, and the plural of Ponca change terminal *e* and *ai* to *a*.

ik'ágewiçai I have you for friends 711.13

ik'ágeawáçá-mázì I do not have them for my friends 711.13

çk'áje thou doest

çì çk'ája-bázì thou doest it not 711.19

né t'ai you will go 689.6

ná-bázì you (plural) do not go 689.3

The same change takes place in verbs followed by *-bi*, *-biamá*

IT IS SAID.

ai he said 60.8

á-biamá he said, they say 60.7

iⁿçéçk'áje thou makest for me 640.1

gaçá-biamá he made, they say 60.5

açé he went 9.1

açáb he went, it is said 9.10

çugçé with him

çugçá-bi he with her, they say 331.18

daⁿbái-gá see him! 60.6

daⁿbá-biamá they saw, they say 58.10

The change of terminal *e* to *a* occurs also in Winnebago in the plural, when the verb is followed by the negative and is in the present tense, and when followed by *ā'nāñga* AND.

de I go

da'wi we go (*-wi* plural ending)

rahe thou buriest

raha'wi ye bury

In Winnebago, *r* changes regularly to *n* when following a nasalized vowel. This *n* differs in the strength of its nasal aspiration from the ordinary *n*.

hinu'gas he tears me by pulling (for *hiⁿ-ru-gas*)

The dialects here treated demonstrate a close relationship between certain groups of sounds. These are notably—

<i>m</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>				
<i>y</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>l</i>	
<i>g</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ɕ</i>	(<i>k</i> <i>ɕ</i>)	<i>n</i>

These relationships appear partly in consonantic changes required by the rules of euphony of each dialect. It has been shown before that, in cases of contraction in Teton, *p* may change to *m*, *t* and *ɕ* to *n*; and that *k* and *k* after *a* transformed into *e*, and in a few other cases, change to *ɕ* and *ɕ*.

When discussing consonantic clusters, we called attention to the peculiar groups of clusters which occur in Santee, beginning with *m* and *h*. These show a great variability in different, closely related dialects, and exhibit some of the relationships of sounds to which attention has been called. Thus we find the corresponding groups in Santee, Yankton, and Teton:

Santee		Yankton		Teton		Ponca	
<i>md</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>md</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>bl</i> ¹	<i>mn</i>	<i>bɕ</i>	—
<i>hd</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>kd</i>	<i>kn</i>	<i>gl</i> ¹	<i>gn</i>	<i>gɕ</i>	—
<i>hb</i>	<i>hm</i>	(<i>?</i>)	<i>km</i>	<i>gb</i>	<i>gm</i>	—	—

The close relationship between *t* and *k* appears in Santee whenever the sound precedes a *p*. Thus we find—

i^hkpa and *i^htpa* end of a thing
wakpa and *watpa* river

The relations between *n* and *l* in Santee and Teton, and those between *y*, *ɕ*, *r*, *l*, in Santee, Ponca, Winnebago, and Kansas, have been mentioned before.

An important phonetic law relating to the Winnebago was formulated in 1883 by J. Owen Dorsey in the following words:²

"A trilateral monosyllable in *ɕwiwere* (and often the corresponding ones in Dakota and *ɕeɕiwa*) is changed into a quadrilateral dissyllable in *Hotcaɕgara* (Winnebago), when the first letter of the monosyllable is a mute, a palatal spirant, or a spirant sibilant, and the second consonant is a labial or dental mute, or a dental spirant. The first consonant of the *Hotcaɕgara* dissyllable is always a sound the second is, as in the corresponding *ɕwiwere* word, a labial or dental mute, or else a dental spirant; and each consonant (in *Hotcaɕgara*) must be followed by the same vowel sound. In no case, as far as examples have been gained, can any mute stand next to one of the same order; e. g., a labial can not precede a labial."

¹ Swanton hears here an indistinct vowel between the consonants of the cluster. This is true of a great many groups of two consonants.

² J. Owen Dorsey, *The Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages* (Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1883, p. 923).

Examples illustrating this law are:

śa'raśiś thou breakest with mouth (*ś-r-* equals Ponca *śn-*; *ra-* Winnebago WITH THE MOUTH)

śuru'śiś thou breakest by pulling (*ś-r-* equals Ponca *śn-*; *ru-* Winnebago BY PULLING)

haku'rugas I tear my own (*k-* ONE'S OWN, followed by the vowel of the first syllable of the verb; *ru-* BY PULLING)

haka'raśiś I break my own with mouth

Compare also—

kawā'nañga for *kêwê a'nañga* AND HE ENTERED

hîl'at'ā'nañga for *hîl'et'ê ā'nañga* AND HE SPOKE

§ 5. GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

Grammatical relations are expressed by juxtaposition, composition, and reduplication. The limits between juxtaposition of words in a fixed order and of word composition are ill defined, since the independent words that enter into the sentence are liable to considerable phonetic modification, which is due entirely to the closeness of the connection of the adjoining elements. The phonetic decay of different words, under these conditions, is not the same everywhere; and certain elements appear exclusively in combinations, so that they may be considered as affixes. Prefixes, suffixes, and in some cases infixes, occur, although the latter may have been originally prefixes which appear now as incorporated in a compound, the parts of which are no longer discernible. The total number of affixes, however, is small, the entire number not reaching thirty-five. Composition of independent words is resorted to with great frequency. In these compounds the subordinated element is usually modified by the elision of the terminal vowel and the correlated modification of the preceding consonant, so that the component parts form a very firm unit. Modifications of terminal sound of one word and initial sound of the following word occur in many cases, and express the syntactic relations of parts of the sentence. Phonetic modification of prefixes and of suffixes, particularly of the pronominal elements, and irregularities of their positions, make the verbal forms of the Siouan languages very irregular in appearance. Far-reaching substitutions in the labial and dental series occur in all dialects.

Duplication of stems occurs in verbs and in some nouns derived from them. It is almost always confined to the principal stem. The final

consonants, which in the unduplicated word are followed by terminations, are modified as in other types of composition (see § 4).

The syntactic relation of words is often expressed by position. On the whole, there is a strong tendency to place particles indicating the function and relationships of groups of words following those groups.

§ 6. IDEAS EXPRESSED BY GRAMMATICAL PROCESSES

The categories of noun and verb are clearly distinct, although in some cases the same word may be used both as a noun and as a verb. In other cases there is at least a slight modification of form, which consists in a change of suffixes. In the Dakota dialects there is no classification of nouns, except in so far as verbs of existence imply form; but in Ponca the classification, which is expressed by particles, is elaborate. Animate and inanimate—the former at rest and moving; the latter as round, upright, horizontal, etc.—are distinguished. Plurality of the noun is expressed, not by means of a nominal plural, but rather by a device which expresses the plural idea of the whole sentence. In the possessive pronoun the ideas of inalienable and alienable possession are distinguished. Distributive forms of verbs expressing states or conditions are often expressed by reduplication.

The subjective and objective personal pronouns are clearly distinguished. The former are the subjects of all verbs expressing activities; the latter are the objects of transitive verbs, and the subjects of verbs expressing conditions. The Siouan languages have the tendency to include in the former class all declarative terms, even those that imply only a slight amount of action.

The pronouns are not well developed. There are only three fundamental forms,—I, THOU, THOU AND I. Forms with incorporated object are generally composed of the subjective and objective forms of these elements, but a few cases occur of combinations that can not now be explained as compounds of subjective and objective pronouns. The pronominal forms give rise to new combinations, owing to the marked exactness with which the action directed toward an object possessed by the subject is differentiated from other actions directed toward objects not so possessed.

In the verbal stem a few instrumentalities and locatives are expressed. Complex ideas are expressed very frequently by means of composition. Some of the elements entering into such composition

appear with great frequency, and might be called auxiliaries. To these belong verbs like TO CAUSE, TO BECOME, and nominal classifiers like RUMINANT. Temporal and modal ideas are almost wholly rendered by means of enclitic particles.

Demonstratives seem to have designated originally four distinct positions, but these are no longer clearly recognizable. The demonstrative ideas are very closely associated with some verbs with which they enter into composition.

While in Dakota there is no indication of the existence of a grammatical distinction of the nominal subject and object, the Ponca differentiates these forms through the use of distinct particles.

The local relations of nouns are expressed with great nicety by means of post-positions, in which Doctor Swanton finds the ideas of rest and motion clearly and sharply distinguished.

Adverbs of various kinds, and a few special adjectival ideas, are expressed by means of suffixes.

DISCUSSION OF GRAMMAR (§§ 7-47)

Juxtaposition and Composition: Santee (§§ 7-10)

§ 7. *Verbs*

In the Dakota sentence the component elements are often placed side by side without any connective elements, but so closely connected that two successive elements influence each other phonetically. Compositions of this type appear with great frequency when a number of predicative terms enter into combination. Whenever an element of such a series, that is followed by another element, ends in the vowel *a*, preceded by one of the consonants *p*, *t*, *č*, *k*, *g*, *z*, *ž*, contraction (see § 4, no. 6) takes place.

snayehi yumden iyeya it snapped and broke suddenly IX¹ 88.9
(*sna* ringing sound; *yumde'ča* to break to pieces; *iyeya* to do suddenly)

wašed ti he lived and was rich IX 95.1 (*waše'ča* rich)

ikpihnag u he came putting them in his blanket IX 88.14 (*ikpi'-hnaka* to put in blanket)

ikpihnag uⁿ it was in the blanket IX 88.26

waⁿyag nažiⁿ to stand and see (*waⁿya'ka* to see)

¹These references indicate page and line in Vol. IX of the Contributions to North American Ethnology.

When the first verb ends in a syllable that can not be contracted, the two verbs stand simply side by side.

icimani hi to come and visit IX 87.22 (*i'icimani* to visit; *hi* to come)

ode' i he went hunting IX 117.2 (*ode'* to hunt; *i* to go)

ape yaⁿka he stayed and waited IX 117.3 (*ape'* to wait)

ceya wiwakoⁿzu she cried and wailed IX 117.16

When the first and second verb end in the same vowel, contraction may take place.

hdiyotaⁿka to come home and sit down (*hdi* to come home; *iyotaⁿka* to sit down)

hihuⁿni to come to the shore (*hi* to arrive; *ihuⁿni* to land)

While ordinarily the terminal *a* in verbs that can not form contractions remains, and the two verbs appear simply in juxtaposition, a few verbs, which otherwise do not differ in their usage from those discussed heretofore, require the change from *a* to *e*, and thus indicate a more intimate association of the component elements of the group. These are *iyeya* SUDDENLY; *ya* (*yaⁿ*) TO CAUSE; *kiya* TO CAUSE; *uⁿ* TO BE; *i* TO GO; *u* TO COME.

The following forms are analogous to the preceding groups, and show contraction:

kaptu^s iyeya to put down (from *kaptuza*)

yuohdog iyeya to open out IX 83.15 (from *yuohdoka*)

kali kiya to cause to do (from *kaga*)

sam ya to blacken (from *sapa*)

pus ya to dry (from *puza*)

waⁿya'g ya to cause to see (from *waⁿya'ka*)

No change of the first verb occurs; for instance, in—

nažiⁿ kiya to cause to stand

Changes of *a* to *e* in words in which contraction is impossible are found in—

te koⁿ to wish one dead

ye kiya to cause to go (from *ya*)

niwe kiya to cause to swim (from *nirwaⁿ*)

niwe uⁿ he is swimming

bakse i he went to cut (from *baksa*) IX 115.10

wanase aya they went buffalo-hunting IX 88.11

hihnaye au they came to marry him IX 144.3

anice waciⁿ to forbid he intended IX 111.17 (this should be, according to analogy, *anin waciⁿ*)

Judging from the published texts, the usage is not quite regular, and some verbs seem to take both forms.

§ 8. *Verbs and Nouns*

In many compounds of this group an intimate phonetic relation of the noun and verb exists, so much so that the noun sometimes appears in a fragmentary form which never occurs alone, or, at least, with a termination that has undergone far-reaching modifications.

éanté' HEART. From this word are formed—

éanti'ⁿza to have courage (with *ti'ⁿza* staff)

éanze' to be troubled (with *ze* disturbed)

éa'to'hnaka to love (with *ohna'ka* to push in)

The complete word appears in—

éa'té'asni to recover one's mind (with *asni'* to recover)

ha^{nyé}'tu NIGHT

haⁿ'mani to walk in the night (with *ma'ni* to walk)

haⁿ'waⁿ'ka to remain over night (with *waⁿ'ka* to be)

wiⁿ'yaⁿ FEMALE

wi'hdasta'ka to strike one's wife (*hdasta'ka* to strike one's own)

wi'inakima to conceal a woman (with *ina'hima* to hide)

wiki'sdeya to molest a woman (with *ki'sde'ya* to molest)

witaⁿ'sna a virgin (*taⁿ'sna* alone)

The terminal *a* of the noun does not change to *e*, but contraction takes place in compounds of this type.

mahki'éaⁿyaⁿ to till a field (from *ma'ga* field; *kiéaⁿ'yaⁿ* to cultivate)

maki'puskiéa to lie on the ground (from *maka'* ground; *ipuskiéa* to press on; with contraction of *a-i* to *i*)

In still other cases the noun modifies the initial sound of the verb.

tiéa'ga to pitch a tent (from *ti* dwelling; *kaga* to make)

mi'niéapi a well (from *mi'ni* water; *ka* to dig)

The transition between these forms and others consisting of object and verb, or subject and intransitive predicate, is quite gradual. A number of nouns are used like classifiers, when the sense of the sentence does not require the noun. Thus we find, from—

éaⁿ WOOD

éaⁿ'ka'ska to tie wood together

éaⁿ'ba'sdeéa to saw wood

wiéa HUMAN BEING

wiécataⁿ'sna bachelor (compare the true compound *witaⁿ'sna* virgin)

At the other end of the series we have forms like—

hihna' toⁿ to have a husband (*hihna'* husband; *toⁿ* to have)

hihna' ya to have for a husband.

In the latter form the same verb that forms the causative compound appears combined with a noun.

§ 9. Nouns

Nouns enter into composition in the same way as nouns and verbs, and presumably there is no fundamental difference between these groups. We find here also abbreviated or contracted forms, more probably stems. These nouns often have a classificatory function.

ta RUMINANT

tapa deer-head

tabeēzi' buffalo-tongue

taha' deer-skin

hojaⁿ FISH appears in the form *ho*

howa'mduška eel (literally, fish-snake)

hoa'pe fin (literally, fish-leaf)

hoče'spa fish-scales (literally, fish-warts)

šuⁿka DOMESTICATED ANIMAL appears in the form *šuⁿg*

šuⁿgwi'ye mare

šuⁿgi'kaⁿ bridle (literally, horse-rope)

wiča' HUMAN BEING

wiča'nasu brain of a man

wiča'pi liver of a man

wiⁿyaⁿ FEMALE appears in the form *wi*

wišaⁿ vagina

wito'ka a female captive

čaⁿ WOOD

čaⁿha' bark (literally, wood-skin)

čaⁿhaⁿpa shoes (literally, wood moccasins)

čaⁿha'si cinnamon-bark (literally, wood-skin red)

ti DWELLING

tiču'tku rear part of tent

tihu'lia framework of tent (literally, tent skeleton)

§ 10. Note on Certain Verbal Compounds

Compositions similar to those here described occur in other Siouan dialects. Perhaps the most peculiar ones are the Winnebago verbal compounds, in which the position of the subject is described as sitting, lying, or standing. Following are a few examples.

§§ 9, 10

*ra'size-na'ñksena*ⁿ he breaks it with the mouth, sitting (*ra-* WITH MOUTH, *sis* TO BREAK, *na'ñksena*ⁿ HE IS SITTING, only in compounds)

*rašišje'na*ⁿ he breaks it with the mouth, standing (*jen*ⁿ HE IS STANDING, only in compounds)

*rā'siza'ñksena*ⁿ he breaks it with the mouth, lying or walking (from *wa'ñkcena*ⁿ HE IS LYING, WALKING, only in compounds)

Similar forms are not quite absent in other dialects, but they are much less developed. In Dakota we have, for instance,

ta waⁿka to be dead IX 111.19

ya waⁿka he went (literally, going he reclined) IX 110.1

ia haⁿ to speak (literally, speaking to stand)

waⁿwaⁿyaka haⁿ en i looking on standing in he came IX 86.12

iyeⁿhiya yanka it is shining (literally, shining he sits)¹

§ 11. Reduplication

SANTEE

Reduplication in Dakota consists essentially in the doubling of the principal theme of a word. In the process, all monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled.

<i>te</i>	<i>teté'</i> blue
<i>bu</i>	<i>bubu'</i> to make a noise
<i>pe</i>	<i>pepe'</i> prickly, jagged
<i>do</i>	<i>dodo'</i> soft, damp
<i>gi</i>	<i>gigi'</i> brown
<i>gu</i>	<i>guⁿgu'</i> to burn
<i>ha</i>	<i>haha'</i> curling
<i>zo</i>	<i>zoⁿzo'</i> to whistle
<i>hu</i>	<i>huhu'</i> made of bone
<i>ko</i>	<i>ko'ko</i> quick
<i>pa</i> (Santee)	<i>papa'</i> (Teton) to bark
<i>po</i>	<i>po'po</i> foggy
(<i>so</i>)	<i>soso'</i> to cut into strings
—	<i>kaⁿkaⁿ</i> uneven
<i>paⁿ</i>	<i>paⁿpaⁿ</i> to yell
—	<i>poⁿpoⁿ</i> rotten
<i>mdu</i>	<i>mⁿduⁿdu'</i> pulverized
<i>hbu</i>	<i>hⁿbuhⁿbu'</i> to make a crunching noise
(<i>šta</i>)	<i>štašta'</i> weak, brittle

¹The form *haⁿ* has been classed by Dorsey with the articles (IX, p. 25, footnote), while Swanton classes it as a continuative suffix, because it occurs not only with verbs, as stated before, but also after other parts of speech, especially after demonstratives; as, *e'haⁿ* THEN, *tohaⁿ'* WHEN. These uses, however, agree with the use of articles.—F. BOAS.

<i>śda</i>	<i>śdaśda'</i> bare
<i>snī</i>	<i>snisnī'</i> cold
<i>sna</i>	<i>snasna'</i> to ring, to rattle
<i>hipu</i>	<i>hipukipu'</i> to pick off
<i>(yu) ĥipa</i>	<i>(yu) ĥipaĥipa</i> to throw down

Bisyllabic words ending in *a* lose this ending in the reduplicated syllable and modify their last consonant in accordance with the rules described in § 4.

<i>śo'ka</i>	<i>śokśo'ka</i> thick
<i>ķeža</i>	<i>ķesķeža</i> smooth
<i>čo'za</i>	<i>čośčo'za</i> warm, comfortable
<i>ki'ⁿza</i>	<i>ki'ⁿski'ⁿza</i> to grate
<i>ķeja</i>	<i>ķehķe'ja</i> to scrape
<i>ye'ga</i>	<i>yeĥye'ga</i> to shine
<i>te'pa</i>	<i>temte'pa</i> worn off
<i>go'pa</i>	<i>gopgo'pa</i> to snore
<i>ĥapa</i>	<i>ĥamĥa'pa</i> to make a rustling noise
<i>sa'ⁿpa</i>	<i>samsa'ⁿpa</i> more
<i>sa'pa</i>	<i>sapsa'pa</i> black
<i>če'pa</i>	<i>čemče'pa</i> or <i>čepče'pa</i> fat
<i>ĥota</i>	<i>ĥotho'ta</i> gray
<i>(ya) po'ta</i>	<i>(ya) po'tpota</i> or <i>(ya) po'ⁿpota</i> to tear to pieces (with mouth)

When the terminal consonant and the initial consonant form inadmissible clusters, the former is omitted.

<i>dopa</i>	<i>dodopa</i> miry
<i>(ya) śu'za</i>	<i>(ya) śu'śuza</i> to crush (with teeth)
<i>ka'ka</i>	<i>kaka'ka</i> to make a dull noise by breathing
<i>ko'ka</i>	<i>koko'ka</i> to rattle

In bisyllabic words beginning with a consonantic cluster the consonant of the terminal syllable is not repeated:

<i>(yu) ĥida'ta</i>	<i>(yu) ĥida'ĥdata</i> to scratch
<i>(ka) ĥide'ča</i>	<i>(ka) ĥide'ĥideča</i> to tear
<i>mdčča</i>	<i>mdemde'ča</i> broken
<i>psi'ča</i>	<i>psipsi'ča</i> jumping
<i>psa'ka</i>	<i>psapsa'ka(haⁿ)</i> broken
<i>ĥido'ka</i>	<i>ĥidoĥido'ka</i> to make a hole
<i>tku'ga</i>	<i>tkutku'ga</i> to cut short
<i>ptuža</i>	<i>ptuptu'za</i> cracked
<i>śnu'ⁿza</i>	<i>śnu'ⁿśnu'ⁿza</i> indistinct
<i>ķśi'za</i>	<i>ķśiķśi'za</i> to double up

*hmuⁿza**ksa'pa**sko'pa**hmuⁿhmuⁿza* slimy*ksaksa'pa* wise*skoško'pa* crooked

An exception to this rule is—

*(ya)smā'ka**(ya)smā'gsmā'ka* to indent (with teeth)

When the consonant of the second syllable is a dental or affricative or *č*) and the first consonant a sibilant (*z, s, ž, š*), the dental or affricative is transformed into a *k* (*g*).

*so'ta**suta'**žata**šiža**(waⁿži' one**sokso'ta* clear*suksu'ta* hard*žagža'ta* forked*šikši'ža* had*waⁿži'gži* some)

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes main unaffected.

in sight*kas'iⁿ**kas'iⁿs'iⁿ* to appear in sight*du* pulverized*abo'mdu**abo'mdumdu* to bubble up (*a-* on; *bo-* by blowing)*to* burn*aju**aju'gu* to burn out something*le* to plan*i'čiyahde**i'čiyahdehde* to reach one to another

red

*ai'deša**ai'dešasa* in the red flames (*a-* on; *idé* to blaze)*to* give forth*aho'toⁿtoⁿ* to cry out (*ho* voice)*taⁿ* to roll*po'ptaⁿptaⁿ* to shake head ([*po*] head)

The following examples illustrate the use of reduplication of words with suffixes:

*to'keča**tokto'keča* different*yukta'ⁿkiya**yukta'ⁿктаⁿkiya* to cause to bend*yupta'ⁿyaⁿ**yupta'ⁿптаⁿyaⁿ* to roll over

It would seem that in a limited number of cases the component elements have lost their independence—both the reduplicated stem and the prefix. Instances of stems that do not seem to occur alone will be found in the preceding list. The following cases illustrate the occurrence of prefixed elements that have apparently now no independent meaning:

*ko'ška**koška'škapi* youth*gu'ⁿga**gu'ⁿgaga* proud

sdoha'n
tkitka'

sdoha'nha to crawl
tkitka'ika slushy

Reduplicated numerals show very clearly these principles of reduplication:

wa'zi' one
ya'mni three
za'pta five
ša'kpe six
šako'wi seven
šakdo'ga eight
napči'wa nine
wikče'mna ten

wa'zi'gzi a few
ya'mnimni by threes
za'pta'pta by fives
ša'kpepe by sixes
šako'wi'wi by sevens
šakdo'hdoğa by eights
napči'wa'gwa'ka by nines
wikče'mnamna by tens

PONCA

In Ponca, monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, pure or nasalized, are doubled:

ša'ša' always 207.10
šna'šna level 25.3
hičéhičé spotted 315.11
ča'ča each time 264.12
huhu' fish 280.8

Apparently most stems ending in a consonant are reduplicated without the terminal consonant:

bihu' hut'a blowing on 260.15
uča'u'ude he bit holes in them 267.7
pu'puhđhč'i drawn up much 282.16
gagigige coiled up 282.16 (*gagigije* 320.3)
uči'k'ihéhébe one after another 307.9
a'ša'ša'dema' shake me repeatedly 310.3
jijinga little ones
waši'šige active 9.14
kikiğe to crush often 20.3
bič'ič'i'je to break in by pressing 20.4
na'jájaje kicking out with the legs 24.1
nágigigča made people afraid to carry 756.5
wakekega sick ones (*wakega* sick)

Since the suffixes of Ponca are not well known to me, it is quite likely that some of these stems may be monosyllabic. We find also examples of reduplication, including the terminal stem-consonant.

wáčabčaze 267.6

wáčabčábčaze 267.13

In compounds, only the stem is reduplicated; prefixes and suffixes remain unaffected:

iɕa'ɕa' suddenly and regularly 9.5

wi'n'ɕa'ɕa' one by one 314.7

ɕiɕp'áɕp'a pulled to pieces 17.3

ukihɕahɕae they run unequal distances 756.16

uɕk'a'ɕk'a' in a line with 261.4

ák'igɕi'ngɕi' sitting on one another 320.4

iɕiɕk'i'ɕk'i' much tangled 591.16

uga'haha floating in little waves 279.5 (see *uga'ha* 282.4)

ɕa'ɕa'hi' without stopping 261.8

pipia'ji bad ones (*pi* good)

ukigɕiɕa'ɕa' he turned round and round 260.8.

WINNEBAGO

Monosyllabic stems with terminal vowel are doubled:

stem <i>t'e</i>	<i>hi'tɕɕ'e'</i> to talk
" <i>p'o</i>	<i>rap'ɕp'uā'naŋga</i> to puff
" <i>k'o</i>	<i>hiwak'ok'o'</i> to skip about
" <i>ɾi'n</i>	<i>waɾi'n'ɾi'na</i> the ball
" <i>hiɕi</i>	<i>nañhiɕihiɕi</i> to walk over something
" <i>kɕi</i>	<i>ruksikɕi</i> to disturb
" <i>zi</i>	<i>ruzizi</i> to point at
" <i>ɾ'e</i>	<i>ɾ'e'ɾ'e</i> earring
" <i>hiɕu'</i>	<i>nañhiɕu'hiɕu'</i> to hear often

Bisyllabic stems with repeated stem vowel (see p. 888) are treated in the same manner as monosyllabic stems:

stem <i>kiri</i>	<i>kirikiri</i> he comes again and again
" <i>pni</i>	<i>rupinipini</i> to turn
" <i>sara</i>	<i>sarasara</i> bald
" <i>pônô</i>	<i>worupônôpônô</i> to smell
" <i>poro</i>	<i>poroporo</i> round

Almost all stems ending in a consonant do not repeat the terminal sound:

stem <i>hiuɕ</i>	<i>horuhiu'hiuɕ</i> he looked again and again
" <i>ɾak</i>	<i>ɾaɾa'kɕɕ</i> to shriek
" <i>ziɕ</i>	<i>hoizi'ziɕɕ</i> to strain one's eyes
" <i>gas</i>	<i>ruɕa'gas</i> to tear in pieces
" <i>ksu'ɕ</i>	<i>ruksu'ksu'ɕɕ</i> to shake
" <i>ɕas</i>	<i>hiraɕaɕas</i> to chatter
" <i>ɕiz</i>	<i>boɕiɕiz</i> to shoot
" <i>si'nɕ</i>	<i>ɕi'nɕi'nɕ</i> to sweep
" <i>ɾiɕ</i>	<i>ɾiɾiɕ</i> to squeak

stem <i>kšap</i>	<i>nañkšaksá'pšê</i> to slit open
" <i>jih</i>	<i>jiji'hjishónuna</i> ^A to whisper
" <i>sak</i>	<i>hosa'sak</i> to shoot
" <i>huk</i>	<i>washuku'hšê</i> to smash

In the same way is treated

stem <i>s'urutci</i> ⁿ	<i>s'urus'urutci</i> ⁿ naked
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In the following the terminal consonant is repeated:

stem <i>gih</i>	<i>gihgih</i> to touch
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Prefixes (§§ 12-14)

§ 12. Prepositional Prefixes

TETON

There are three prefixes, consisting of the pure vowels *a*, *i*, and *o*, which have very general meanings of prepositional or adverbial character. Since these elements have no influence upon the structure of the following word to which they are attached, they might be considered as proclitic particles.

1. *a* signifies ON. It is also employed to indicate that one thing is accompanied by another, and therefore becomes a kind of plural.

auⁿpi they put on (many sticks)
wi'čayuta he looked at them
ana'tan she ran (thither)
acé'ti he put on the fire
awa'k'eya he covered it (with a robe)
awi'tac wa-u I bring them
aka'staⁿpi they poured on him

2. *i* indicates that an action has taken place with some definite object in view, and therefore often occurs in words denominating instruments; it also forms ordinals. Sometimes it may be translated by FOR.

ipa't'a sewed with
iya'haⁿ he was going to (a hill)
iye'wica'k'iya' he passed it to them
ilowaⁿpi they sing of it
ina'ziⁿ he stood there (to look into the lodge)
iya'kaškapi they hid it there
ia'pe thing that they strike fire with
ica'salohe stone balls

iza'p'taⁿ the fifth time
ito'pa the fourth
iyu'ha all
iwaⁿ'kab above it

3. *o* signifies IN, WITHIN, INSIDE OF. It is frequently employed with verbs signifying TO SPEAK; and also when indefinite actions are to be expressed, when it becomes partly antithetical to *i*.

osalo'he coasting (into the water)
opa'wi'kalita' she packed them up
oma'hiⁿ'kpa'ya I fall into
ao'nawicat'a'ka he closed them in
ohaⁿ'hepi night-time
o'zu'ha place for a certain article (bag)
oya'te people
oya'siⁿ all
ohuⁿ'kakaⁿ myth
o'gale coat
obala'ye level place
oma'ni he walked (about)¹

PONCA

The corresponding elements are also found in Ponca:

1. *a* (Dakota *a*) on
ápe to glue on 84.19
ágçiⁿ to sit on 84.6
áçî'á to drop on 234.18
ágigçá'hî'aⁿ he poured on his own 234.19
2. *i* (Dakota *i*) from, with, out of, by means of
igagá to make of it 97.22
ít'iⁿ to hit with 433.3
ík'ide to shoot with 369.10
íte to die from 690.11.
3. *u* (Dakota *o*) in, into
ubágaⁿ to push into 232.6
uágaⁿ'úde I broke a hole in it 96.17
ugásne split inside by hitting 81.18
ubásnaⁿ to push into 75.8
ugçiⁿ to sit inside 85.17

¹ Probably in *oma'ni* one is represented as travelling about WITHIN a certain area, for the word for PRAIRIE OF LEVEL PLACE is *obala'ye*.

§ 13. *Instrumental Prefixes*

TETON

1. **na-** to do a thing by means of the foot.
nahta'ka he kicked (the ground)
naho'toⁿ he made it cry by stepping on it
naṭa'pi they trampled her to death
na'ziⁿpi they stood
nabu'bu stamping often
2. **wa-** (Santee *ba*) to accomplish by cutting.
wabala'zapi they cut it open
wahu'ⁿhuⁿ she cut it in many places
waspi'ⁿ she cut it out (i. e., the ground)
wak'sa' he cut it off
3. **wo-** to accomplish by shooting or punching, also by blowing, and derivatively by the falling of rain.
wogala'kiⁿyaⁿ to cause to glance (as a bullet)
wohi'ⁿhipaya to make fall by shooting
woko'kela to make rattle by shooting

This prefix seems to be used less often in Teton than does its corresponding form *bo* in Santee.

4. **pa-** to push with the hands.
pasala'tapi they drove it into the ground
o'paricahita' she packed them up
pahalo'kapi they punch a hole
e'pata he cut it up or butchered it
pau'ⁿkapi they pushed it down
5. **ka-** to accomplish by striking; also applied to other actions by derivation.
kahu'ⁿhuⁿpi they gashed it in many places
kahu'ga he broke it up
kako'ga he made a grating noise
kapo'gaⁿ it puffed out.
6. **ya-** to accomplish by means of the mouth.
aya'staⁿ he stopped singing
ai'yapi they talk about it
iya'kaskapi they tied it there by means of the mouth
ino'galakapi they spoke about their own (here the *y* of *yaⁿ* has either been omitted before *l* or changed into it)

7. *yu-* to accomplish by any means, but more especially by handling.

yu'za she took hold
yur'kapi they pulled him down
yuha' he had him
ayu'staⁿ she let him alone
yuzu'zu he pulled apart
çiyu'ta I choke you to death

Most of these have come to have uses varying considerably from the significations given above, which seem to be the original meanings.

PONCA

In Ponca have been found nine instrumental prefixes, all of which form transitive verbs, like the analogous Dakota prefixes:

1. *naⁿ-* (Santee *na-*) by pressing with the foot.

naⁿhá he kicked 314.16
wanaⁿ't'e stepping on them 235.19
wanaⁿ'kikiige crushing them with the foot 235.19
naⁿśnáha he slipped in walking 97.14
naⁿgáge to make cry by kicking 96.11

2. *ma-* (Santee *ba-*) by cutting.

ma'sa he cuts head off 11.1
wémabpázai-ga rend it for us with a knife 76.6
umásnai-ga split it with a knife 318.14

3. *mu-* (Santee *bo-*) by shooting.

múŋiŋge to exterminate by shooting 628.6
umúŋt'a to remain from shooting 399.14

4. *ba-* (Santee *pa-*) by pressing with the hand.

basnú he pushed along 318.3
bahiaŋá he pushed down 80.14
ubásnaⁿ to push (a tail) into (a tree) 75.8
baŋibe he forced a way out 369.13
bahiŋéŋa he pushed it away 331.3
baŋút'aⁿ to make straight by pushing 234.14

5. *ga-* (Santee *ka-*) by striking (and by action of wind and water).

gaŋé to die by falling 163.9
ugásne he split by hitting 81.18
ugák'iba he made a crack by hitting 81.12
gaŋáŋu to strike a rattle 315.10
gasnú wind blows 324.7
gamú to empty by pouring out 17.11
gap'úk'i to make sound by hitting 266.10

6. **ea-** (Santee *ya-*) with the mouth, by blowing.
əhú to drink 266.18
əsní' to swallow 79.12
əhək'íə he made him put it in his mouth 99.7
wáəbəbəzázá he bit and tore them in many places 267.13
əéə'a'ba he made it emerge by biting 124.9
7. **əi-** by pulling.
əisnú to drag 306.3
əísp'ásp'ai he pulled pieces apart 17.7
əípan'de he shook by pulling 318.8
əídañ'-ga pull on it! 96.9
əihəúda he pulled it out 131.5
8. **na-** by heat.
náfe to die by heat 232.7
náəabe blackened by fire 259.5
náziəá made yellow by heat 237.2
náfiñge it is consumed by fire 673.6
náhi'í' it burns brightly 235.15
nádadáze fire sends out sparks 234.18
nátrubewáfe he cooked them to pieces 232.19
9. **bi-** by pressure.
bié'ic'íje to break in by pressing 20.4
bihúhut'a' blowing on 260.15

WINNEBAGO

In Winnebago eight instrumental prefixes have been found:

1. **naⁿ-** (Santee *na-*, Ponca *naⁿ-*.) by pressing with the foot.
naⁿśi'ś he breaks by pressing with the foot
naⁿñga's he tears with the foot
naⁿśja' to accomplish with the foot (to dance)
naⁿt'a'p to push with the foot.
2. **maⁿ-** (Santee *ba-*, Ponca *ma-*.) by cutting.
maⁿśi'ś he breaks by cutting
maⁿñga's he tears by cutting
maⁿégu'h to cut to pieces
3. **bo-** (Santee *bo-*, Ponca *mu-*.) by force, by blowing.
bo'sis he breaks by shooting
bocí'p he pushes
4. **wa-** (Santee *pa-*, Ponca *ba-*.) by pushing with the hand.
wa'sis he breaks by pushing with the hand
waégi's he saws

5. *gi-* (Santee *ka-*, Ponca *ga-*) by striking.
gi'sis to break by striking
gisa'k to kill by striking.
gi'gi's he cuts by striking
6. *ra-* (Santee *ya-*, Ponca *ɕa-*) with mouth.
ra'sis he breaks with the mouth
ra'gis he cuts with the mouth
ra'sja' he accomplishes with the mouth (he sings).
7. *ru-* (Santee —, Ponca *ɕi-*) by pulling.
ru'sis he breaks by pulling
ru'ga's he tears by pulling
8. *da-* (Santee —, Ponca *na-*) by heat.
das'e'p'i to blacken by heat
dat'e'k'in to wither by heat

The pronominal forms of all these prefixes show certain peculiarities, which will be treated in § 32.

§ 14. Modal Prefixes: Teton

Two elements may be mentioned here which are difficult to classify. The one (1) might seem to be better classed as a proclitic particle, while the other (2) is closely related to syntactic forms of the verb that will be found treated on p. 909.

1. *hi'n-* indicates that an event happened suddenly, as—

hi'nhipa'yapi they dropped it at once
hi'na'pa he came out quickly
hi'gala' it became suddenly
hi'han'ni early in the morning
hi'ya'ka po now wait ye!

2. *wa-*. Verbs, especially when used with other verbs, sometimes take on a passive or infinitive form by prefixing *wa-*. It is probable that this prefix is equivalent to SOMETHING OR THING.

Thus we have—

waya'tapi k'ta you will have something (just referred to) to eat
tahu' aka'nl nahita'g wa'cin' what he wanted was to kick on her neck
"mi'ye" t'oke'ya vana'gi "*wa'e miye' cigana'kin k'te*" *eya'* the ghost said, "You will have something put down for me first"
u'ma saloha' wata'kpe hiya'ya the other went slipping along

Often this is used in the formation of nouns and adjectives, as—

wa'ste' good, beautiful (from *ste* to esteem highly)
waki'ya' the thunders (from *kin'ya'* to fly)

wana'gi ghost (from *na'gi* soul, spirit)
wak'i^w a pack of goods (from *k'i^w* to carry)
wak'a^w holy
wap'a'hita bundle
wap'a'ha war-bonnet (from *p'a'ha* human hair [?])

With the prefix *o-* it forms *wo-*:

wo'yuha property (from *yuha'* to have)
wo'sica cause of trouble (from *si'ca* bad)
wok'oya'ke clothing

§ 15. Verbal Suffixes: Teton

Although the existence of verbal suffixes is not so readily recognized, a careful examination of the language renders it almost certain that several verbal elements exist which are analogous in form to the verbs *kiya* and *ya*, which will be referred to later (p. 931). These are *ka*, *pa*, *ga*, *ta*, *za*, and *éa* (or *g*, *b*, *h*, *l*, *s*, and *é*), and are identical with those referred to in the section on phonetics as undergoing certain morphological changes. The *éa* there mentioned I do not include, because it is nothing more than *ka* after a weak vowel. Of the remainder, I can only suggest the significance of the first two or three with any plausibility, and am obliged to infer that the others were of similar character merely from the similar manner in which they are used.

-ka (or *éa*) is practically equivalent to the English TO BE; as—

ya^wka she sat
yu^wka he lay
t'a^wka it is large
é'i^wka (however) he did wish
onra'sakapi they have no strength
o'sika poor
ta'kuka whatever it is (*ta'ku* what)
éi^wgzi'ca snorting
wanca'tcala gentle
p'te'haka they were real bison
sica'ka it was bad (*si'ca* bad)
oya'ka he told it (*ya* to say)
tehi'ka difficult
niqa'ka alive (*niqa* caused to live)
wiki'ica'pi they scrambled for them
ana'p'ica to hinder or obstruct

-pa probably means TO GO AND DO; or, at any rate, some sort of motion.

w^hkoⁿ'i'yuspapi we two take hold of you

t'até'yaⁿpa the wind blows

ewiⁿ'é'auⁿpa'pi they lay them down (i. e., they go and lay them down)

karwiⁿ'é'awapa I excel them in it

yuo'gipa it (branches) closed on his hand

wato'papi they paddled

-ga appears to mean TO MAKE OR TO DO, although it is used so often in referring to a harsh noise or rough action that something of that sort may be connoted. Examples are—

tiⁿ'ga he grunted

nahwih'u'ga he broke it with his foot

yamenu'ga making a crunching noise

oma'goⁿga I awoke

wago'gapi they gashed it

ka'ga he made

kaké'ga to make a grating noise

iⁿyuⁿ'ga he asked her a question

yakogahaⁿ'pi they were gnawing the hard substance

owa'kahaniⁿge šni I did not understand

igalagale'gapi they painted themselves in all styles

patku'ga to break in two by striking

-ta is exemplified in the following:

pakiⁿ'ta he brushed it

pasala'tapi they set the pole in the ground

naga'lgata he kicked out his feet

ogalužuwⁿ'ta he put his hand in his

ayu'ta he looked at it

wiča'yuhala'tapi they pinched them

yupo'ta she cut to pieces

kaski'ta to press

olo'tapi they borrowed

kaza'ta to make forked with an ax

kapo'ta to tear in pieces

-za.

wobala'za it burst

oi'yokpaza dark

wahu'k'eza war-spear

kagwe'zapi they painted in many lines

iya'za he went to each one

kamada'za to make burst by throwing down
içi'čoⁿza she determined for herself
akalu'syela caused to flow out rapidly (from *akaluza*)
čarte' tiⁿza brave heart
naiči'baleza po stir yourselves by running

-ka.

éw^{yé}ktu^hzapi you forget us
p'ésani'za a flash of fire (from *pé'ta* fire; *šani'za* dried up)
oi'galukši'za he tucked it around himself (from *kši'zu* bent)
wakⁿw^{yé}za children
kakši'za to bend up by striking (from *kši'za* bent)
kaⁿhe'za poor, distressed (from *kaⁿ* aged?)
kata'za to make waves as the wind does (from *ta'za* rough water)¹

Personal Pronouns in Dakota (§§ 16-20)

§ 16. Subjective and Objective Pronouns

The development of the personal pronoun in the Siouan language is very weak. Distinct pronominal forms occur only for I, THOU, THOU AND I. The first person is designated by a labial sound, the second person by a dental, and the inclusive by a nasalized vowel.

Subjective pronouns, which designate the subject of an activity, are differentiated from objective pronouns, which express the object of an action or the subject of a condition or state. In Santee these forms are—

	Subjective pronouns	Objective pronouns
1st person	<i>wa</i>	<i>ma</i> (<i>mi</i> or <i>m</i>)
2d person	<i>ya</i>	<i>ni</i> (or <i>n</i>)
Inclusive	<i>uⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿ</i>

There is no pronoun of the third person. The plural object of the transitive verb is expressed by *wiča*. This term, however, is not a pronoun, but signifies PERSON, as is evidenced by the occurrence of the terms *wiča* MALE, HUMAN BEING, and *wičaba* MAN. The plurality of the pronoun is expressed by the suffix (or enclitic) *pi*, which will be discussed in § 39. Added to the inclusive, this element forms the inclusive and exclusive first person plural.

¹ This attempt to reduce the bisyllable words of Sioux to compounds of two monosyllabic elements, each ending with a vowel, does not seem to me quite successful. The unity of idea claimed for the groups in *-ka*, *-ta*, etc., is not convincing. It seems to me more plausible that we are dealing here with stems ending in a consonant which are amplified by the terminal vowel *a*, so that the so-called contracted forms are rather the stems. There is good evidence that *-ka* is a suffix of very weak meaning, since many words occur with and without it. I doubt, however, if this element occurs in *taⁿka*, *yaⁿka*, *yunⁿka*.—F. BOAS.

Examples in Teton are—

t'i he dwells
wa't'i I dwell
u't'i thou and I dwell
u't'ipi we (he and I, or plural) dwell
t'i'pi they dwell
maši'ca I am bad
oma'hi'hipa'ya I fall into
nit'a'kapi ye are large
mu'ka I lie
yw'ka he lies
eča'moⁿ I do it
u'k'u' we live

§ 17. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with pronominal subject and object form combined pronominal forms in which the first person always precedes the second. The combination I—THEE is expressed by *či*. The object *wi'ca*, expressing the third person plural, precedes all pronouns.

	I	thou	we
me	—	<i>maya-</i>	—
thee	<i>či-</i>	—	<i>u'ni-</i>
us	—	<i>u'ya</i>	—
them	<i>wi'carwa-</i>	<i>wi'caya-</i>	<i>wi'cauⁿ-</i>

Examples in Santee:

k'te to kill.
maya'k'te thou killest me
maya'k'tepi ye kill me
wi'ca'k'te^h she was killing them
maya'kaška thou tiest me (from *kaška* to tie)
wi'cu'kaška you and I tie them
či'ca'ška I tie thee (*kaška* after *i* changed to *čaška* [see § 4.5])

§ 18. Pronouns of Verbs in *y-*

Verbs beginning with *ya* or *yu* in the third person—with very few exceptions—have pronouns of a different form. These are—

	Teton	Santee
I	<i>bał-</i>	<i>mał-</i>
thou	<i>ł-</i>	<i>č-</i>
he	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-</i>

Examples are—

Teton: *yu'za* he takes
balu'za I take
lu'za thou takest
yawa he counts
balu'wa I count
lu'wa thou countest
ya he goes
balu' I go
lu thou goest

Santee: *yu'sta'* he finishes
mdu'sta' I finish
du'sta' thou finishest
yaksa' he bites in two
mdaksa' I bite in two
daksa' thou bitest in two

The most important exception is the verb *ya* TO CAUSE, which occurs in last position in compounds, and which has always the pronouns as described in § 16.

Santee:

napsi'nya he makes jump *napsi'ncaya* I make jump

§ 19. Other Exceptional Forms

Other exceptional forms may be grouped as active and neutral verbs. Irregular active verbs are the following:

	TO ARRIVE		TO GO (future)	TO START TO COME	TO SAY
	Teton	Santee (regular)	Teton (Riggs)	Santee	Teton and Santee
1st person . .	<i>mani'</i>	<i>wahi</i>	<i>mni'kta</i>	<i>hibu'</i>	<i>e'pi</i>
2d person . .	<i>ni</i>	<i>yahi</i>	<i>ni kta</i>	<i>hidu'</i>	<i>e'ha</i>
3d person . .	<i>hi</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>yi'kta</i>	<i>hiyu'</i>	<i>e'ya</i>

The Santee verb *ya'ka* TO WEAVE BASKETRY, TO WEAVE SNOW-SHOES, is analogous in its forms to Teton *mani'*:

1st person: *mna'nka*

2d person: *na'ka*

It will be noticed that in all these forms, except in *é'ha* THOU SAYEST, the labials and dentals, respectively, appear for the first and second person pronouns. In the forms in *mn* for the first person we have apparently verbs in *y*, in which for the regular *l* (Santee *d*) the nasal *n* is substituted; while in *hibu'* I START TO COME and *é'pa* I SAY, the dental element has been lost. Perhaps all the forms of the verbs in *y* may be explained as a transformation of the pronominal labial and the stem-dental into *bal-* (Santee *md-*) in the first person, and as a loss of one of the dentals in the second person, so that instead of *yy-*, *l-* (Santee *d-*) remains. As pointed out by J. Owen Dorsey,¹ this theory is substantiated by the correspondence of the following forms:

Santee: *da-* (2d person of verbs in *ya-*)

Ponca: *śna- hna-*

Winnebago: *cara-*

All verbs beginning with *yu-* generally drop this prefix (see § 13) in the inclusive. *yu'ta* TO EAT drops it also in the first and second persons.

Two Santee verbs—*yukaⁿ* THERE IS and *yakoⁿ*—are defective, and similar in their treatment to *hiyu'*.

yukaⁿ there is

uⁿkaⁿpi we are

dukaⁿpi ye are

yakaⁿpi they are

dakaⁿnoⁿ thou art

dakaⁿnoⁿpi ye are

uⁿyaⁿkoⁿ, uⁿyaⁿkoⁿpi we are

yakoⁿpi they are

Among the neutral verbs the following have to be noted: The verbs beginning with a vowel use *m-* and *n-* instead of *ma-* and *ni-*. The few neutral verbs beginning in *y* drop this sound in the first and second persons; those beginning in *wa-* and prefixing the pronoun change *wa-* to *u-* in the first and second persons. Examples in Santee are—

	TO USE	TO SMOKE	TO BE	TO LIE DOWN
1st person	<i>muⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿmuⁿ'pa</i>	<i>maⁿka'</i>	<i>muⁿka'</i>
2d person	<i>nuⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿnuⁿ'pa</i>	<i>naⁿka'</i>	<i>nuⁿka'</i>
Inclusive	<i>uⁿkuⁿ'</i>	<i>uⁿkuⁿ'pa</i>	<i>uⁿyaⁿ'ka</i>	<i>uⁿwaⁿ'ka</i>
3d person	<i>uⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿpa'</i>	<i>yaⁿka'</i>	<i>waⁿka'</i>

¹Comparative Phonology of Four Siouan Languages (Smithsonian Report for 1883, p. 924). See also §§ 21 et seq.

Quite irregular are the following Santee verbs:

	TO DO ¹	TO THINK ²	TO WEAR
1st person	- <i>kamoⁿ</i>	- <i>taⁿmi</i>	<i>hiⁿmi⁷</i>
2d person	- <i>kanoⁿ</i>	- <i>taⁿni</i>	<i>hiⁿni⁷</i>
Inclusive	- <i>koⁿku</i>	<i>uⁿ-éiⁿ</i>	<i>uⁿkiⁿ</i>
3d person	- <i>koⁿ</i>	- <i>éiⁿ</i>	<i>iⁿ</i>

§ 20. Verbs with Indirect Object and Reflexives

Whenever a verb takes an indirect object or when the object belongs to the subject, one of two peculiar forms is used. One of them is regular, and is characterized by the introduction of the element *ki* after the compound pronoun expressing subject and object. When the pronoun ends in an *i*, this form changes to *éi*. Thus we have—

baⁿwaⁿkiksa I cut off my own

éiⁿcidowaⁿpi I sing for you IX 110.14 (from *dowaⁿ* to sing)

A second set of forms is irregular. The forms are in Santee—

	I	thou	he	we
to me	—	<i>maye-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	—
to thee	<i>éi-</i>	—	<i>ni-</i>	<i>uⁿni-</i>
to him	<i>we-</i>	<i>ye-</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>uⁿki-</i>
to us	—	<i>uⁿye-</i>	<i>uⁿki-</i>	—

The *k* of the third person seems to be characteristic of most Siouan dialects; but it seems doubtful whether it is justifiable to explain the forms *we-*, *ye-*, *mi-*, *ni-*, as originating through contraction of *waki-*, *yaki-*, *maki-*, *niki-*, as Riggs does. The Ponca forms are not in favor of this theory.

The uses of these two forms are peculiarly irregular. It seems that etymologically both must be considered as distinct, since their relation to the pronouns as well as to the stem is different. The *ki* which enters into regular composition with the pronouns forms exceptional forms with certain stems.

(1) Before stems beginning with *k* and *y* (and *hi* in Teton) it forms *gal* (Teton) and *hd* (Santee).

¹With the demonstratives *e*, *he*, *ke*, *to*, this verb forms *étoⁿ*, *hétoⁿ*, *kétoⁿ*, *toⁿkoⁿ* (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

²With the demonstratives *e*, *he*, *ke*, and *wa*, *awa*, this verb forms *étiⁿ*, *hétiⁿ*, *kétiⁿ*, *waⁿtiⁿ*, *awaⁿtiⁿ* (see § 43). It does not occur alone.

(2) Before stems beginning with *p*, it forms *kp*.

According to Riggs's Dictionary, these forms always indicate that the object belongs to the subject.

Swanton gives the following Teton examples of these forms before *u-*, *ya-*, and *hi-*:

<i>galuħa'</i> they had their own	<i>gala'ska</i> he tied his own
<i>gala'ħaⁿ</i> he was going back	<i>gali'</i> he got back

The forms in *ki* which form an irregular pronominal series, according to Riggs, express sometimes the same relation:

3d Person	1st Person	
<i>kiċa'</i>	<i>wēċa</i>	to mean one's own (from <i>ka</i>)
<i>kiċa'ga</i>	<i>wēċaga</i>	to make one's own (from <i>kaga</i>)
<i>kiċa'kċa</i>	<i>wēċakċa</i>	to count one's own (from <i>kakċa</i>)
<i>kiċu'wa</i>	<i>wēċuwa</i>	to follow one's own (from <i>kuwa</i>)
<i>kikte'</i>	<i>wekte'</i>	to kill one's own

Ordinarily these forms express an indirect object with the meaning of our preposition TO or FOR:

<i>ki'ċahi</i> to rummage for one (from <i>kahi</i>)
<i>kihna'ka</i> to keep for one

There are, however, many cases in which the *ki* that does not form irregular pronouns is used in this sense.

<i>ċya</i> to say
• <i>ċi'ya</i> to say to some one
<i>ewakiya</i> I say to him
<i>emayakiya</i> you say to me
<i>dowaⁿ</i> to sing
<i>wakidowaⁿ</i> I sing for him

In still other cases both forms are in use with the same meaning:

<i>kitoⁿ</i> to wear	<i>wetoⁿ</i> and <i>wakitoⁿ</i> I wear
<i>kisoⁿ</i> to braid for one's self	<i>wesoⁿ</i> and <i>wakisoⁿ</i> I braid
<i>kihma'</i> to look like	<i>wehma</i> and <i>wakihma</i> I look like

It would seem, therefore, that a considerable amount of confusion between these morphologically distinct forms has developed.

Related to the pronoun *ki*, which tends to become assimilated by the stem, is the reflexive *ċi*, which, before verbs beginning with *k* and *y*, assumes the forms *igl* (Teton) and *iħd* (Santee), while before verbs beginning with *p* it becomes *ik*. It will be seen that this form is simply the first *ki* with the prefix *i*.

bai'tiksa to cut one's self in two (from *kša*)
ikpa'ptaⁿ to turn one's self over (from *paptaⁿ*)
ihda'ksa to cut one's self off

The following Teton examples are given by Swanton:

oičiya'pi they paint themselves
miči'čaga I have made myself
u'kičiya' we two exchange between ourselves

These forms are neutral verbs, and take the objective pronouns.

Derived from the second *ki* is also the form *kiči*, meaning almost always FOR, which forms the pronominal forms *weti*, *yeti*.

ki'čiyuśna to make a mistake for one
ki'čisoⁿ to braid for one

Another form *kiči* means WITH, TOGETHER, and is generally followed by the pronoun:

3d person	1st person	
<i>ki'čitidaⁿ</i>	<i>kičiwatidaⁿ</i>	to ride with one
<i>kiči'yuta</i>	<i>kičiwata</i>	to eat with some one

Swanton considers COMPANIONSHIP as the original significance of the form, which occurs also as a post-positive meaning WITH, ACCOMPANIED BY. Teton examples are—

oko'lakitiye society (literally, friends to one another)
oki'čiyusiča they two got into trouble with each other
kiči'k'tepi they killed each other

Personal Pronouns in Ponca (§§ 21-29)

§ 21. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The two classes of pronouns, subjective and objective, occur here in the same way as in Dakota, but the modifications of their forms with various classes of verbs are more numerous. By far the majority of verbs may be combined in one group, which show what may be called the normal pronominal forms.

	Subjective pronoun	Objective pronoun
1st person singular	<i>a-</i>	<i>aⁿ-</i>
2d person singular	<i>ča-</i>	<i>či-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>aⁿ-</i>	<i>wa-</i>

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix *-i*, corresponding to the Dakota *-pi*. The inclusive, by addition of this suffix, is transformed into the first person plural. While the object, third

person plural, is expressed by *wa-*, this form does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples of verbs of this class are the following:

Subjective pronouns:

*and'a** I heard it 670.2 (from *ná'a** to hear)

at'i I have arrived 671.6 (from *t'i* he arrives)

at'i thou hast arrived 715.3

*and'a** thou hearest it 665.1

*a*ma*ti*i* we walk 713.5

Objective pronouns:

*a*tiñ'ge* I have none 715.2 (from *tiñgé* he has none)

*a*wa*hp'ani* I am poor 719.2 (from *wa*hp'ani* poor)

tiñ'ge thou hast none 70.17

warók'egaí we have been sick 662.1 (from *wák'ega* sick)

§ 22. Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs with incorporated object appear in the same forms as in Dakota. The object has the same form as the subject of the neutral verb. In the combinations of subject and object the first person precedes the second and third, and the third person precedes the second. As in Dakota, the combination of the first person subject and the second person object is expressed by a special form, *wi-*. The object of the third person plural after the inclusive dual and first person plural is always *wa**. The plurality of the object is expressed by the suffix *-i*.

	I	thou	we
me	—	<i>a*ta-</i>	—
thee	<i>wi-</i>	—	<i>a*ti-</i>
us	—	<i>wa*ta-</i>	—
them	<i>awa-</i>	<i>wa*ta-</i>	<i>a*wa*-</i>

Examples:

I—THEE:

*winá'a** I hear thee 87.14

*wótt'i** I hit thee 62.3

wi'íi I give you 706.10

I—THEM:

*awána'a** I have heard about them 676.1

awá'i I gave them 652.14

THOU—ME:

*a*ta*ti*ti* thou dost not remember me 652.6

THOU—US:

waʔáʒiʔaʔá-bi it is said you remembered us 687.5*uáwaʔakaⁿ'i* you have aided us 751.9

THOU—THEM:

waʔána^a'aⁿ thou hearest about them 692.7

WE—THEE:

aⁿʔi'^εi we give it to thee 439.3*aⁿʔi'^εʒiʔai* we remember you 687.4

WE—THEM:

aⁿwa'ŋgaⁿʔái we desire them 750.7*aⁿwaⁿ'daⁿbaí* we saw them 705.10§ 23. *Pronouns of Verbs in ʔ: Second Class*

Corresponding to the Dakota inflection of the verb beginning with *y*, we have the following forms of the verb in ʔ:

1st person singular	<i>bʔ-</i>
2d person singular	<i>śn-, hn-, n-</i>
3d person singular	<i>ʔ-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>anʔ-</i>

According to Dorsey,¹ *śn-* is the oldest form of the second person while *hn-* and *n-* are more modern forms. The sound *hn-* has not an oral *h*, but expresses a very full breathing through the nose with a closure of the tongue.

Examples of these forms are the following:

<i>bʔizə</i> I receive 670.1	<i>nizə</i> thou receivest it 745.3
<i>kaⁿ'bʔa²</i> I wish 704.4	<i>maⁿnizⁿ'³</i> you walk 744.5
<i>n.aⁿbʔiⁿ'³</i> I walk 706.2	<i>hniʒtaⁿ'i</i> ye finished 436.9
<i>kaⁿbʔégaⁿ'²</i> I hope 706.4	<i>hnaí</i> ye go 436.8
<i>ebʔégaⁿ'⁴</i> I think that 706.6	<i>gaⁿ'ʔa²</i> he wishes 50.8
<i>śne</i> you went 738.2	<i>ebʔégaⁿ'⁴</i> he thinks that 757.13
<i>uśné</i> thou tellest 58.17	<i>aⁿ'ʔiⁿ</i> we were 727.5
<i>śkaⁿ'na³</i> thou wishest 741.10	<i>aⁿʔaⁿ'ʔai</i> we think 727.8

§ 24. *Pronouns of Verbs in b, d, g: Third Class*

Verbs in *b*, *d*, and *g*, provided the pronoun is not infixed, are treated in the following manner:

1st person singular	<i>p-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>k'-</i>
2d person singular	<i>ʕ'p'-</i>	<i>ʕ't'-</i>	<i>ʕ'k'-</i>
3d person singular	<i>b-</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>g-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>aⁿb-</i>	<i>aⁿd-</i>	<i>aⁿg-</i>

¹ See the Čegíha Language, note on page 534.² Infixed pronoun.³ Double conjugation. See § 24.⁴ Compound verb.

The second persons of this group reveal their close relationship to the verbs in *ç*, a relationship which is still clearer in Winnebago (see § 32). Following are examples of this class:

<i>páju</i> I write 488.8	<i>k'a'n'bça</i> ¹ I wish 704.4
<i>pígaⁿ</i> I blow it 575.7	<i>šk'a'ge</i> thou makest 582.14
<i>íp'ahaⁿ</i> thou knowest 435.14	<i>ga'n'ça</i> ¹ he wishes 50.8
<i>št'a'be</i> thou beholdest 635.10	<i>gáge</i> he made 10.13
<i>da'be</i> he saw 116.3	<i>añgágai</i> we do 686.5
	<i>a'da'n'be</i> we see 132.8

In verbs beginning with *ç*-, *b*-, *d*-, *g*-, the objective form, and also the combined form *wi* I—THEE, are prefixed to the subjective forms, which take the pronominal subjective according to the second and third classes, as described before (p. 916).

Examples:

<i>wita'n'be</i> I see thee 644.16
<i>wibçaha'n'i</i> I pray to you 775.4 (from <i>çaha'n'</i> to pray 189.14)
<i>wibágu</i> I write to thee 750.11
<i>wábçin</i> I have them 751.2
<i>wašt'a'be</i> you saw us 752.6
<i>wak'a'n'bça</i> I desire them 751.3

§ 25. Pronouns of Verbs in *i*:- Fourth Class

In verbs beginning with *i* we find modified forms of the pronoun, due principally to the insertion of an intervocalic *ç* in cases in which the inserted pronoun begins with a vowel:

SUBJECTIVE PRONOUN

1st person singular	<i>iça'</i> -
Inclusive dual	<i>a'n'çaⁿ</i> -

OBJECTIVE PRONOUN

1st person singular	<i>a'n'çaⁿ</i> -
1st person plural	<i>wea</i> -

OBJECT

3d person plural	<i>we</i> -
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SUBJECT AND OBJECT COMBINED

I—them	<i>wea</i> -
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All other persons are regular. Examples are—

<i>içámaže</i> I ask him a question 737.5

¹Double conjugation.

*íáp'aha*ⁿ¹ I know 659.12
aⁿʔaⁿwañk'égai I am sick on account of 714.8
*aⁿʔaⁿ'baha*ⁿ¹ ke knows me 475.6
*aⁿʔaⁿ'baha*ⁿ¹ we know it 657.9
*weábahaⁿ'i*¹ they know us 389.13
weátatái they hate us 679.19
wémaǵe he questioned them 40.5
wéǵai they found them 440.14
weáǵa-mázi I do not find them 151.20
weaⁿ'ǵai we found them 440.15

Other regular forms are—

*íwip'aha*ⁿ I know thee 728.4
íbahaⁿ'i they know him 728.8

§ 26. Pronouns of Verbs in *u*:- Fifth Class

In this class the following modifications occur:

Objective pronoun, 1st person singular *aⁿwaⁿ*
 Subjective pronoun, inclusive dual *añgu-*

Examples are—

aⁿwaⁿ'bit'aⁿ he presses me down 23.15
aⁿwaⁿ'na'aⁿ he heard about me 39.19
añ'guiñkaⁿ'i we aided him 748.3

Other regular forms are—

ubit'aⁿ he pressed him down 23.15
uná'aⁿ he heard about something 40.8

§ 27. Irregular Verbs

The following verbs are irregular :

<i>p'i</i> I arrive 453.6	<i>miñk'e</i> I who 13.4
<i>ǵi</i> thou arrivest 555.7	<i>niñk'é</i> thou who 758.1
<i>hi</i> he arrives 555.7	<i>tiñk'é</i> he who 11.5
<i>mañk'á</i> we who	<i>maⁿ</i> I do 245.10
<i>nañk'á</i> 667.8 } ye who	<i>záⁿ</i> thou doest 13.8
<i>hnañk'á</i> 231.5 }	<i>aⁿ</i> he does 13.7
<i>ǵañk'á</i> they who 624.3	
<i>ehé</i> I say 665.6	<i>aⁿʔaⁿ'</i> we say 678.6
<i>eǵe</i> thou sayest 674.12	<i>ǵai</i> ye say 678.18
<i>e</i> he says 194.5	<i>ai</i> they say 667.4

Here seems to belong the negation

mázi I not
bázi thou not
ázi he not

¹The stem takes at the same time the forms described in § 24.

Examples of its use are—

ik'ágeawáɕa-máži I do not have them for my friends 711.13

ɕi ɕk'ága-báži thou dost not do it 711.19

§ 28. Forms Expressing Object Possessed by Subject

Possession of the object by the subject is expressed by forms analogous to those of the Dakota.

1. In most verbs *gi-* is prefixed. Examples are—

ɕiⁿ he carries 306.6

giⁿɕiⁿ he carries his own 296.13

agiⁿɕiⁿ I carry mine 45.15

ɕagiⁿɕiⁿ thou carriest thine 45.11

žúgɕe with him 305.5

žúgigɕe with his own 305.3

uhá he follows 289.4

uɕúgiha he follows his 306.14

ák'ipa he met him 50.1

ágik'ipa he met his own 299.3

aⁿɕa he abandons 84.3

aaⁿbɕa I abandon it 50.5

agiaⁿbɕaⁿ I abandon mine 756.2

2. Verbs in *ɕ-* have the form *gɕ*.

ɕize to take 298.3

gɕize he took his own 298.16

ɕiⁿ to have 288.15, 290.11

agɕábɕiⁿ I have my own 755.10

3. Verbs in *ga-* have probably also forms in *gɕ*, but I have not been able to discover examples illustrating this point.

4. Verbs in *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, have the forms *gip-*, *git-*, *gik-*.

daⁿbe he saw

agitaⁿba-máži I do not look at mine 756.2

gitaⁿbai she saw her own 306.7

iabahaⁿ he knows

igipahaⁿ he knew his own 295.1

wégipahaⁿ she knew them 289.8

ga'je to make

gika'je he made his own 299.9

ubet'aⁿ he wrapped it

ugipet'aⁿ he wrapped his own 208.4

utaⁿ to put on 47.3

úagitaⁿ I put on my own 43.9

§ 29. Verbs with Indirect Objects

I give here only a series of the most important forms, since the total number of modifications and combinations is very large, and it is hardly possible to reconstruct from the texts each separate series.

1. The indirect object is ordinarily expressed by the following series of forms:

	I	thou	he	we
for me	—	<i>iⁿɕe-</i>	<i>iⁿ-</i>	—
for thee	<i>wi-</i>	—	<i>ɕi-</i>	<i>iⁿɕi-</i>
for him	<i>e-</i>	<i>ɕe-</i>	<i>gi-</i>	<i>iⁿ-</i>
for us	—	<i>weɕe-</i>	<i>we-</i>	—
for them	<i>ewe</i>	<i>weɕe-</i>	<i>we-</i>	<i>weaⁿ-</i>

Examples:

I FOR THEE:

wipage I make for thee 723.10

wik'aⁿbɕa I desire for thee 725.3

I FOR HIM:

ek'aⁿbɕe I desire for him 778.3

I FOR THEM:

ewébɕi'a I fail for them 673.8

ewék'aⁿbɕe I wish for them 663.8

THOU FOR ME:

iⁿɕéšk'age thou doest it for me 726.2

iⁿɕéwašk'aⁿ thou makest an effort for me 758.2

THOU FOR HIM:

égaⁿɕe'^taⁿ thou doest so for him 439.5

THOU FOR US:

weɕéšk'age thou doest it for us 752.7

weɕéni'ai thou hast failed to do it for us 752.8

THOU FOR THEM:

weɕé'sh'aⁿna thou desirest it for them 767.3

HE FOR ME:

iⁿ't'ehi it is difficult for me 755.4

iⁿ'te he dies for me 775.1

HE FOR THEE:

ɕigaⁿɕai they work it for thee 741.11

éɕiɕiⁿ he has it for thee 741.6

ɕit'ehi it is difficult for thee 517.10

HE FOR HIM:

git'ehi it is difficult for him 729.4

giudaⁿ it is good for him 758.5

HE FOR US:

wéudaⁿ it is good for us 758.4*wét'ehi* it is difficult for us 752.12

HE FOR THEM:

wegáíai they do it for them 767.3

WE FOR THEE:

in'íhuka we sing for thee 439.4*in'íbagúi* we wish for you 680.13

WE FOR HIM:

in'gaⁿta we wish for him 758.13

WE FOR THEM:

weaⁿgap'ai we wait for them 454.162. Verbs in *u-* have the following forms:

	I	thou	he	we	they
to me	—	<i>in'win'áa-</i>	<i>in'win'-</i>	—	<i>aⁿwaⁿ-</i>
to thee	<i>urí-</i>	—	<i>uⁿí-</i>	<i>aⁿguíⁿí</i>	<i>uⁿí-</i>
to him	<i>uⁿé-</i>	<i>uⁿé-</i>	<i>uⁿí-</i>	?	<i>uⁿí-</i>
to us	—	<i>úwaⁿáagi-</i>	<i>úwaⁿagi-</i>	—	<i>úwaⁿagi-</i>
to them	<i>úwaⁿak'í-</i>	<i>úwaⁿak'í-</i>	<i>uⁿwagi-</i>	?	<i>uⁿwagi-</i>

Examples:

uríwáa I tell thee 755.10*uⁿéwáa* I tell him 443.7*úwaⁿak'íá* I say to them 437.17*in'win'áuná* thou sayest to me 671.1*in'win'áahná* thou sayest to me 500.6*uⁿéhná* thou sayest to him 497.8*úwaⁿáagishná* thou sayest to us 633.1*úwaⁿáagihná* thou sayest to them 507.4*in'win'áste* it remains to me 501.2 (from *ucté* 501.2)*uⁿíⁿak'áⁿí* he helps you 508.3*uⁿíáa* he says to him 656.8*úwaⁿagiáa* he says to us 503.1*aⁿwaⁿak'íe* they say to me 670.2*uⁿíáíai* they say to thee 678.123. Verbs in *g-* lose their *g* after the pronominal forms.

	he
to me	<i>aⁿ'age</i> 39.12
to thee	<i>íiáíai</i> 735.13
to him	<i>giáíá</i> 152.9
to us	<i>wáíai</i> 735.13

Personal Pronouns in Winnebago (§§ 30-34)

§ 30. Subjective and Objective Pronouns: First Class

The principles of classification of the verbs are the same as those found in the Ponca dialect. The most common forms of the subjective and objective pronouns are as follows:

	Subjective pronoun	Objective pronoun
1st person singular	<i>ha-</i>	<i>hi^a-</i>
2d person singular	<i>ra-</i>	<i>ni^a-</i>
Inclusive dual	<i>hi^a-</i>	<i>wañga-</i>

The plural of all these forms is made by the suffix *-wi*, except the third person plural, which has the suffix *-ire*. By addition of this suffix the inclusive dual is transformed into the first person plural. The third person plural object is *wa-*. This does not occur as subject of the neuter verb. Examples are:

hāke' I bury

rahe' thou buriest

hi^amañgā's you and I tear with a knife

hi^asibre I am falling

ni^asibre thou art falling

wa'ñgasibra'wi we are falling

§ 31. Transitive Verbs

The transitive forms of the Winnebago verb resemble those of Ponca and Dakota in the development of the combined form I—THEE, and the occurrence of the third person plural object. The forms for the first person plural subject has the same pronominal forms as the corresponding singular forms, from which they differ by the plural ending *-wi*. The forms HE—THEM and I—THEM differ in accent. I—THEM, evidently originating from *wa-ha-*, is always accented *wa'-*, while the third person has the accent on the stem. *wā'he* I BURY THEM, but *wahé'* he buries them.

	I	thou	we
me	-	<i>hiña-</i>	-
thee	<i>ni^a-</i>	-	<i>ni^a-wi</i>
us	-	<i>hiña-wi</i>	-
them	<i>wa'-</i>	<i>wara-</i>	<i>wa'-wi</i>

Examples:

niñ'he I bury thee

hi'ñake thou buriest me

nĩñka'wi we bury thee
wa'rahs thou buriest them
hiñka'ire they bury me
ha'niⁿp'a I hit thee (from *ha'p'a* he hits)

§ 32. *Pronouns of Verbs taking s in the Second Person:*
Second Class

Verbs corresponding to the Dakota verbs in *y-* and to the Ponca verbs in *ç-*, and those corresponding to the Ponca verbs in *b*, *d*, and *g*, are treated alike, thus suggesting a later differentiation of the second and third classes in Ponca. Verbs of this class begin in the third person with a vowel *w*, *r*, or with *ʃ*, *t* or *g*. If we indicate the first vowel of the word by *v*, the pronominal forms may be represented as follows:

Type	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>g</i>
1st per. sing. .	<i>hⁿv-</i>	<i>pⁿv-</i>	<i>dⁿv-</i>	<i>čⁿv-</i>	<i>čⁿv-</i>	<i>kⁿv-</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>šⁿv-</i>	<i>šⁿwⁿv-</i>	<i>šⁿvⁿv-</i>	<i>šⁿčⁿv-</i>	<i>šⁿčⁿv-</i>	<i>šⁿgⁿv-</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>v-</i>	<i>wⁿv-</i>	<i>rⁿv-</i>	<i>ʃⁿv-</i>	<i>tⁿv-</i>	<i>gⁿv-</i>
Inclusive dual .	<i>hiⁿv-</i>	<i>hiⁿwⁿv-</i>	<i>hiⁿrⁿv-</i>	<i>hiⁿʃⁿv-</i>	<i>hiⁿtⁿv-</i>	<i>hiⁿgⁿv-</i>

The plurals are formed as in the verbs belonging to the first class—by the suffix *-wi* in the first and second persons, by *-ire* in the third person. The first person plural, instead of being formed from the inclusive, as in the first class, is formed from the first person singular by suffixing *-wi*. The repetition of the vowel in the second person which is characteristic of the first three types of this class in Winnebago has been referred to before.

'uⁿ he does

ha'uⁿ I do

č'uⁿ thou doest

ha'uⁿwi we do

hi'uⁿ you and I do

wa'čgis he saws

p'a'čgis I saw

ša'wačgis thou sawest

p'ačgizwi we saw

hi'u'wačgis you and I saw

hiw'u'sũnč he is near

hi'p'u'sũnč I am near

hi'bu'wusũnč thou art near

hi'p'u'sũnčwi we are near

hi'wusũnčirč they are near

wčwiⁿ he thinks

p'čwiⁿ I think

ščwewiⁿ thou thinkest

p'čwiⁿwi we think

hi'u'wewiⁿ you and I think

<i>rašis</i> he breaks with mouth	
<i>da'sis</i> I break with the mouth	<i>da'sizwi</i> we break with the mouth
<i>ša'rašis</i> thou breakest with the mouth	<i>hi'našis</i> you and I break with the mouth
<i>ru'gas</i> he tears by pulling	
<i>du'gas</i> I tear by pulling	<i>duga'zwi</i> we tear by pulling
<i>šu'rugās</i> thou tearest by pulling	<i>hi'nugas</i> you and I tear by pulling
<i>rê</i> he goes	
<i>dê</i> I go	<i>da'wi</i> we go
<i>šerê</i> thou goest	<i>hi'nê</i> you and I go

Verbs belonging to the second division of this class are rather rare.

<i>ha'ja</i> he sees	
<i>hata'</i> I see	<i>hata'wi</i> we see
<i>hašča'</i> thou seest	<i>hi'ja</i> you and I see
<i>t'enA</i> ⁿ he is dead	
<i>č'enA</i> ⁿ I am dead	<i>č'a'winA</i> ⁿ we are dead
<i>šč'ē'nA</i> ⁿ thou art dead	<i>hi't'ē'nA</i> ⁿ you and I are dead
<i>gu'nA</i> ⁿ he comes	
<i>k'u'nA</i> ⁿ I come	<i>k'una'wi</i> we come
<i>šgu'nA</i> ⁿ thou comest	<i>hi'ngu'nA</i> ⁿ you and I come

To this class belong also the verbs expressing the position in which the act is performed, as sitting or lying;¹ while standing belongs to the first class of verbs.

rašis TO BREAK WITH MOUTH

To break with mouth	Sitting	Lying or walking	Standing
1st p. sing. . .	<i>dašizēna'nikšēna</i> ⁿ	<i>dašizēma'nikšēna</i> ⁿ	<i>dašizaje'nA</i> ⁿ
2d p. sing. . .	<i>šarašizēša'na'nikšēna</i> ⁿ	<i>šarašizēša'wa'nikšēna</i> ⁿ	<i>šarašizērajenA</i> ⁿ
3d p. sing. . .	<i>rašizēna'nikšēna</i> ⁿ	<i>rašiza'nikšēna</i> ⁿ	<i>rašizje'nA</i> ⁿ

Verbs of this class take their objects, including the composite form *niⁿ*- I—THEE, preceding the subjective pronoun, which is treated as described before.

<i>niⁿp'a'égis</i>	I saw thee (from <i>wačgis</i> he saws)
<i>hiⁿwačgis</i>	he saws me
<i>niⁿp'ēwiⁿ</i>	I think of thee (from <i>wēwiⁿ</i> he thinks)
<i>hiⁿšu'rugās</i>	thou tearest me by pulling (3d per. <i>ru'gas</i>)
<i>hiⁿšu'wusūnē</i>	thou art near me (from <i>hiwu'sūnē</i> he is near)

¹ Occasionally the verbal forms expressing a lying position are formed with *mi'akšē*, which belongs to the first class of verbs.

§ 33. Contracted Pronominal Forms

In many cases the verb begins with a prefix which forms contractions with the pronominal forms here described. Contractions also occur with infixed pronouns. These may be grouped under the following rules:

1. Verbs in *gi* with preceding pronoun lose the *g* in the first and second persons.

ha-gi becomes *hai*

ra-gi becomes *rai*

hai'égis I cut in two by striking

rai'égis thou cuttest in two by striking

giégis he cuts in two by striking

hi'ñgiégis you and I cut in two by striking

2. Verbs with prefixes ending in *a* or *aⁿ* and followed by a pronoun beginning with *h* lose the pronominal aspirate. At the same time two *a*'s that are thus brought into contact form a single accented (or long ?) *a*, while *a* and *i* form a diphthong. When one of the vowels is nasalized, the contracted form is also nasalized.

ma'ñgas I tear with a knife

mañga's he tears with a knife

mai'ñgas he tears me

maiña'gas thou tearest me

na'n'sis I break by pressure

na'ñi's he breaks by pressure

nai'n'sis he breaks me by pressure

nai'ña'sis thou breakest me by pressure

3. Verbs with prefixes ending in *o* (except *ho-* and *wo-*) also eliminate the *h* of the pronoun, but form no diphthongs.

boa'sip I push down

bo'sip he pushes down

boisip he pushes me down

roa'gûⁿ I wish

rogûⁿ he wishes

roigûⁿ he wishes me

4. Words with the prefix *ho-* contract:

1st person subjective	<i>ho-ha-</i>	into	<i>wa-</i>
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1st person objective	<i>ho-hiⁿ-</i>	into	<i>huⁿ-</i>
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Dual inclusive	<i>hiⁿ-ho-</i>	into	<i>ho'-</i>
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3d person plural object	<i>wa-ho-</i>	into	<i>wo-</i>
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1st person plural object	<i>wañga-ho</i>	into	<i>wañgo-</i>
------------------------------------	-----------------	------	---------------

wa'fi' I strike
ho'fi' he strikes
ho'fi' you and I strike
hu'fi' he strikes me
wod'ji' he strikes them

5. Verbs with the prefix *wo-* contract:

First person subjective *wo-ha-* into *wo-*. I have no example of the treatment of the first person objective.

wa'hi I win
wora'hi thou winnest
wo'hi he wins

6. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial *hi* form contraction illustrated by the following examples:

yapérêz I know (for *hi-ha-perêz*)
hi'pérêz you and I know (for *hi'-hi-perêz*)
ni'pérêz I know thee (for *ni'-hiperêz*)
hini'perêz thou knowest me (for *hina-hiperêz*)
hi'perêz he knows me (for *hi'-hi-perêz*)
wia'perêz I know them (for *wa-hi-ha-perêz*)
wa'ngiperê'zirê they know us (for *wa'nga-hi-perêzire*)

The third person plural object *wa-* is always contracted with *hi* to *wi*.

7. Verbs in which the pronoun follows an initial '*u*'- contract the first person '*u*'-*ha* into '*uwa*'-:

'úwañgi'gi I compel (for '*u*'-*ha-gi'gi*)
'u'í'ñagi'gi thou compellest me (for '*u*'-*hi'ga-gi'gi*)

8. The causative suffix *hi* has the forms *ha* and *ra* for the first and second persons, respectively.

é'ha I killed him
é'ra thou didst kill
é'hi he killed

The causative suffix *gi'gi* is regular.

red'gigi'ná' I send him
rera'gigi'ná' thou sendest him
régigi'ná' he sends it

§ 34. Indirect Object and Reflexives

The indirect object is expressed by the same forms that are used to express the direct object, but the indirect object is indicated by the prefix *gi* which follows the pronoun. The initial *g* of this prefix is never elided.

<i>ni'ñhe</i> I bury thee	<i>nigi'ñhe</i> I bury for thee
<i>hina'égis</i> thou cuttest me in two	<i>hinaigigéis</i> thou cuttest it in two for me
<i>bois'p</i> he pushes me down	<i>boigi'síp</i> he cut it down for me
<i>hina'p'a</i> thou hittest me	<i>hina'gip'a</i> thou hittest for me
<i>ni'p'e'wi</i> I think of thee	<i>niñgip'e'wi</i> I think for thee

The reflexive forms take the regular subjective pronouns followed by the prefix *ki-*. In these forms the prefixes are contracted in the usual manner with the pronouns; *ki-* and the prefix *gi-* BY STRIKING combine to form *ki-*.

<i>haki'he</i> I bury myself
<i>haki'égis</i> I cut myself (for <i>ha-ki-gi-égis</i>)
<i>boa'kísip</i> I push myself (for <i>bo-ha-ki-síp</i>)
<i>mañki'gas</i> I tear myself (for <i>maⁿ-ha-ki-gas</i>)
<i>yakipe'rêz</i> I know myself (for <i>hi-ha-ki-pe'rêz</i>)
<i>waki'ji</i> I strike myself (for <i>ho-ha-ki-ji</i>)
<i>haki'p'a'égis</i> I saw myself
<i>hakidu'gas</i> I tear myself

The last two examples show that in the reflexives of verbs of the second class the stem takes its pronominal forms in addition to the pronominal forms prefixed to *ki-*.

The forms indicating that the object belongs to the subject are formed by the prefix *kara-* in all verbs of the first class, while verbs of the second class take *kv-* when *v* indicates the first vowel of the stem. All these verbs have the ordinary subjective pronouns which are contracted with the pronouns in the usual way. The prefix *kara-* and *gi-* BY STRIKING combine to form *karai-*.

<i>haka'rahe</i> I bury my own
<i>hakarai'égis</i> I cut my own (for <i>ha-kara-gi-égis</i>)
<i>boaka'rašíp</i> I push my own (for <i>bo-ha-kara-síp</i>)
<i>mañka'ragas</i> I tear my own (for <i>maⁿ-ha-kara-gas</i>)
<i>ha'karap'a</i> I hit my own (for <i>hi-ha-kara-p'a</i>)
<i>ya'karape'rêz</i> I know my own (for <i>hi-ha-kara-perêz</i>)
<i>waka'raji</i> I strike my own (for <i>ho-ha-kara-ji</i>)

Examples of the second class are the following:

<i>haka'watgis</i> I saw my own (from <i>watgis</i> he saws)
<i>yaku'wusûné</i> I am near my own (from <i>hi'ou'sûné</i> he is near, for <i>hi-ha-ka-wusûné</i>)
<i>haka'rasís</i> I break my own with mouth (for <i>ha-ka-ra-sís</i>)
<i>haku'rugas</i> I tear my own (for <i>ha-ka-ru-gas</i>)

§ 35. Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronoun is derived from the objective forms of the pronoun. In Teton we find—

mi'ye I
ni'ye thou
i'ye he
u^aki'ye thou and I

The suffix *-pi* is added to express the plural. It stands either with the pronoun or with some following word. Emphatic pronouns are formed with the ending *s* (see § 41): *niś*, *niś*, *iś*, and *u^aki's* or *u^aki'yá*.

The independent personal pronouns in Ponca are:

wi I 736.3, 715.5
ɕi thou 711.18
añgu we

Position of Pronoun (§§ 36, 37)

§ 36. Position of Pronoun in Dakota

Ordinarily the pronouns are prefixed to the stem, other etymological prefixes preceding the pronouns; but there are a number of cases in which the pronoun precedes other prefixes. A number of verbs of more than one syllable that can not be reduced to compounds of an etymological prefix and a monosyllabic stem place the pronoun after the first syllable, so that it appears as a true infix.

According to Riggs's Grammar and the material contained in his dictionary and texts, the following groups of forms may be distinguished:

1. In monosyllabic words the pronouns are always prefixed. Examples of this class have been given before (§ 16).
2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined to a certain extent by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with *l* or *k* prefix the pronoun:

TETON EXAMPLES

<i>laka</i> to consider in a certain way	<i>walaka</i> I consider
<i>lowa^a</i> to sing	<i>walowa^a</i> I sing
<i>kaga</i> to make	<i>yakaga</i> thou makest

Verbs beginning with *é*, *ś*, *m*, or *n*, or a vowel, often infix the pronouns after the first syllable:

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>épa</i> to stab	<i>éawa'pa</i> I stab
<i>éeti</i> to build a fire	<i>éewati</i> I build a fire
	<i>éewⁿtípi</i> we build a fire
<i>éopa</i> to wade	<i>éowapa</i> I wade
<i>śuta</i> to miss	<i>śuwⁿtapi</i> we miss
<i>manoⁿ</i> to steal	<i>mayanoⁿ</i> thou stealest
<i>ma'ni</i> to walk	<i>marwani</i> I walk
<i>opa¹</i> to follow	<i>owapa</i> I follow
<i>asni¹</i> to be well	<i>anishni</i> thou art well

Although Riggs states that verbs with initial *n* belong to this class, I have not found a single instance of this kind. On the other hand, some verbs, apparently not compounds, beginning with other sounds, infix the pronoun.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>pahita²</i> to bind	<i>parwahita</i> I bind
<i>tokśu</i> to transport	<i>towakśu</i> I transport
<i>toⁿhaⁿ</i> to be	<i>toⁿwahaⁿ</i> I am
<i>toⁿwaⁿ</i> to go to see	<i>watoⁿwaⁿ</i> I go to see

Prefixed pronouns before the sounds here enumerated are, however, not rare:

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>éeka</i> to stagger	<i>maéeka</i> I stagger
<i>éeya</i> to cry	<i>waéeya</i> I cry
<i>śkata</i> to play	<i>waśkata</i> I play
<i>nuni</i> to wander	<i>wanuni</i> I wander

In verbs of this class the first person dual is often prefixed, even when the other persons are infixed.

wⁿkopapi or *owⁿpapi* we follow (from *opa*)

3. Verbs containing the prefixes *ka-* and *pa-* (see § 13), and Teton verbs in *kpa-* (*tpa-*), *gla-* (Santee *hda-*), and *glu-* (Santee *hdu-*) (see § 20), prefix the pronouns.

¹In this word the vowel is not a prefix.

²In this word, *pa-* is not a prefix (see § 13).

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>kaksa</i> to cut off	<i>wakaksa</i> I cut off (from <i>kən</i>)
<i>kakū'ga</i> to break by striking	<i>wakakū'ga</i> I break by striking (from <i>kūga</i>)
<i>pagaⁿ</i> to part with a thing	<i>wapagaⁿ</i> I part with a thing (from <i>gaⁿ</i>)
<i>pašipa</i> to break off with the hand	<i>wapašī'pa</i> I break off with the hand (from <i>šī'pa</i>)
<i>kpagaⁿ</i> (<i>tpagaⁿ</i>) to part with one's own	<i>wakpaⁿ</i> I part with my own (from <i>gaⁿ</i>)
<i>kpapuza</i> to dry one's own by wiping	<i>wakpapuza</i> I dry my own by wiping (from <i>pu'za</i>)
<i>hduta</i> to eat one's own	<i>wahduta</i> I eat my own

TETON EXAMPLE

<i>glukéaⁿ</i> to form an opinion about one's own	<i>waglukéaⁿ</i> I form an opinion about my own (from <i>kéaⁿ</i>)
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4. Verbs which take the prefixes *a-*, *i-*, *-o-* (see § 12), and prefix the demonstrative *e*, have the pronouns in the same position in which they would be if the verb had no prefix.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>apakita</i> to bind on	<i>apawakita</i> I bind on (from <i>pakita</i>)
<i>inahni</i> to hurry	<i>inawahni</i> I hurry

5. Verbs with the prefixes *wa-* (Santee *ba-*), *wo-* (Santee *bo-*), and *na-* (see § 13) have the pronouns following the prefix.

<i>wak'su</i> (Teton) to cut off	<i>wayak'sa</i> thou cuttest off (from <i>k'sa</i>)
<i>boksa</i> (Santee) to shoot off	<i>boyaksa</i> thou shootest off (from <i>ksa</i>)

6. Compound verbs consisting of two verbs of equal order either take their pronouns each independently of the other, or the second verb is used without pronoun.

SANTEE EXAMPLES

<i>hdiyotaⁿka</i> (contracted from <i>hdi</i> and <i>iyotaⁿka</i>) to come home and sit down	<i>wahdimdotaⁿka</i> I come home and sit down; but also <i>wahdiyotaⁿka</i>
<i>iyolipaya</i> (from <i>i-</i> on account of; <i>-o-</i> in) to alight in something	<i>iyowahpamda</i> I alight in something

hiyo'kpayā to come and
alight in

hiya'kaptā to come over a
stream

iyaya to have gone

kiyu'se to hate one

kiyu'ska (from *yuska*) to re-
lease

wahiyowahpamda I come and
alight in; also *wahiyohipaya*

wahiyawakapta I come over a
stream

imdamde I have gone

wakimduše I hate him

wakimduška and *wakiyuška* I
release

7. Compounds having the auxiliary verbs *kiya*, *ya*, *yaⁿ*, place the pronoun preceding these, while the first verb is often used in contracted form.

SANTER EXAMPLES

iya'pa(ka) to be offended
iyamapaka I am offended

iya'pe to wait for
i'yarape I wait for

sdoča' to know

waⁿya'ka to see
waⁿmda'ka I see

iya'paya to offend
iyapawaya I offend

iyapeya to cause to wait for
iyapewaya I cause to wait
for

sdonya' to know
sdonwaya I know

waⁿya'gya to come to see
waⁿyagwaya I came to see

§ 37. Position of Pronoun in Ponca

The position of the pronoun in Ponca is quite similar to that found in Dakota.

1. Most monosyllabic verbs prefix the pronoun.

éi' he gave it to thee (*'i'* to give) 739.9

waⁿiⁿ' he carried them (*'iⁿ* to carry) 10.7

até I die (*té* to die) 630.9

até I have arrived 671.6

2. Verbs of more than one syllable, that can not be shown to be compounds, prefix or infix the pronoun, the position being determined by the initial sound of the word.

Verbs beginning with *j*, *s*, *k*, *m*, or *n*, or a vowel, often infix the pronoun after the first syllable.

júgŋe to be with somebody
305.5

jahe to stab

siŋŋe to unload

nanpe to fear

maⁿŋiⁿ to walk

uha to follow

kuhe to be frightened

juwígŋe I am with thee 739.6

jaŋahe you stab

siagŋe I unload

nanŋape you fear

maⁿbŋiⁿ I walk 706.2

uaha I follow

kuahe I am frightened

Modal Suffixes and Particles (§§ 38-40)

§ 38. General Characteristics

The Siouan languages have a large number of elements which may be in part considered as suffixes, while others are undoubtedly enclitic particles, which express modalities of the verb. These are evidently related to similar particles that appear with the noun and with adverbs, and which will be treated in §§ 41 and 42, and from which they can not be sharply separated.

§ 39. Plurality

TETON

Plurality of animate objects is indicated in both verbs and nouns by a suffix, *-pi*.

<i>ta</i> he died	<i>ta'pi</i> they died
<i>slo'laya</i> he knows	<i>slo'laya'pi</i> they know
<i>k'oska'laka</i> young man	<i>k'oskalaka'pi</i> young men
<i>ta'p'a</i> beaver	<i>ta'p'api</i> beavers

There is, however, an evident disinclination to employ *-pi* with nouns, except possessives, and it is by preference placed upon a following adjective.

<i>k'oskalaka' yamani'pi</i> three young men
<i>ta'p'a ta'k'a'pi</i> large beavers

This seems to indicate that the suffix is properly verbal, and that when it is employed with nouns the signification is **THEY ARE YOUNG MEN** OR **THEY ARE BEAVERS**. It might be said that this element pluralizes the whole sentence. Examples in Santee are—

<i>wikoška nom kupi</i> they gave him two maidens IX 86.6
<i>siyo keya hiyaha'pi</i> grouse of that kind alighted IX 99.24

PONCA

The corresponding element in Ponca is *-i*.

ciŋgé-hna^ai they have none regularly 335.12 (*ciŋgé* there is none; *hna^a* regularly)

It is not used with nouns, since the articles (see § 42) express plurality.

§§ 38, 39

§ 40. *Particles Expressing Tenses and Modalities*

TETON

Temporal and modal relations are marked in Dakota by particles placed after the verb.

1. **Future.** For the future, *k'ta* is used.

balala' I go

balala' k'ta (Teton) I shall go.

(According to Riggs, the Santee use *ke* instead of *kte* [the *a* of *kta* being changed to *e*] before *éti'* and *epéa*.

"*ito de wa'ka ke,*" *éti'* "lo! this I will dig," she thought IX 83.13

"*mda ke,*" *epéa* "I will go," thought I)

2. **Habitual.** Habitual action is indicated by *sa*.

ihakab iya'ya sa he went after it habitually

3. **Regular repetition** is expressed by *éna*.

4. **Imperative.** The imperative is expressed by four elements:

Singular	Plural
----------	--------

<i>yo</i>	<i>po</i>
-----------	-----------

<i>ye</i>	<i>pe</i>
-----------	-----------

ye éni yo go not thou!

wakta'ya w^{na}po' on guard be ye!

The forms *yo* and *po* are used by men; while *ye* and *pe*, which seem to express a milder form of request, are used by women.

"*lena' awaⁿ w^{na}kiciyakapi ye,*" *eya'* "watch these for us, please," she said

After *u* and *o*, *yo* and *ye* change to *wo* and *we*, respectively, in accordance with the phonetic tendencies mentioned in § 4. Probably *po* and *pe* contain the plural particle *pi'*; and it is possible that *yo* and *ye* are derived from the pronominal prefix of the second person, *ya-*.

5. **Declarative Particle.** Declarative sentences in direct forms of address are generally closed by *lo*. This is usually preceded by *ye*.

w^{na}ko' kiciyaka'pi k'te éni ye lo we will not tell it to her

hoši'É ita hi ye lo I have come to tell you the news

(In Santee this ending is generally used by young men without preceding *ye*.

wahi kte do I will come

In this dialect, *ye* is sometimes used instead of *do* by women and older men.)

6. **Interrogative.** The particle *he* indicates the interrogative.

waⁿziⁿhiciⁿ é'upe' mit'aⁿkapi *he* is there one with large marrow!

When the person addressed is at a distance, *hwo* (compounded of *he* and *wo*) is used.

to'kiya la hwo whither do you go?

Riggs mentions also *to* in the same position in Santee.

duhé sni to? why dost thou not have it?

The particle *éé* (Santee *éi*) is an interrogative particle, calling for an immediate reply.

7. **Negative.** The negative is expressed by the particle *sní*.

slolaye' sni he knew it not

tuwe'ni él noⁿwe' sni no one swims there

8. **Optative.** The optative exclamation *tokiⁿ* OH IF requires a terminal *ni*, which in position and form is analogous to the other particles here discussed.

tokiⁿ pagi' etaⁿ iye'waya ni oh that I might find some sunflower roots! (*iye'ya* to find)

9. A number of other particles appear in the same position. They seem to merge gradually into adverbial expressions and conjunctions.

se'ca (Teton) evidently.

tiyata'ne hpe'ya wahi'yu se'ta lo evidently I have come to an abandoned lodge (*t'i* lodge; *ya'ta* at; *hiyu'* to come to)

načé'cé (Teton) perhaps.

owe'kiⁿahaⁿs he nita'kuyepi nate'te lo perhaps those are your relatives (*owe'kiⁿahaⁿs* perhaps; *he* those; *taku'ye* relative)

hi'ca very (see § 41.3).

kiⁿhaⁿ (Santee) when, if.

yahi kiⁿhaⁿ when thou comest

ca, eta (Santee); *caⁿ, caⁿnahaⁿ* (Teton). According to Riggs, this particle is used "when a general rule or something customary is spoken of, and is generally followed by *éé* or *éé* at the end of the sentence."

yahi ca pivada éé when thou comest, I am glad
waniyetu ca wapa éé when it is winter, it snows

kehaⁿ (Santee), *korhaⁿ* (Teton), WHEN; according to Riggs, this particle always refers to past time.

coñi (Santee) when.

kes although.

The corresponding forms in Ponca are as follows:

PONCA

1. **Future.** *t'e* [*t'a*, *t'ai*] designates the future.

ga té t'e he will die from a fall 236.1

śné t'e ha you will go 230.3

wáfat'e gēi'n t'a ak'a he will be sitting eating them 235.16

užéti šk'áje t'ai ye will make a hole for a pole 615.1

śa'n' k'áje t'ai ápa indeed, ye will do enough 144.14

t'e changes, according to a general phonetic rule, to *t'a* before the article and also before the plural *-i*. Thus *t'ai* is the regular plural future.

By the use of a double future, *t'at'é* and *t'ait'é*, the idea of futurity with certainty of the event happening is expressed.

ga'n'ht'i t'at'é it will be that way 227.4

a'n'śp'ana'n' t'at'é you surely will gaze on me 230.5

ışt'a ŋižide t'ait'e hă your eyes will (shall) be red 578.2

agēi' báži śa'n' śa'n' t'ait'é they shall not come back continually 235.5

2. **Imperative.** *ga* and *a* express the imperative, *ga* being used by men, *a* by women.

įpa-gă! send it here! (said by a man) 702.15

ihéŋai-gă! lay ye it down! (said by a man) 231.19

giŋŋai-a! enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.1

gēi'n' k'įŋai-a hě cause ye him to sit! (said by a woman) 591.18

3. **Oral Stops.** A number of particles perform the function of oral stops. As in Dakota, some of these have distinct forms, according to the sex of the speaker. Their principal function seems to be to give a certain tone or modality to the predicate, and for this reason they might be more properly considered with the modal particles.

a and *é* are used to mark emphasis. They occur either as stops or within the sentence.

ha and *he* express the period.

áha'n and *éha'n* express the exclamation.

In all of these the *a*-forms are used by men, the *e*-forms by women.

a'n'ŋi' įŋanahi'n' á! truly, I am fat (said by a man) 567.9

ŋiŋaŋwóŋŋe įŋanahi'n' i é truly, you hateful one! (said by a woman) 152.2

śa'n' zaní wibéaha'n' i hă now I petition you all (said by a man) 690.1

- wak'a'nda wáqigě št'ěwa' agik'a' bəa-mázi hě* I do not desire to take any mysterious power for my husband 614.12
gát'ě št'i ga'-na' áha' she has done that regularly! (said by a man) 591.7
wanān'deəagqázi eha' you do not loathe him! (said by a woman) 591.18

ha and *he* are frequently used following imperatives.

- maŋgqin'-gă há* begone! (said by a man) 620.17
gigqat-ă hě enter your lodge! (said by a woman) 614.13

They are also used as interjections. Since *há* and *hé* are found printed occasionally instead of *ha* and *he*, it seems justifiable to consider the exclamations *há* and *hé* as the same particles.

- há, tušp'á!* ho, grandchild! (said by a man) 620.9
hé, šp'ača' ho, grandchild! (said by a woman) 589.7

4. *Interrogative.* *ă* marks the question.

- gáqin' edéga' ă?* what does that one say? 233.1
t'i ă? has it come? 709.2
éat'ă' ɕanázi'i ă? why do ye stand? 23.4

áda' (commonly translated THEREFORE) occurs also apparently as an interrogative particle.

- əa'ht'i ésnin' áda'?* what great (person) are you? 23.12
éat'ă' áda'? why? 27.20
ěbédi 'i' ɕé da'? to whose lodge does she go carrying it? 591.3

§ 41. Adverbial Suffixes: Teton

1. *-s* is an emphatic suffix. Its use with the personal pronoun has been noted in § 35.

Very often emphasis is added to a word or clause by means of a suffixed *s*, and this sometimes involves a change of meaning.

wa'na now

ak'e' again

ke'ya those or some

to yes

taku what

tk'a but

he'čel so or in that way

éa'nł as soon as, during

wana's now the story runs as follows

ak'ě's again (with emphasis)

keya's although

to's yes, indeed!

taku's oh, bother! or, my goodness!

tk'a's but then

he'čel's therefore

éa'nł's at that particular moment

mi'ye I (independent pronoun)

uⁿki'ye we two

i'ye he

mis I (emphatic)

uⁿki'yêš or *uⁿki's* we two

iyê's he himself

2. *-la* is usually given as a diminutive suffix; but its use is very much broader, and sometimes it seems to be rather intensive than diminutive. The English adverb **QUITE** translates it best, though at different times it is found equivalent to **ALMOST** or **LITTLE**. Possibly the independent adverb *lîla* **VERY** is this same suffix doubled.

Examples:

wîta' hîcala an old man

hok'sî'la a small boy

kita'la a little more

hake'la youngest

hena'la enough

wîⁿci'wîcala a girl

iwa'stela nicely, in good order

îna'la alone, or only

îşyela exceedingly

t'oye'la bluely

a'tayela directly

îtik'i'yela near to each other

3. *hîca*, *hîcîⁿ*. Although their proper meaning is **REAL**, **TRUE**, or **GENUINE**, more often they have the force of **VERY**. Originally their difference in form was probably nothing more than a euphonic change, but it has now been seized upon to mark a distinction in use; *hîca* being always employed after nouns either expressed or understood, and *hîcîⁿ* after adverbs and connectives. They occur independently or in composition. *lî'la*, which also means **VERY**, always depends directly on a verb, or an adjective used as such.

Examples of the use of *hîca* are the following:

ê'a'pa waⁿ t'a'ka hîca a very large beaver (beaver, a, large, very)

waštê' hîce êiⁿ the very beautiful (beavers)

waše' hîcaka' kiⁿ the real red paint

ma'za hîca'ka real iron (i. e., steel)

mîla waⁿ gi hîca a very rusty knife

wîta'hîcala an old man

ta'hîca deer (the real *ta*, or animal of the deer genus)

Examples of the use of *hîcîⁿ*:

eha'ke hîcîⁿ lastly

êê' hîcîⁿ just in the same way

ê'na hîcîⁿ right there

îcaⁿtula'hîcîⁿ just then

waⁿzi'hîcîⁿ whether there is one

îye'ê' ê hîcîⁿ just like

hê'êna hîcîⁿ immediately

hîcha'ul as soon as

4. *-l*. When it is desired to express motion to the situation which demonstrative adverbs and post-positions indicate, *-l* is suffixed: viz.,

aka'n' on
eha'n' } then something was
leha'n' }
heha'n' }
toha'n' when (state)

t'eha'n' for a long time or over
 a long space, more often the
 former
et'a'n' then

aka'n'l on to
eha'n'l } then something was
leha'n'l } done
heha'n'l }
toha'n'l when (something is
 done; e. g., under one's own
 volition)
toka'n'l into the middle
t'eha'n'l over a long space
 somebody passed
et'a'n'l then (something was
 done)

5. *-na*. Some adverbs appear to have a separate suffix, *-na*, for the stationary form, but it is probably only an adverb meaning **THERE**, which never occurs independently.

e'na } here (something was)
le'na }
he'na } there (something was)
ka'na }
et'e'na } being in this condi-
le'e'na } tion
he'e'na } being in that con-
ka'k'ena } dition
to'k'ena being in an indefinite
 condition

el } here (something went)
lel }
hel } there (something went)
kal }
et'e'l } going along in this way
le'e'l }
he'e'l } going along in that way
ka'k'el }
to'k'el going along in that indefi-
 nite way

I have tried to translate these rather in accordance with the evident intent than in the most literal manner, they being among the hardest words in Dakota to render properly.

6. *-ta* **TO, AT, OR INTO**, is possibly identical with the *-l* just considered, into which it would change according to the laws of euphony.

Examples:

mak'a'ta to the ground
t'iya'ta to the lodge
tok'a'ta in future
waⁿka'taki'ya upward

wana'giya'ta to the spirit land
toka'ta to the middle
wazi'yata at the north
ohala'teya under

7. *-taⁿ* FROM.

Examples:

etaⁿ from this*ehaⁿtaⁿs* or *ehaⁿtaⁿhaⁿs* if (literally, from being in the preceding position)*etaⁿhaⁿ* from*hetaⁿ* from that time*hetaⁿhaⁿ* from that time on*akataⁿhaⁿ* from on the outside

Many independent post-positions appear to contain a suffix *-kab*; but this is probably nothing more than the verb *kaⁿpa* TO EXCEL, SURPASS, GO BEYOND, contracted in composition.

ihaⁿkab behind or after*itⁿoⁿkab* before*iwaⁿkab* above*akoⁿkab* before the time

§ 42. Articles

These important elements are only weakly developed in Dakota, while they are very important in Ponca.

In Dakota we find three articles — *kiⁿ* (after an *a* or *aⁿ* transformed, including the preceding vowels, into *e éiⁿ*); *koⁿ* (after an *a* or *aⁿ* transformed into *e éiⁿkoⁿ* [Santee], *foⁿ* [Teton]); and *waⁿ*. The following Santee examples illustrate their use:

kiⁿ expresses the idea of the definite article.

wiⁿkaⁿhpi kiⁿ iyeⁿga waⁿyaⁿkapi they saw the stars shining IX 83.2
(*wiⁿkaⁿhpi* star; *iyéⁿga* to shine; *waⁿyaⁿka* to see)

kiⁿtaⁿna iyeⁿhya yaⁿkeⁿ éiⁿ the one that shines a little IX 83.4
(*kiⁿtaⁿna* a little; *iyéⁿhya* to cause to shine; *yaⁿkaⁿ* to be)

koⁿ indicates the definite article in the past.

wiⁿma koⁿ the other aforesaid one IX 83.8

niⁿna iyeⁿge éiⁿkoⁿ the one aforesaid that shines much IX 83.7

waⁿ is the indefinite article.

oyaⁿte waⁿ a people IX 83.1

makoⁿé waⁿ a country.

The articles of Ponca are much more highly developed. We have to distinguish between inanimate and animate articles; and the latter are differentiated as subjective and objective, singular and plural.

Following is a general review of the forms that I have found:

I. Inanimate articles.

1. *kⁿe* horizontal objects.
2. *tⁿe* standing objects, collective terms.
3. *kaⁿ* rounded objects.
4. *ge* scattered objects.

II. Animate articles

A. Subject.

1. *ak'á* singular animate object at rest.
2. *amá* singular animate object in motion; plural.

B. Object.

1. *t'aⁿ* singular animate object standing.
2. *ɬiⁿ* singular animate object moving.
3. *ma* plural animate objects.
4. *ɬiñk'e* singular animate object sitting.
5. *ɬañk'a'* plural animate objects sitting.

III. Indefinite article.

wiⁿ.

Following are a number of examples of the use of these articles:
k'e (I. 1) is used regularly of horizontal objects.

<i>t'an'de k'è</i> the ground 24.4	<i>uhé k'è</i> the path 566.6
<i>ma'ŋe k'è</i> the sky 26.4	<i>tí k'è</i> a line of lodges 289.7
<i>ní k'è</i> the water (i. e., stream) 555.1	<i>maⁿ k'è</i> the arrow 50.6
<i>u'a'he k'è</i> the cradle 560.14	<i>sí k'è</i> the foot 35.3
<i>wahí k'è</i> the bone 564.8	<i>máŋaⁿ k'è</i> the feather 52.8
<i>pahí k'è</i> the neck 564.10	<i>pahé k'è</i> a long hill 28.11
<i>zibe k'è</i> the leg 564.10	<i>niaŋiⁿga k'è</i> a line of dead per- sons 10.7

The following animate nouns appear used with the inanimate article *k'è*:

<i>wés'a k'è</i> the snake 27.1
<i>ɬiñgaziñ'ga k'è</i> a child lying down 560.13 (in this case, the child being dead, the article may refer to the body of the child stretched out)

The following expression is peculiar:

a'ba k'è the day 611.6

t'è (I. 2) is used with several classes of nouns.

(a) It denotes standing objects.

<i>tí t'è</i> the lodge 555.17
<i>hɬabé t'è</i> the tree 277.2
<i>tízebe t'è</i> the door 46.12.

(b) It is used to express plurality and collectivity of inanimate terms. According to Dorsey, it expresses in this sense a single rectilinear collection of horizontal objects. This idea, however, is not brought out clearly in the examples.

<i>kande t'è</i> the plums 559.4	<i>pá t'è</i> the heads 123.12
<i>te-ánit'a t'è</i> animal limbs 565.1	<i>máŋaⁿ t'è</i> the feathers 26.19

šihí t'ə the feet 570.9
šibe t'ə the entrails 279.4
wáŋaŋa t'ə the clothing 559.12
ŋéze t'ə the tongues 123.12

gúda t'ə that (pile) yonder 33.16
wašín t'ə pile of fat 33.18
uma'n'e t'ə provisions 10.11

(c) It denotes abstract nouns.

téšə t'ə the killing 16.8.
íwašk'a'n t'ə strength 611.3
wažín' t'ə disposition 583.2

ie t'ə the word 667.14
wašít'a'n t'ə work 699.2

(d) It denotes acts "as past and as seen by the speaker" (see Dorsey, The Čegiha Language, note 246.6, p. 250).

gáge t'ə he did the (act) 554.13
ín'ja'n t'ə he lay for me 561.1
gi'a'ni t'ə he did to him 583.7
wai'n' t'ə he wore as a robe 595.17

hút'a'n t'ə he cried out 600.14
át'ai t'ə he exceeded 609.1
agiáŋai t'ə they went for him 246.6

ŋa'n (I. 3) denotes rounded objects and parts of objects.

(a) It denotes rounded objects.

ukia'ŋe ŋa'n the snare 13.12
mín' ŋa'n the sun 13.12
ict'á ŋa'n the eye 171.7
nošk'í ŋa'n the head 91.6
wahín' ha ŋa'n paper 773.1

tii ŋa'n the camp-circle 16.13
páhe ŋa'n the (round) hill 15.3
hín'bé ŋa'n the moccasin 279.12
maža'n ŋa'n the land 508.12

(b) It denotes part of an object.

baša'n ŋa'n the bent part 598.8
šindéhi ŋa'n part of the rump-bone 611.5
índé ŋa'n face part 624.10
wai'n' haháge ŋa'n the part of a buffalo-hide towards the feet 469.7

ge (I. 4) denotes a collection of scattered objects.

tenan'de gə buffalo-hearts 33.4
wašín' gə pieces of fat 572.2
taŋín' gə . . . gə (scattered) scum 593.9
wahí gə bones 278.16
mikáha gə raccoon-skins 559.3
na'n'za gə fences 735.7

ak'á (II. A. 1) denotes the animate singular subject at rest (see Dorsey, note 633.3, p. 634).

Išt'ínik'e ak'á íkiŋá-biamá Ishtínike awoke, it is said 549.4
tašniñ'ge ak'á "tsí-tsi-tsí!" á-biamá the chipmunk said, "tsi-tsi-tsi," it is said 549.9
wai'n' ak'á . . . agí-biamá the robe (considered as possessed of voluntary action) had returned 549.6
á-biamá Uení ak'á the cold said 9.6

pihe-wááhuni ak'á íbaha'-biamá the hill that devours knew him, it is said 32.6

With numerals *ak'á* is used in a plural sense.

ḡábe-iⁿ ak'á, the three 164.14

amá (II. A. 2) denotes the animate singular subject in motion, or the plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

(a) It denotes the animate singular object in motion.

mašé' iñ'ge-iⁿ amá aḡé amáma the rabbit was going, it is said 9.1

Išt'inik'e amá aḡá-bi Ishtínike went, it is said 549.1

žube amá niáta aḡá-bi beaver went to the water 553.9

ki wíuhe amá wa'ú and the woman was following close behind 615.15

amá is also used when the predicate does not express motion, but when the subject is conceived as moving.

ipádi amá igipaha'-biamá, it is said his father recognized him 610.18

á-biamá mašé' iñ'ge-iⁿ amá rabbit said, it is said 10.2

(b) *amá* denotes the animate plural subject, both at rest and in motion.

wažiñ'ga amá giaⁿ aḡá-biamá the birds went flying, it is said 588.3

e-naⁿ-biamá níašiⁿga amá the people said often, it is said 574.9

P'añ'k'a amá aḡéi the Ponca have come back 723.2

Umáha amá uḡigigḡai the Omaha are sorrowful for their relations 772.4

ník'agáhi amá gíḡa-bažiⁱ the chiefs are sad 649.2

t'aⁿ (II. B. 1) denotes the animate singular object standing.

núžiñga t'aⁿ é waḡik'á-bi the boy meant that his own 556.2

ḡišt'e, héga ḡét'aⁿ fie! this buzzard! 549.5

te-diḡe t'aⁿ . . . nažiⁿ a scabby buffalo was standing 582.5

ḡyú ḡét'aⁿ k'ida-gā shoot at this prairie-chicken 117.19

e-iⁿ (II. B. 2) denotes the animate singular object moving.

dádaⁿ ḡiⁿ pígaⁿ ḡiⁿ áhaⁿ! I'll blow that into the air 575.7

hiḡá ḡiⁿ ḡet'aⁿ amá the eagle was that far, it is said 581.3

edádaⁿ ḡiⁿ ḡt'ewaⁿ téḡe-naⁿ-biamá whatsoever he usually killed, it is said 586.6

witande ḡiⁿ aḡiⁿ gúḡā bring my son-in-law here 589.3

níašiⁿga ḡiⁿ waḡiḡiḡe áhaⁿ! he is active! 9.14

níašiⁿga ḡiⁿ iḡátabḡé hā I hate that person 13.9

káḡe ḡiⁿ ḡdihi the crow reached there 599.8

ḡiⁿ is sometimes used with generic or collective terms.

wanít'a *çiⁿ* the quadrupeds 628.6

Pañ'k'a *çiⁿ* the Ponca 748.9

ma (II. B. 3) denotes the animate plural object. This form is regularly printed as a suffix. The examples, however, do not indicate that it differs in character from the other articles.

wanít'a-ma *wébaⁿ-biamá* it is said he called to the animals 571.5
tañgá-ma *áput'aⁿ waçizá-bi* *aⁿ* he took the large ones at once, it is said 578.4

wažínga-má *wébaⁿ-biamá* it is said they called the birds 580.1

wažínga-ma . . . *míwazi* he put the birds in his belt 586.4

ník'aşínga-ma *waç'igage ewék'aⁿbça* I wish the people to dance 601.5

wagáñçaⁿ-ma *wiⁿ* one of the servants (obj.) 616.2

wáñhe-ma *úşk'aⁿ etai k'è aⁿçaⁿbahaⁿ-bázi* we do not know the customs of the white people 629.2

ník'aşí'ga-ma *çé-ma* *şk'aⁿ maⁿçiⁿ'-ma* *wataⁿ'be* *há* I have seen these people walking about 756.1

çin^k'é (II. B. 4) denotes an animate singular object in sitting position.

zábe *çin^k'édi* *bçé t'áşe* I must go to the beaver 552.2

égiçe *itañ'ge* *çin^k'é* *wahp'ániht'iaⁿ* *çin^k'é* *amá* and behold! his sister was very poor 144.18

wa^eú *çin^k'é* *ená-ñé'i* *ušt'é* *amá* only the women remained, it is said 11.5

çañk'á (II. B. 5) denotes the animate plural object in sitting position.

uíça-biamá *Işt'inik'e* *ak'á* *níaşínga* *çañk'á* it is said Ishtinike told the persons 64.17

iziñ'ge *çañk' é* *wanwagik'á-biamá* meaning his sons, it is said 100.4

ak'íçaha *maşt'iñ'ge* *çañk'á* *wiⁿ* *wa^ei-gd* *ha* give them one of the rabbits 119.16

é *wa^eú* *çañk'á* *úwak'ie* *gaⁿ'* *çai t'è* he desired to talk to the women 624.3

wágaží *şínudaⁿ* *çañk'á* he commanded the dogs 111.8

The two forms *çin^k'é* and *çañk'á* are not true articles, although they seem to perform their function. They are true verbal forms, as is proved by the occurrence of the pronominal forms.

1st person singular *miñk'e*

2d person singular *niñk'e*

2d person plural *nañk'a*

bé t'á mink'e I who will go 13.4

p'i t'á mink'e I who will arrive there 496.2

Páçin' ník'agáhi nañk'áše ye who are Pawnee chiefs 685.2

It would seem that these forms correspond to the Dakota verbs
yañk'á, *wañk'á*.

wiⁿ (III) denotes the indefinite article.

šaa^{n'} wiⁿ a Dakota 367.8

níášin'ga wiⁿ a person 267.1

wa^éú wiⁿ a woman 166.1

t'aⁿwañgçaⁿ tañgáht'i wiⁿ a very large village 166.14

§ 43. Demonstrative Pronouns

TETON

The demonstrative pronouns proper are *e*, *le*, *he*, *ka*, and *to*. The first of these always refers to something that has just been said, and its use is more syntactic than local; *le* corresponds very nearly to English THIS, and *he* to English THAT; but when an object is very remote, the proper form is *ka*. *to* indicates that what is referred to is indefinite; and it would not have been classed as a demonstrative had it not been employed in a manner absolutely parallel with that of the other demonstratives. Plurals are formed for all of these by suffixing *-na*.

The demonstratives are employed regularly as prefixes to the verbs meaning TO SAY, TO THINK, and TO DO.

to say	<i>e'ya</i>	<i>le'ya</i>	<i>he'ya</i>	<i>ke'ya</i>	(not found)
to think	<i>é'ín'</i>	<i>leé'ín'</i>	<i>heé'ín'</i>	<i>keé'ín'</i>	<i>tok'ín'</i>
to do	<i>é'o^{n'}</i>	<i>leé'o^{n'}</i>	<i>heé'o^{n'}</i>	<i>kak'o^{n'}</i>	<i>tok'o^{n'}</i>

The forms with *e* are used after the statement of what is said, thought, or done; and the forms with *le* or *he*, before. *keya'pi* THEY SAY is employed like a quotative, though there is a true quotative *šk'e*. The element *to* occurs rarely with these verbs.

In addition to these forms, there is a syllable *t'e*, meaning FAR in space or time, which is employed in an analogous manner.

t'e'haⁿ a long time

t'ehanl far

The definite article *k'iⁿ* is probably formed from the demonstrative *ka* by rendering the phonetic change to *iⁿ* permanent. To indicate something which happened in the past or some person or thing spoken of in the past, this article takes the form *k'oⁿ* or *éik'o^{n'}*, but the latter rarely in Teton (see § 42).

In the plural, and when combined with certain particles, *to* performs the function of an interrogative pronoun.

to'na how many

to'kehci' however much

In fact, the regular interrogative and relative pronouns *tu'wa* or *tu'we* WHO, and *ta'ku* WHAT, are properly indefinites, and so related to *to*; and from these, or parts of these, other relative and indefinite pronouns are compounded: viz.,

tuwe'ni whoever (probably WHO LIVES)

tuk'tél somewhere

tuk'té'k'tél sometimes

ta'ku keçe'yaś whatsoever

PONCA

The most common demonstrative pronouns are *éé*, *še*, *gá*, and *é*. The first three of these are very often followed by the article; and in this case they are always printed in the texts as one word, although there is apparently no difference between the use of the article with the demonstrative and that with nouns. Demonstratives also take enclitic adverbial terms in the same way as nouns, and in these cases also the demonstrative and the adverb appear in print as one word. The demonstrative *e* does not seem to be followed by the article. As in Dakota, they form part of a few verbs.

1. *še* refers to what is near the speaker.

še égima' I do this 9.6

še a'št'a'bai t'è this (is) as you see me 26.14

šeák'á qábci' zani téwaqá-biámá it is said he killed all three of these 46.16

šeámá na'w qip'ai these fear thee 23.17

šeéma júba these few! 28.9

ha'w še'hé'i agita'be k'a'wbeu I desire to see mine this very night 367.5

šeéga' and, thus they say 35.2

2. *šé* refers to what is near the person addressed.

šé égija' you do that 26.14

šé wai you told him that 26.19

šé wiwíta that my own 89.4

šeák'á mašc'iŋge-i'w ak'á páde wagaži that rabbit told us to cut it up 23.10

šéciŋk'e k'ida-gā shoot at that! 109.1

šéu there where you are 640.4

maža'w šéta qa' the land yonder by you 487.7

3. *gá* refers to the unseen, also to what follows; it designates probably originally what is near the person spoken of.

gá ta'be t'á I shall see that 28.2

gágě hnát'e t'ai-éde you should have eaten those 28.10

gániñke házi qíqade t'ai (that) you shall be called grapes 550.7

gáqíñ Ilágige iş añ'ga tek'íqai that one Hagige killed his brother for him 235.8

gáqáñ i'ñqíñ'gqañ-gă put that on something for me 121.14

4. *é* refers to something referred to before.

é ní that water (referred to in line 2) 559.12

é gíqá-biamá it is said she rejoiced at that 21.1

é şt'i ma'qá'í t'ě that too they stole 85.8

égañ gáqá-bazii-gă há do not ye do thus! 618.8

5. *du* is a form which is comparatively rare, and seems to designate what is near the speaker.

dúak'a this one here 58.5

uñp'é t'ě dúat'ě the bowl on this side 574.1

dúda this way 191.8, 192.15

dúdiha this way 553.3, 556.5

6. *gu* is also comparatively rare, and designates what is farther off than *du*.

gúdiha that way 587.15, 614.1, 630.20

§ 44. Possession

TETON

Inalienable or at least very intimate possession is indicated by prefixing the objective personal pronominal prefixes, and suffixing *-pi* for plural forms. The dual is distinguished in the same manner as in the subjective and reflexive pronominal prefixes.

Examples:

mič'i'k'si my son

hu his leg

t'a'ké'yapi their sister

u'č'a'w'te our two selves' two hearts

u'č'a'w'tepi our hearts (more than two)

Sometimes *ma* is used instead of *mi*; and, according to Riggs, this is when those parts of the body are referred to which exhibit no independent action.

ma'p'a my head

mano'ge my ears

Alienable or more distant possession is indicated by another prefix, *t'a*, which occurs in conjunction with the prefixes above given.

t'awi'cu his wife

nit'a'su'ke your horse

t'awo'wasi his servant

Often, however, these forms are prefixed to a syllable *wa* placed after the noun.

wo'k'oya'ke t'a'wa her clothing

The noun to which *t'a'wa*, etc., refers may be entirely omitted; as, *wino'hcala t'a'wa ki' iyo'ta' waste'* the old woman's was exceedingly good

nit'a'wapi ki' iyo'ta' lu'ta yours is exceedingly scarlet

Terms of relationship take in the third person a special suffix *-ku*.

hu'aku his mother

hi'gana'ku her husband

atku'kupi their father

su'ka'ku her younger brother

tibalo'ku her elder brother

ku'ku his mother-in-law

tak'o'sku his son-in-law or daughter-in-law

This suffix is probably identical with the *ku* in *taku* WHAT, which is used entire in *t'ita'kuye* HIS RELATIONS and *taku'witaye* KINDRED.

After *i* or *e*, pure or nasalized, the *k* of this suffix either changes to *é* in conformity with the tendency already noted, or a *t* is inserted just before it.

t'awi'cu his wife

k'u'sitku his grandmother

lek'si'tku his uncles

ti'hiye'tku his master

Many terms of relationship have a syllable *si*, which evidently had once some special significance, though it is now impossible to say whether it is properly an affix or part of a descriptive term. Such are *lek'si'tku*, *ku'ku*, and probably *tak'o'sku*, above given; as also—

nici'k'si my son

ha'kasi female cousin

hok'si' boy

tu'kasi'la grandfather

t'a'k'si' younger sister

t'awo'wasi his servant

ta'ha'si my cousin (male)

PONCA

The following independent forms were observed in Ponca:

wita my 633.11, 635.6

wiwita my own 477.9, 492.12, 493.1

éita thy 485.2, 635.4

ɕiɕita thy own 485.5, 6, 492.9, 495.7

etá his 491.8, 642.2, 679.11

[*añguta* thy and my]

añgútai our 16.19, 678.1, 679.9

ta'wañgɕa' añgúta-ma our own gentes 502.12

[*ɕítai*]

ɕiɕítai your own 495.8, 630.8

etái their 633.6, 675.3, 642.7, 523.5

The possessive pronoun appears without the suffix *-ta* as a prefix in terms of relationship.

wi- my *ɕi-* thy *i-* his

Examples:

wika' my grandmother 9.3

witími my father's sister 9.3

winégi my mother's brother 10.16

witan'de my daughter's husband 349.12

winiɕi my child 44.13

ɕinégi thy mother's brother 10.15

ɕiha' thy mother 348.3

ɕik'áge thy friend 487.4

igáhɕa' his wife 348.13

íziñ'ge his son 345.2

ízañ'ge his daughter 345.1

With the words FATHER and MOTHER the first person possessive has an exceptional form.

i'na'ha my mother 481.1, 638.1

i'dádi my father 26.5, 151.15

§ 45. Adverbs: Teton

Adverbs may be divided into several classes. Some are quite simple, and are used much like corresponding adverbs in English:

wana' now

ak'e' again

li'la very

ɕiɕi' very

ɕica and

k'o also

nak'o' also

while others are compounded from other parts of speech; notably, verbs and demonstratives. The former of these are usually changed into adverbs by using the auxiliary *ya*.

su'taya firmly

ha'ke'ya at last

ta'ya' well

wa'ka'takiya upward

a'taya entirely

kaa'beya in all directions

u'gana'ha'keya suddenly

ka'kiya there

waⁿta'g AT ONCE appears to be compounded of *waⁿta* ONE and the auxiliary *ka*.

Others take *la* either alone or in conjunction with *ya*.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>isna'la</i> alone | <i>uⁿgana' haⁿyela</i> suddenly |
| <i>es'la</i> only | <i>is'yela</i> exceedingly |
| <i>uⁿgana' haⁿla</i> suddenly | |

Demonstratives are usually adverbialized by means of another particle, *e'a* (or *k'a*) SORT OR KIND; as,

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>he'e'el</i> that sort | <i>to'k'el</i> how |
| <i>he'e'ena</i> right off | <i>to'k'esk'e</i> in what way |

e'a is also used after entire clauses, where it may almost equally well be described as an adverbial particle or a connective.

§ 46. Connectives: Teton

Connectives are so closely related to adverbs as to be at times indistinguishable. *Yuⁿk'aⁿ* AND THEN, and *e'aⁿk'e'* so, are most often used to introduce sentences; while *na* AND, *nai's* OR, and *tk'a* BUT, are the ordinary co-ordinate conjunctions. Subordinating conjunctions, such as *e'aⁿ* or *e'aⁿna* WHEN, *kess* or *keya's* THOUGH, follow the subordinate clause, and are to be correlated with the post-positions like *oⁿ* ON ACCOUNT OF, FOR THE PURPOSE OF; *ob* WITH; *mahel* INTO. The definite articles *kiⁿ* and *koⁿ*, and the adverbial particle *e'a* SORT OR KIND, are employed in such a way as to suggest a relationship to these.

Nearly all of the simple subordinating conjunctions and post-positions are given above. The rest—and there is a very large number of them—are principally compound. Some are formed by means of demonstratives; as,

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>etu'nl</i> during (from <i>e</i> , <i>e'aⁿ</i> , and <i>l</i>) | <i>etaⁿ</i> from (from <i>e</i> and <i>taⁿ</i>) |
| <i>el</i> at (from <i>e</i> and <i>l</i>) | <i>heoⁿ</i> therefore (from <i>he</i> and <i>oⁿ</i>) |
| <i>ehaⁿ</i> then (from <i>e</i> and <i>haⁿ</i>) | <i>toha'nl</i> when (from <i>to</i> , <i>haⁿ</i> , and <i>l</i>) |
| <i>ek'ta'</i> to (from <i>e</i> and <i>ta</i>) | |

Another long series contains the verbal prefixes *a*, *i*, and *o* (§ 12), and are in some cases, probably the majority, taken from verbs. Among these are—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>ai'nam</i> on the other side of | <i>iwaⁿkab</i> above |
| <i>akaⁿ</i> on | <i>iyel'el</i> like |
| <i>i'tehanl</i> far from | <i>ik'i'yela</i> near to |

ohala'teya under
o'p'ta across
ogana' in (a stream)

o'peya among
o'haⁿ among

kiti' WITH OR TOGETHER (see § 20, p. 914) is also used as a post-position; while the suffix *-l* (see § 41. 4) appears in that rôle after *t'i* LODGE; as,
t'il into the lodge

From *ni'ca* TO BE DESTITUTE OF is formed the post-position *wani'ca* WITHOUT.

§ 47. Interjections: Teton

ho is introduced when there comes a change in the thread of the narrative, and so may be said to mark a paragraph. The following are used quite frequently in Teton:

it'o' suppose!

huⁿhe' alas!

iho' well!

horo' now!

yuⁿ oh! (indicating pain)

waⁿ now! why!

For a long list of Dakota interjections, see Riggs's *Dakota Grammar*, p. 54.

§ 48. VOCABULARY: Teton

The simplicity of grammatical forms in Dakota is necessarily accompanied by the use of great numbers of stems.

Verb-stems usually consist of single syllables such as the following:

t'i to dwell

uⁿ to live, or be accustomed to

ya to say

ya to go

k'te to kill

p'a to flee

hi to arrive coming

i to arrive going

ha to have, possess

si to command

ziⁿ to stand

p'soⁿ to break off

k'saⁿ to bend

ni to live, exist

ta to eat

p'ta to answer

ka to dig

k'sa to break

u to be on route coming

gi to rust

toⁿ to cover

o to wound

The stems with terminal *a* have been treated in § 15.

The causative *ya* may be placed after any of these, as also after nouns.

hpaya'pi they were caused to lie

kaki'syapi they made him suffer

waste'ya to cause to be good

wan'lya caused to be without
kahiya' caused to be made
šana'ya he had it for a robe (*šana* robe)
šawičaya he caused them to be red (*ša* red)
čiⁿcawiča'yapi those that they had for children
šuⁿga náp'eyapi they caused the horses to be frightened

Very naturally it is often used in the formation of adverbs.

šogya' thickly (literally, caused to be thick)
t'oyé'la bluely (literally, caused to be like blue)
kultkiya' caused to be down, or downward
to'kiya anywhere, or caused to be in an indefinite direction

A considerable number of substantives consist of but one syllable.

Such are the following:

<i>t'a</i> general name for animals	<i>p'te</i> bison; specifically, female
like deer	bison
<i>ho</i> voice	<i>t'i</i> lodge, dwelling
<i>p'a</i> head	<i>č'aⁿ</i> tree
<i>t'oⁿ</i> robe	<i>hiⁿ</i> fur
<i>hu</i> leg	<i>i</i> mouth
<i>we</i> blood	<i>miⁿ'</i> water
<i>hiⁿ</i> hair	<i>wa</i> snow
	<i>he</i> horn

A much larger number, however, have two syllables:

<i>wi'č'a</i> male	<i>wiⁿ'yaⁿ</i> woman
<i>mak'a'</i> ground	<i>si'ha</i> foot
<i>noⁿ'je</i> ear	<i>č'a'pa</i> beaver
<i>ma'za</i> iron	<i>p'aha'</i> hill
<i>č'aⁿte'</i> heart	<i>mat'o'</i> grizzly bear
<i>p'é'ta</i> fire	<i>aⁿ'p'a</i> daylight
<i>iⁿ'yaⁿ</i> stone	<i>išta'</i> eye
<i>siⁿte'</i> tail	<i>ma'ya</i> cliff
<i>wi'k'aⁿ</i> rope	<i>č'wui'</i> small of back
<i>č'upe'</i> marrow	<i>t'ahu'</i> neck
<i>p'age'</i> diaphragm	<i>šiyó'</i> prairie-chicken
<i>p'ézi'</i> grass	<i>k'aⁿ'ta</i> plum
<i>č'iⁿ'ca</i> child	<i>t'até'</i> wind
<i>mi'la</i> knife	<i>č'oku'</i> flesh
<i>šo'ta</i> smoke	<i>t'o'ka</i> foe

It is quite possible that many or all of these were originally compounded from simpler words, as is still done in numerous cases.

p'ehiⁿ hair of the head, or head-hair
č'abo't'i beaver-house (literally, in which dwell beaver)

má'za wak'a' supernatural iron (i. e., gun)
śu'ka wak'a' supernatural dog (i. e., horse)
má'za waha' é'a'ka iron shield
wiçitegalé'ga raccoon (literally, spotted face)
tat'a'ka buffalo bull (literally, big *ta*)
wiç'a'héala old man (very much of a male)
wi'çi'n'éala girl (literally, female child)
hupa'wakigalakéla bat (literally, little leather wings)
p'asu' nose (literally, head-seed)
wiç'a'ho human voice
man'i' wak'a' supernatural water (i. e., whisky)
má'za wa'n'hi' ósta'pi iron arrow-head fitted in (i. e., flintlock gun)
wiç'o't'i many lodges (where people go after death [literally, in them they live])
ta'héa deer (literally, true *ta*)
wino'n'héa old woman (very much of a female)
heha'ta elk (literally, branching [*ha'ta*] horns [*he*])

In those descriptive terms which contain a substantive and adjective, the latter may be regarded equally well as a verb. Many other nouns, however, are taken from verbs (or adjectives) in a much more direct manner, as follows:

kahami' an inside corner, a bend; verb the same, meaning to
 BEND BY STRIKING
olo'wa' song (from *lo'wa'* to sing)
tehi'ka hardship (from *te'hi* hard)
woç'a'teçiça sorrow (from *é'a'té* heart, and *çi'éa* bad)
oi'yokpaza darkness (from *kpa'za* it is dark)
wama'k'aska' animals (from *mak'a'* earth, and *śka* to move; i. e., things moving on the earth)
wiç'a'ganakapi or *ganaka'pi* burial-scaffold (from *gana'ka* to lay up)
ohu'n'kak'a' myth (from *hitu'n'kak'a'* to tell tales)
hila'hila rattle or bell (from *hila* to rattle)
waki'n' a pack of goods (from *ki'* to carry)
waki'n'ya' the thunder-bird (from *ki'ya'* to fly)

Verbs ending in *a*, when they become substantives, sometimes change the *a* into *e*:

<i>ak'a'hip'a</i> to cover	<i>ak'a'hip'e</i> covering
<i>é'ya</i> to say	<i>oe'ye</i> a saying, verse, sentence
<i>waa'to'wa'</i> to be observing	<i>waa'to'we</i> an observer
<i>waa'skap'a</i> to stick on	<i>waa'skap'e</i> a sticking-plaster
<i>a'p'a</i> to strike	<i>oa'p'e</i> strokes, beatings
<i>obala'ya</i> it is flat	<i>obala'ye</i> a level place or prairie
<i>k'oya'ka</i> to have on	<i>wok'oya'ke</i> clothing

Stripped of their affixes, the terms of relationship are the following (see Riggs's Grammar, pp. xviii-xx):

tuⁿkaⁿ grandfather
kuⁿ grandmother
ko^íža grandchild
ate father and father's brother
huⁿ mother and mother's sister
tuⁿwiⁿ father's sister
lek^{si} mother's brother
éiⁿye man's elder brother
timdo woman's elder brother
taⁿke man's elder sister
éuⁿwe woman's elder sister
suⁿka younger brother
taⁿk^{si} man's younger sister
taⁿka woman's younger sister
éiⁿk^{si} son
éuⁿk^{si} daughter
haⁿ man's brother-in-law
šice woman's brother-in-law
haⁿka man's sister-in-law
ičepaⁿ woman's sister-in-law
toⁿška woman's sister's son
toška woman's brother's son
tuⁿžaⁿ man's sister's daughter
tožaⁿ woman's brother's daughter
koš son-in-law and daughter-in-law
hihⁿna husband
wiⁿ wife or woman

In direct address several terms are used slightly different from the above; as, *uⁿéi'* GRANDMOTHER.

TETON TEXT

SPIDER'S ADVENTURE WITH THE WATER MONSTER

[Originally transcribed by George Bushotter, a Dakota]

Ik'to'¹	he'c'és'²	wana'³	ka'k'ená'⁴	isna'la'⁵	oma'ni-ya'ha'⁶	sk'e'⁷
Spider	it happened	now	in a certain place	alone	traveling was going	it is said
Yu'n'k'a'⁸	wana'	c'o'n'soke'⁹	iya'za	wol-ya'ha'^{10,6}	Yu'n'k'a'⁸	ak'e'⁷
And then	now	forest	from one to another	eating was going	And then	again
wak'pa'la'¹¹	o'huta'¹²	êl'¹³	ina'zi'¹⁴	na mani' k'owa'kata'ha'¹⁵	ya-c'i'¹⁶	
river	shore or edge	there	he stood	and water on the other side	to go wished	
keya's'¹⁷	to'k'ani'¹⁸	iya'ye'¹⁹	śni	na	heya'ha'²⁰	sk'e'⁷
although	there was no way	he might start	not,	and	he was saying as follows	it is said,
kowa'kata'¹⁵	ma'ka'²¹	ni'²²	ec'i'n'c'i'n'²⁴	nawa'zi'²⁵	eya'²⁶	Yu'n'k'a'⁸
on the other side	I sit	might	thinking this often	I stand,"	he said.	And then

¹ A shortened form of *Ik'to'mi* (the Spider), who is the great trickster and charlatan among the Dakota.

² *he'c'és* HE THAT; *c'a* SORT; -*s* emphatic.

³ *wana'* perhaps contains the passive prefix *wa-*.

⁴ *ka* demonstrative indicating something that happened at a remote time or in a remote place; *k'e'c'a* SORT OR KIND; *na* probably a locative particle used instead of -*l* to indicate that he was already at the place where the event happened.

⁵ *la-* diminutive suffix.

⁶ *o-* prepositional prefix meaning IN, the idea being that the traveling was done within a certain region; when there is a definite object in view the form is *úima'ni*; *ya* motion away in general as distinguished from starting and arriving; -*ha'* continuative suffix.

⁷ *sk'e* quotative.

⁸ Introductory connective.

⁹ *c'o'n* an altered form of *c'a'* WOODS; *so'ka* THICK, the final vowel being altered in nominalizing.

¹⁰ *wol wa-* SOMETHING, and *yu'ta* TO EAT, contracted into *l*.

¹¹ *wa-* perhaps passive prefix; -*la* diminutive.

¹² *o-* prepositional prefix; *hu'ta* SHORE.

¹³ *e* demonstrative; -*l* motion to that place.

¹⁴ *i-* prepositional prefix indicating purpose; *na-* instrumental prefix indicating action done with the foot; *zi'n* TO STAND.

¹⁵ *k'owa'ka* ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER; -*la'* FROM; -*ha'* CONTINUING TO BE.

¹⁶ A compound verb; *c'i'n* TO WISH.

¹⁷ *keya's*; *ke'ya* usually equivalent to SOMETHING and the emphatic suffix -*s*.

¹⁸ *to* indefinite demonstrative; *c'a* SORT OR KIND, which is altered to *k'a* after *o*, and a syllable *ni* often suffixed to adverbs of this kind when the verb is followed by the negative particle. It may be the stem of the verb *ni* TO LIVE.

¹⁹ This seems to contain the ordinary stem of the verb to go and the causative auxiliary. Final *a* is altered to *e* before *ni*.

²⁰ *he* demonstrative referring to what follows; *ya* to go; -*ha'* continuative.

²¹ *to* indefinite demonstrative; *k'a* perhaps the definite article.

²² *ma-* objective pronominal prefix before *ya'ka*.

²³ The sign of the optative.

²⁴ *e* demonstrative; *c'i'n* TO WISH, duplicated to show repetition of the mental process.

²⁵ *na* TO DO WITH THE FOOT; *wa-* subjective personal pronominal prefix; *zi'n* TO STAND.

²⁶ *e* demonstrative; stem *ya*.

nani' êl¹³ ta'ku²⁷ waⁿ he haⁿ'skaska²⁸ é'a noⁿwaⁿ'²⁹ tato'heya³⁰
 water there (or something) a horns long that was swimming against the
 current
 iya'ya.³¹ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ ak'e' heya',³² "To'kiⁿ'²¹ k'owa'kataⁿ¹⁵ maka'²² ni²³
 passed by. And then again he said as "Oh! that on the other side I sit might
 follows,

é'iⁿ'é'iⁿ 24 nawa'ziⁿ,²⁵ eya'.²⁶
 linking often I stand," he said.

Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ 8 ié'aⁿl³² ta'ku he haⁿ'skaska kiⁿ 33 e'na³⁴ ina'ziⁿ
 And then just then something horns long the there stood (or
 stopped)

a heci'ya.³⁵ "Ho, mani' kiⁿ le o'p'ta³⁶ ac'i'yiⁿ 37 k'ta, tk'a
 and said to him "Ho! water the this across I take you will, but
 as follows,

a'ku waⁿzi' iwa'ktaⁿci'yiⁿ 38 k'te³⁹ lo,"⁴⁰ eci'ya.⁴¹ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ lk'to'
 certain one I cause you to be on will he said to And then Spider
 thing guard against him.

iⁿ heya', "Ho'wo! misuⁿ,⁴² to'k'sa⁴³ ta'ku ec'oⁿ-ma'yaⁿsi'⁴⁴ kiⁿ 45
 he said as "Come! my younger by and by what to do you command the
 follows, brother, me

é'ê'l⁴⁶ ec'a'moⁿ 47 k'te lo," eya'. é'aⁿk'e'⁴⁸ wana' heci'ya,
 so I do it will he said he. So now he said to him
 as follows,

'Ho! to'haⁿni p'a taⁿka'l⁴⁹ hiyu'ye⁵⁰ šni mani' ogana'⁵¹ noⁿwaⁿ'-
 "Ho! whenever head outside send it not water in swimming
 vauⁿ'⁵² we lo. He'êl wamiye'cikita' k'te lo," eya'.
 I am indeed So you be on the watch will he said he.
 for me

Ho he'ê's wana' "To," eya'.
 So it happened now "Yes," said he.

²⁷ Used indifferently as an interrogative pronoun meaning WHAT? and an indefinite pronoun meaning SOMETHING.

²⁸ The final syllable of *han'ska* LONG is duplicated for the plural of *he*.

²⁹ *waⁿ* is probably the causative auxiliary *ya* altered to *waⁿ* after *oⁿ*.

³⁰ *tate'* WIND AGAINST THE CURRENT, AGAINST THE WIND; *ya* causative; *he* perhaps a contraction of *tao*.

³¹ *hi* TO ARRIVE AT A PLACE APPROACHING ONE.

³² *i-* the prepositional prefix; *é'aⁿ* conjunction; *-l* suffix indicating motion.

³³ Definite article referring to *ta'ku he han'skaska*.

³⁴ Alternate form with *êl*, indicating something already in place.

³⁵ *he* demonstrative; *ki-* changed to *éi* after *e*, indicating that the verb takes an object; *ya* stem.

³⁶ Post-position containing the prefix *o-* and referring to *le*.

³⁷ *a-* prepositional prefix, which indicates here that the subject of the verb went in company; *é'i*-YOU; *ya* TO GO, altered to *yiⁿ* before *k'ta*, the sign of the future.

³⁸ *i-* prepositional prefix; *wa'kta* TO BE ON GUARD; *é'i* I-YOU; causative *ya*, changed to *yiⁿ* before *k'te*.

³⁹ Future participle *k'ta* altered to *k'te* by incorporating the *ye* of *ye lo*.

⁴⁰ *ye lo* is usually employed in closing declarative sentences in direct address.

⁴¹ *e* demonstrative referring to what has just been said; *éi* for *ki* TO or FOR; stem *ya*.

⁴² *mi-* possessive prefix, first person singular.

⁴³ Probably the indefinite demonstrative *to*.

⁴⁴ *e* demonstrative; *é'oⁿ* TO DO (probably compounded of a prefix *é'a* and *oⁿ*); *ma-* objective, first person singular; *ya-* subjective, second person singular; *š* TO COMMAND, TO BID.

⁴⁵ It will be noticed that *kiⁿ* is used referring to the entire preceding sentence.

⁴⁶ *e* demonstrative; *é'a* SORT, KIND; *-l* indicating motion.

⁴⁷ *e* demonstrative; *é'a* (see note 44); *ma-* first person objective; *oⁿ* (?).

⁴⁸ Conjunction introducing the next sentence.

⁴⁹ Contraction of *ta'ka'la*.

⁵⁰ *hi* TO ARRIVE COMING; *u* TO BE COMING ALONG WITH A CONTINUOUS MOTION; *ya* causative, changed to *ye* before *šni*.

⁵¹ *o-* verbal prefix.

⁵² *wa-* first person subjective; *uⁿ* usual or customary condition or state.

C'aⁿk'e' wana' leya'⁵³ "Toha'n⁵⁴ malipi'ya waⁿzi' tuk't'⁵⁵
 So now he said this, "When cloud one someone-
 ci'kala⁵⁶ taⁿiⁿ'yaⁿ 57 yaⁿ'ke ciⁿ 58 eciⁿ'59 oma'kiya'ka yo. 60 He'f:
 small visibly sits the in that case tell me thou. to
 eciⁿ' nawa'p'iⁿ 61 k'te na mani' sme e'ltkiya 62 waki'yakiⁿ 63 k'ta e'eⁿ
 in that I flee will and water deep thither I go back to will
 case
 eya'. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ heya' "Misun' hec'a'no⁶⁵ kiⁿhaⁿ' 66 mi^s 67 to'kesk'⁶⁸
 said he. And then he said as "My younger you do that if I in what
 follows, brother,
 wahⁿ' k'ta he' 69 eci'ya. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ "to'ksa tohaⁿ' omayakila'ke⁷⁰
 I under- shall ?" he said to And then "in that when you tell it to me
 take him.
 ci'haⁿ' lece'l ehe' 71 ci'haⁿ' waⁿ'cag 72 kipa's ibala'bale 73 ciⁿ to'k'a
 when in this you say when at once doubling I start to go so the by and
 way (when)
 o'huta ek'ta' 74 iya'lipayiⁿ 75 k'te lo," eya'. "Misun' nituⁿ'k'a'sila⁷⁶
 shore at you fall then will," said he. "My younger your grandchild-
 brother
 u we lo,' ehe' ci'he' 77 wakiⁿ'yaⁿ 78 c'a hotoⁿ'pi 79 ki'haⁿ
 is com- in- ing deed you say when Thunders that roar when
 hehiⁿ 80 k'te lo," eya'.
 you say will," said he.
 that

⁵³ *le* THIS; *ya*.

⁵⁴ *to* the indefinite demonstrative; *ha* continuative; *-i* suffix indicating motion.

⁵⁵ *tu* indefinite particle, also found in *tu'wa* WHO; *-i* suffix indicating motion.

⁵⁶ *-la* diminutive suffix.

⁵⁷ *taⁿiⁿ'* VISIBLE; adverbialized by means of the auxiliary *ya*, which is here nasalized after the preceding nasalized vowel.

⁵⁸ The *ci* in *ciⁿ* has been changed from *k* after the vowel *e*.

⁵⁹ *e* the demonstrative; *kiⁿ* article altered as above.

⁶⁰ *o-* prepositional prefix, often used with verbs meaning TO SAY; *ma-* first person objective; *b-* dative sign; *ya*; *ka* auxiliary; *yo* imperative particle singular.

⁶¹ *na-* instrumental prefix, indicating action by means of the foot; *wa-* first person singular objective; *p'a* changed to *p'iⁿ* before *k'ta*.

⁶² Probably *e* demonstrative; *-i* suffix indicating motion; *t-* *-la* TO; *ki-* the dative sign; *ya* caseative in *waki'yakiⁿ*.

⁶³ *wa-* pronominal prefix; *ki-* the dative sign; *ya* TO GO; *kiⁿ-ka* TO BE.

⁶⁴ Evidently *c'a* altered before *he* *e* in *eya'*.

⁶⁵ *he* THAT; *c'a* (see note 2); *ni-* pronominal prefix; *oⁿ* stem.

⁶⁶ *kiⁿ* article; *-haⁿ* continuative particle.

⁶⁷ Emphatic form of the independent personal pronoun, *-s* the emphatic suffix.

⁶⁸ *to* indefinite pronoun; *ke-* *c'a* SORT.

⁶⁹ Interrogative particle.

⁷⁰ *o-* prepositional prefix; *ma-* objective pronoun; *ya-* subjective pronoun; *ki-* dative sign; *yo* TO SAY. *la* in the second person singular; *ka*, auxiliary. In this case both the final vowel is altered to *e*, and the initial consonant of the succeeding word is changed from *k* to *ci* in sympathy. This often happens where there is no apparent necessity.

⁷¹ Second person singular of *eya* TO SAY; *e* demonstrative.

⁷² *waⁿ'c'a* ONE + *g*, perhaps the contracted form of the auxiliary.

⁷³ *i-* perhaps from the verb *i* TO ARRIVE, though the sense of this verb is quite distinct; *baki'* first person of *ya*, which is doubled.

⁷⁴ *e* demonstrative; *-la* post-position; *k'* inserted for emphasis.

⁷⁵ *i-* prepositional prefix; *ya-* pronominal subject; *ipa* stem; *piⁿ* probably causative, altered before *k'iⁿ*.

⁷⁶ *mi-* possessive pronominal prefix, first person; *-la* diminutive suffix.

⁷⁷ Here *haⁿ* is contracted to *he* without the usual phonetic reasons.

⁷⁸ The *wakiⁿ'yaⁿ* are the famous thunder-birds. The word means literally FLYING THINGS (from *kiⁿ'yaⁿ* TO FLY, with the passive prefix *wa-*). Possibly the final syllable of *kiⁿ'yaⁿ* is the causative auxiliary.

⁷⁹ *ho* voice; *toⁿ* stem; *-pi* plural suffix.

⁸⁰ *he* demonstrative THAT; second person singular of the verb *ya* TO SAY, the final vowel being furthermore altered to *ci* before *k'te*.

Ć'aⁿk'e' wana' ka'k'el⁸¹ mani' kiⁿ o'p'ta he kiⁿ ak'a'nl⁸³
So now in that way water the along horn the on
uⁿ'kiⁿ na ya. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ wana' mani' o'huta ik'i'yela⁸³ ye
ie sat and was And then now water shore near to was
going.
n leha'nl⁸⁴ malipi'ya sabye'la⁸⁵ au'.⁸⁶ Ć'aⁿk'e' heya', "Misun",
ie at this time clouds blackly were he said as "My younger
coming. follows, brother,
ituⁿ'k'aⁿsi'la⁸⁷ u we lo," eya'. Ć'aⁿk'e' agana' mani'
our grandfather is com- indeed ,," said he. So all at once water
ing
muⁿ'ye'la⁸⁸ sk'aⁿ'sk'aⁿ⁸⁹ hiⁿgala'.⁹⁰ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ Ik'to' koⁿ⁹¹ to'ki⁹²
roaringly moving about suddenly did. And then Spider the whither
(in the past)
ya'ye ċiⁿ a'taya kik'su'ye⁹³ śni. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ i'tehaⁿhicehaⁿ⁹⁴
e started the altogether remembered not. And then very long afterward
nanio'huta ek'ta' le'ce mani' a'op'e'ya⁹⁵ lipa'ya he⁹⁶ ehaⁿ⁹⁷
edge of water at behold water partly in he was lying then
kik'su'ya. Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ hehaⁿ mani' ekta' e'toⁿwaⁿ⁹⁸ Yuⁿ'k'aⁿ mani'
ie remembered. And then then water at he looked. And (then) water
kiⁿ waⁿkaⁿ'tkiya⁹⁹ hioye'la¹⁰⁰ hiⁿ na ta'ku he haⁿ'sk'ask'a koⁿ
the upward grayish being and some- horns long the
thing (in past)
waⁿ'ya'ke¹⁰¹ śni na el nakoⁿ wakiⁿ'yaⁿ hotoⁿ'pi nahioⁿ.
he saw not and there also Thunders roared he heard.
Ho lel wana' Ik'to' kiⁿ hetaⁿ¹⁰² he'c'elēs¹⁰³ ak'e' oma'ni-
Now in this place now Spider the from that just as usual again was travel-
ing it is said. Only this far I remember.

⁸¹ka demonstrative, indicating something distant; ċ'a sort, changed to k'e; -l suffix indicating motion.
⁸²a- prepositional prefix; -l suffix indicating motion.
⁸³t- prepositional prefix; ya causative altered to ye; -la diminutive.
⁸⁴le demonstrative; -haⁿ continuative particle; -l suffix indicating motion.
⁸⁵sa'pa (also sa'pa) DIRTY OR BLACKENED, contracted to sab; ya causative; -la diminutive.
⁸⁶a- before u- indicates that a cloud was coming accompanied by others, and thus indirectly plurality.
⁸⁷ni- THY; -la diminutive.
⁸⁸Amuⁿ TO BUZZ OR HUM; ya causative; -la intensive auxiliary.
⁸⁹Duplicated to express the distributive.
⁹⁰hiⁿ- indicates rapidity or suddenness of motion.
⁹¹Article used in referring to some past action or aforesaid person.
⁹²to indefinite demonstrative.
⁹³Although kik'su'ye is now used as a whole, it is probably to be analyzed in ki- ONE'S OWN; k'su stem; ye causative.
⁹⁴i- prepositional prefix; te particle indicating something far off in time or space; -haⁿ continuative suffix; ċiⁿ or ċe REALLY, TRULY; -haⁿ continuative suffix employed a second time.
⁹⁵a- and o- prepositional prefixes; p'a TO FOLLOW OR PURSUE; ya auxiliary.
⁹⁶-haⁿ changed before e.
⁹⁷e demonstrative; -haⁿ continuative.
⁹⁸e demonstrative.
⁹⁹This word contains -la TO, contracted to -l; ki- the dative sign; ya causative.
¹⁰⁰hol contracted form of the adjective ho'la GRAY; ya causative; -la diminutive suff
¹⁰¹waⁿ probably a prefix; ke an auxiliary.
¹⁰²he demonstrative; -laⁿ FROM, AFTER.
¹⁰³he demonstrative; ċ'a; -l suffix indicating motion; -s emphatic suffix.
¹⁰⁴le demonstrative; haⁿ continuative particle; ya causative; -la diminutive suffix.
¹⁰⁵we- FOR ME.

[Translation]

Spider happened to be traveling along alone in a certain place, it is said. And he was going along through a forest, eating. Then he stood on the edge of a river; and, although he wanted to get across, there was no way; and he said, they say, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'" Then something with long horns came swimming up against the current. And he said again, "I stand thinking continually, 'Oh that I might sit on the other side!'"

Just then the creature with long horns stopped there, and said to him, "Ho! I will take you across this water, but I will have you be on the watch for a certain thing." Then the Spider said, "Come! my younger brother, I will do whatever you command me." So he said to him, "Well! I always swim in the water with my head not extended above it. So you shall be on the watch for me." Then he said, "Yes."

So he said, "When one small cloud becomes visible, tell me. Then I will flee and go back into deep water." Then he said, "My younger brother, what will become of me?" And he said, "In that case, when you tell it to me, and I double up and start off, you will fall close to the shore. When you say, 'Your grandfather is coming,' it will mean that the Thunders roar."

So he was going along in the water sitting upon the horn. And when he was going along near the shore, black clouds were coming. So he said, "My younger brother, your grandfather is coming." So all at once the water moved about roaringly. And whither the Spider went, he did not at all remember. And a long time afterward, lo! he came to himself lying partly in the water. Then he looked at the water. Then upward the water was grayish, and he did not see the thing with long horns, and he also heard Thunders roaring.

Now the Spider traveled on from this place just as usual, it is said. I remember only this far.

WINNEBAGO TEXT

By PAUL RADIN

Hiôⁿ/jhi¹/wira¹ jagu² hamina¹/ngiresga¹/nañk¹/ûⁿ hi¹/perêsjina¹/ñksê⁴;
 Our father what does he sit on, it seems he came to, he knew;
 ē⁵/gi⁵ isja⁵/niahōⁿ/jê⁶ ʔa⁶/ksê⁷; ē⁵/gi⁵ kē⁸ s'i⁸ wewi⁸/ni⁸; hañkê⁸ wajaⁿ/nijaⁿ 9
 and tears flowed he wept; and not long he thought not anything
 ha¹⁰/jani¹⁰/jê¹⁰ hañkê⁸ wajaⁿ/nijaⁿ 9 kē⁸ wajaⁿ/nijaⁿ nîñ¹¹/gêna¹¹/ngeni¹¹/jê¹¹.
 he did not see; not anything, not anything was (there) anywhere.
 Ja¹²/gwamina¹²/ngiresga¹²/nañksê¹² gi¹²/ji¹² hamina¹²/ngenañka¹², ē¹²/ja¹² wajaⁿ/jaⁿ 13
 What he sat on it seemed he sat on that which, there something
 hanigu¹⁴/jê¹⁴ hanigu¹⁴/nañka¹⁴ mana¹⁵/ngere¹⁵ ē¹⁶/ja¹⁶ nîñ¹⁷/gênînk¹⁷
 he took from, he took that which the earth there a little piece
 wa¹⁸/gi¹⁸/ûⁿ/jê¹⁸; ē¹⁹/gi¹⁹ homina¹⁹/ngenañka¹⁹ k²⁰/u²⁰ha²⁰/hi²¹/regi²¹ howahubi²²/jê²².
 for them he made; and that which he sat on below him towards he sent it.

¹ hi¹/ô¹ FATHER; hihi¹/wira¹ 1st plural of possessive pronoun of terms of relationship; c softens to f when followed by any syllable.

² jagu² regular interrogative and relative pronoun.

³ Contraction for ha-minañk-hire'egê-nañk-ûⁿ; ha ON; min'añk HE SITS; hire IT SEEMS; -egê a suffix implying uncertainty; -nañk suffix denoting sitting position; 'ûⁿ HE DOES, auxiliary verb (1st person ha'ûⁿ, 2d person s'ûⁿ, 3d person 'ûⁿ).

⁴ hi-perês-ji-nañk-sê; hi prefix generally meaning WITH; perês HE KNOWS; ji HE COMES; -nañk suffix denoting sitting position; -sê or -sê temporal suffix denoting present completed action.

⁵ ē⁵/gi conjunction, sometimes with the force of THEN. Composed of two elements, -e, the demonstrative pronoun of 3d person; and -gi, an adverbial suffix. For the demonstrative expressing position near the 1st person it is me'gi, and for that near the second person de'gi.

⁶ (h)îja-nî-hañk-je EYE-WATER-IT FLOWED ON—present time.

⁷ ʔa⁷/k-sê HE WEPT—present time.

⁸ wê⁸/wi HE KNOWS; nî negative particle following adverb hañkê⁸ or kē NOT, and always inserted at the end of the stem of the following verb.

⁹ wajaⁿ/nijaⁿ indefinite pronoun composed of wa'jaⁿ, SOMETHING; and hi'jaⁿ ONE, A. The n following the nasalization is a glide.

¹⁰ ha¹⁰/ja-ni-jê HE SEES; negative particle; present (1st person ha'a', 2d person ha'ja', 3d person ha'ja').

¹¹ nîñgê-nañk-ni-jê ANY (THING); sitting position; negative particle; present.

¹² gi¹²/ji an adverb generally meaning so. Oftener used as a stop.

¹³ Contraction for wa'jaⁿ hi'jaⁿ. The elision of the h, the union of two vowels to form a diphthong, and the shifting of the nasalization, are very common in Winnebago; for example, naⁿ+hi'jaⁿ form nain'jaⁿ A TREE; maⁿ+hi'jaⁿ form main'jaⁿ A YEAR.

¹⁴ hanî-gu-nañka TO HAVE, TO TAKE FROM; ha FROM (1st person ha'ni, 2d person ha'sini, 3d person han'). This verb is used also as one of the possessive pronouns. gu IT COMES IN DIRECTION TOWARDS SUBJECT OF ACTION (1st person ha'ku, sgu, gu); nañkâ, sitting form of demonstrative pronoun ga THAT. Here used with force of relative pronoun.

¹⁵ maⁿ-na'ngere EARTH; demonstrative plural pronoun from ga; idiomatically used as the plural definite article.

¹⁶ ē¹⁶/ja adverb. Probably composed of demonstrative e and hja' THERE.

¹⁷ nîñgê-nînk A PIECE, A LITTLE; nînk is the regular diminutive suffix. Sometimes used to express an indefinite object.

¹⁸ wa-gi-ûⁿ-jê plural objective personal pronoun; FOR; HE DID; present time. There are four elements of gi that have to be carefully distinguished,—the instrumental prefix, the preposition FOR or TO, the temporal suffix, and the verbal stem.

³⁹ <i>nigé'jê</i> . ³⁹	⁴⁰ <i>Hunubi'mani</i> ⁴⁰	⁴¹ <i>wowe'wi^hhojejai'n'ja</i> ⁴¹	⁴² <i>wagûⁿzērā</i> ⁴²	⁴³ "Jeja ⁿ ' e called him. Two-legged walkers at the end of his thinking he made. "To end
⁴⁴ <i>ārēhoā'kśāna</i> ⁴⁴	⁴⁵ <i>maⁿ'na</i> ⁴⁵	⁴⁶ <i>p'is'ûⁿ'</i> ⁴⁶	⁴⁷ <i>se'rek'jane'na</i> ⁴⁷	⁴⁸ <i>ke'cû'ngera</i> ⁴⁸
they are about	the earth you make it good	you are going to	you, tortoise."	
⁴⁹ <i>legûⁿ'hiā'naŋgama^hi'n'ja</i> ⁴⁹	⁵⁰ <i>hanigi'gijê</i> ⁵⁰	⁵¹ <i>Maⁿ'negi'jigi'ji</i> ⁵¹	⁵² <i>wona'yirê</i> ⁵²	
And after he did	a knife to possess he gave him.	On earth when he came	was	
⁵³ <i>ûⁿ'jê</i> ⁵³	⁵⁴ <i>wogûⁿ'zērā</i> ⁵⁴	⁵⁵ <i>hañkê'</i> ⁵⁵	⁵⁶ <i>ho'giruhûjni'jê</i> ⁵⁶	⁵⁷ <i>ê'gi jigê' hañkê'</i> ⁵⁷
he did	the creation	not	at looked he for him;	and again not
⁵⁸ <i>rogi'ruhiûjni'jegê'</i> ⁵⁸	⁵⁹ <i>ê'sgê</i> ⁵⁹	⁶⁰ <i>ji'gigûⁿ'</i> ⁶⁰	⁶¹ <i>kuru'ssê</i> ⁶¹	⁶² <i>Hagiⁿ'</i> ⁶²
he looked for him	thus	again then	he took him back. . . .	There at
⁶³ <i>î'ra</i> ⁶³	⁶⁴ <i>hoikê'wejê</i> ⁶⁴	⁶⁵ <i>"Haⁿ'haⁿ'</i> ⁶⁵	⁶⁶ <i>k'u'nika,</i> ⁶⁶	⁶⁷ <i>hiôⁿ'cā'ra k'u'nika wa'rê</i> ⁶⁷
he house	went he in.	"Say	grandmother,	my father grandmother work
⁶⁸ <i>au'îngi'gira</i> ⁶⁸	⁶⁹ <i>duhurû'kśānaⁿ;</i> ⁶⁹	⁷⁰ <i>wogûⁿ'zēra</i> ⁷⁰	⁷¹ <i>p'îⁿ'ûⁿ'</i> ⁷¹	⁷² <i>hu'îngigi'ra</i> ⁷²
he sent me for	I have accomplished;	his creation	fix it aright	he sent me for

³⁹ 1st person *ya'gé*, 2d person *hi'ragê*, 3d person *hi'gé*, TO CALL.
⁴⁰ Contraction for *hu-náⁿ'p-himaⁿi* LEG-TWO-HE WALKS WITH. As it has no nominalizing prefix, correctly rendered, it ought to read THE TWO-LEGS-TO WALK WITH. It is used here idiomatically as a noun. The verb is 1st person *hi'mani*, 2d person *hima'hni*, 3d person *hima'ni*.
⁴¹ *wo'*- is a nominalizing prefix probably composed of *wa* indefinite pronoun and *ho*. It is used far less frequently than *ho*. *jejai'n'ja* is a contraction for *jejaⁿ'* TO END and *ê'ja* THERE, with prepositional force.
⁴² *wa* indefinite pronoun; *gûⁿzē* or *gûⁿs* (1st person *ha'gûⁿs*, 2d person *ra'gûⁿs*, 3d person *gûⁿs*) TO CREATE; the article *-ra* has the force of a relative pronoun here.
⁴³ 1st person *hakd'reho*, 2d person *rakd'reho*, 3d person *kd'reho*, TO BE READY, TO BE ABOUT; *ak* or *akê* 1st person singular of suffix denoting WALKING or LYING. (1st person *-mañk*, 2d person *sa'wañk*, 3d person *-añk*); *-ā* is a suffix of uncertain meaning that never appears alone, but is always followed by *naⁿ*. It is generally suffixed to the elements denoting SITTING and LYING or WALKING. Indeed, I know of no instance where *-naⁿ* is directly suffixed to the above forms of the verbs, *-ā* being always inserted before it. It must not be confused with *se*, from which in actual conversation it can hardly be distinguished. *-naⁿ* is a suffix denoting general indefinite action.
⁴⁴ From *p'is* GOOD, TO BE GOOD, and *ê'ûⁿ* 2d person singular of auxiliary *'ûⁿ* (see note 3).
⁴⁵ From irregular verb, 1st person *de*, 2d person *se're*, 3d person *re*, TO GO; *k'ja* future; *-ne* a suffix of the same nature as *ā*, never appearing alone, but always followed by *-naⁿ*; it is generally suffixed to verbs in the standing form.
⁴⁶ *-ra* is the 2d person singular of the possessive pronoun. Used here in a vocative sense. For this reason the regular *-ga* is omitted.
⁴⁷ *maⁿ'hiⁿ* AN IRON KNIFE. This term was used to designate the first white people with whom the Indians came in contact.
⁴⁸ *han*i with prepositional force of WITH, POSSESSING; *gi'gi* an auxiliary verb (1st person *ha'gi'gi*, 2d person *ra'gi'gi*, 3d person *gi'gi*) TO MAKE, with the idea of some force being used in the action.
⁴⁹ Contraction for *maⁿ-ra-ê-gi-ji-gi'ji* EARTH-THE-HERE-HE CAME-WHEN; *-ê'gi* is an adverb here, used in a prepositional sense; for *ji* see note 4.
⁵⁰ This means literally SOMETHING TERRIFYING (from *nañkire* TO BE SCARED).
⁵¹ *ho-* preposition IN; *gi-* preposition FOR. The demonstrative *e* is occasionally used for the 3d person singular when it is to be expressed. *-ni* negative particle.
⁵² Regular adverb, meaning THEREFORE THUS, ON THAT ACCOUNT.
⁵³ Contraction for *ji'gê'* and *hi'gûⁿ'* THEN.
⁵⁴ *ku* reflexive (see note 23).
⁵⁵ Adverbial expression; *ha* in composition often means AT.
⁵⁶ *ci* (1st person *ha'ci*, 2d person *ra'ci*, 3d person *ci*) TO LIVE. It is also used as a noun.
⁵⁷ 1st person *wa'kêwê*, 2d person *hori'kêwê*, 3d person *hoi'kêwê*; *ho* means IN; *i* is probably *gi* FOR, with the *g* elided (see § 83). It may, however, be an idiomatic substitution for *kî*, a possessive particle. The verb means HE IS GOING TO HIS OWN HOUSE. If it were not his own house, the forms would have been 1st person *wa'gikê'wê*, 2d person *hori'gikê'wê*, 3d person *ho'gikê'wê*. The stem of the verb is *kê'wê*.
⁵⁸ Used in the sense of HALLOO, SAY, and often simply to begin a narrative.
⁵⁹ GRANDMOTHER is *hikô'rokê*; but in direct address *k'u'nika* is used, just as *fa'ji* and *na'ni* are employed for FATHER and MOTHER.
⁶⁰ 1st person *wa'dê*, 2d person *wa'serê*, 3d person *wa'rê*, TO WORK. The 3d person singular of verbs is at the same time the absolute form, to be translated by our infinitive.
⁶¹ *hi* objective personal pronoun 1st person. For *-gi'gi* and *-ra* see notes 48 and 46.
⁶² *ûⁿ* has participial force.

hanā⁶³ 'é duhiurú⁶⁴ k'sana⁶⁵ ua'ñksígo-i⁶⁶ na⁶⁷ hidegwaha⁶⁸ ra⁶⁹ hiuni⁷⁰ wahn⁷¹
 all I have accomplished it their life my uncles my sons
 wiakaraki⁷² sgê⁷³ 'uinek'jane'na⁷⁴.—"Ē'gi⁷⁵ cû⁷⁶ sga'no⁷⁷ jasgerá⁷⁸ nái⁷⁹
 the same as myself they will be.— "And grandson how did you
 hidegwa⁸⁰ rāga⁸¹ ua'ñksígo-i⁸² na⁸³ wiraki⁸⁴ sgê⁸⁵ jasge⁸⁶ k'jê⁸⁷ ke'jesa⁸⁸
 my uncles their life make just as you how could you it is not
 nina⁸⁹ hiō⁹⁰ n'jihiwi⁹¹ ra⁹² jegū⁹³ gū⁹⁴ sgê⁹⁵ jegu⁹⁶ na⁹⁷ hañkē⁹⁸ jegū⁹⁹
 that way our father indeed he created (them) that is so (but) not he made
 higi¹⁰⁰ p'ini¹⁰¹ na¹⁰².—"K'unika¹⁰³ gā¹⁰⁴ waja¹⁰⁵ wahigu¹⁰⁶ ni¹⁰⁷ esgē¹⁰⁸ hañkē¹⁰⁹
 it thus could he.— "Grandmother something to them she must be, for me
 gip'i¹¹⁰ nigē¹¹¹ wanañku¹¹² ni¹¹³ t'e¹¹⁴ wagigi¹¹⁵ ra¹¹⁶. Hirana¹¹⁷ ñksē¹¹⁸. "Hañkē¹¹⁹ a¹²⁰
 like it does she she is saying that I killed them. He thought. "So, me
 cû¹²¹ sga'no¹²², hañkē¹²³ jê¹²⁴ jê¹²⁵ esgē¹²⁶ ya¹²⁷ rê¹²⁸ wahanina¹²⁹ ñksana¹³⁰, cû¹³¹ sga'no¹³²
 grandson, not that way am I thinking am I saying, grandchild
 hiō¹³³ n'jihi¹³⁴ wira¹³⁵ ro¹³⁶ ra¹³⁷ hakō¹³⁸ na¹³⁹ hi¹⁴⁰ gū¹⁴¹ s'sana¹⁴² wa¹⁴³ ru¹⁴⁴ hi¹⁴⁵ kiru¹⁴⁶ jis¹⁴⁷
 our father bodies the falling he made me eating to fall short
 k'inek¹⁴⁸ jō¹⁴⁹ na¹⁵⁰ hegē¹⁵¹ j'ini¹⁵² ē¹⁵³ sgē¹⁵⁴ hokō¹⁵⁵ nā¹⁵⁶ cû¹⁵⁷ wahi¹⁵⁸ gē¹⁵⁹ wā¹⁶⁰ u¹⁶¹ nā¹⁶²
 they would make one because of that, there- death for them to have he made
 another fore

⁶³ *ñks* means MALE HUMAN BEING; *ñksí* is generic name for HUMAN BEINGS, and secondary for INDIANS. (*h*)-*o-i* is the nominalized form of the verb 1st person *a*'*is*, 2d person *ra*'*is*, 3d person *is*, TO ACT, TO LIVE.

⁶⁴ *hidek* UNCLE; -*waha*-*rd* 1st person plural of possessive pronoun, used for terms of relationship.

⁶⁵ Contraction for *wa-ya-ka-ra-ki*'*sgē*; *wa* indefinite pronoun; *kara* reflexive-possessive; 1st person *yaki*'*sgē*, 2d person *hi*'*raki*'*sgē*, 3d person *hi*'*ki*'*sgē*.

⁶⁶ See note 63.

⁶⁷ *ja*'*sgē* HOW; *kjē* future; *jê* interrogative particle. The whole expression has acquired a force in ordinary usage which makes it practically an exclamation.

⁶⁸ *jê*'*sgē* *ha*'*nina* THAT IS NOT MY WAY; *ha*'*nina* is a possessive pronoun.

⁶⁹ *gū*'*sgē* HE CREATED; -*gē* a causal suffix, BECAUSE, FOR THAT REASON.

⁷⁰ An expression similar to *jegū*'*hi*'*na*'*sgē*; *gi* has adverbial force.

⁷¹ *p'i*'*is* TO BE GOOD is often used as an auxiliary verb with the force of TO BE ABLE, CAN.

⁷² This means SHE MUST BE RELATED TO THEM; *wa* plural objective personal pronoun 3d person; *is* causative. It must not be forgotten that the causative is really an auxiliary verb and is often used as such. -*gu*'*ni* a temporal suffix implying a probability that is almost a certainty. The other suffix denoting probability, -*sgu*'*ni*, has no element of certainty in its meaning.

⁷³ *we* SHE SAYS changes to *wa* after a negative. The verb is irregular, 1st person *hi*'*he*, 2d person *hi*'*he*, 3d person *he*. The *h* of *he* is always omitted. The *w* preceding *a* indicates that the subject of the principal verb and of *e* is the same. If they had been different, the *e* would have remained unchanged; *nañku*'*ni* is a contraction for *nañk* *gu*'*ni*, the suffix denoting SITTING POSITION and the suffix denoting PROBABILITY. *K'u*'*nika* does not actually say the above words, but the supposition seems so true to *Wajjinge*'*ga*, that it almost amounts to a certainty, and therefore -*gu*'*ni* is used instead of -*sgu*'*ni*.

⁷⁴ *t'e* DEAD; *wa* THEM; *hagi*'*gi* I DID (see note 48); -*ra* THAT (see note 46); 1st person *t'e*'*ha*, 2d person *t'e*'*ra*, 3d person *t'e*'*hi*, TO KILL.

⁷⁵ The short *e* is changed to *ā* on account of emphasis.

⁷⁶ See notes 74 and 43.

⁷⁷ 1st person *ha*'*kō*'*pe*, 2d person *ha*'*rakō*'*pe*, 3d person *hakō*'*pe*, TO FALL.

⁷⁸ *hi*'*is* ME; *gū*'*sgē* TO MAKE; *is*'*ana* (see note 43).

⁷⁹ 1st person *du*'*is*, 2d person *tu*'*ru*, 3d person *ru*'*is*, TO EAT. The *wa* is indefinite.

⁸⁰ 1st person *hi*'*ñk*'*ru*'*is*, 2d person *hi*'*ni*'*ñk*'*ru*'*is*, 3d person *hi*'*ni*'*ñk*'*ru*'*is*.

⁸¹ Goes with the preceding verb. *k'i*'*is* auxiliary verb (from 1st person *ha*'*k'i*'*is*, 2d person *ra*'*k'i*'*is*, 3d person *k'i*'*is*, TO DO, TO MAKE; *pe*, *t'pe*, *re*, *t're*, suffix used to indicate 3d person plural of almost all verbs. It is really an auxiliary verb. For *na*'*is* see note 43. When suffixed to future, it makes the latter more indefinite.

⁸² *gē*'*jini* or *hegē*'*jini* conjunction. The latter form is rarely found.

⁸³ *cū*'*is* MANY, really an adverb; *wahi*'*is* HE MADE THEM; *gē* causal suffix.

ana'ngerê hakinikine'k'jônêgê'jini.⁸⁴ **Wa'u'na**⁸⁵ hot'e'⁸⁶ **ô'u'wahi'gi.**"
 The earth crowded they would not make one He made a place to for them to have."
 another.
 die
gi hisgê'hjî⁸⁷ wasjînge'ga⁸⁸ hañkê' gip'inina'ñksê. "K'unika'gâ
 nd truly the hare not he liked it. "Grandmother
sgê'hjî hañkê' gip'ininañka'ja⁸⁹ e'wajô⁹⁰ wahigê' wakarasi'-
 eally and not like it she does this something, to them she she is tak-
 truly must be
enañka'ja⁹¹ hirana'ñksê.^{90a} "Kâ'a, ô'u'sga'no kê'jesgani'na⁹² haga'-
 ing their part," he thought. "No, no, grandson it is not so
ojañga'ja⁹¹ naija⁹¹ na'êge'ra⁹² nî'degi'ja⁹³ êako'⁹⁴ hidegwa'raga
 for a long time (your) heart a sore one, therefore my uncles
uniwa'raga uañksîgo-i'na'ji.⁹⁵ Hipônai'rek'jena⁹⁶ ho's'a'gera⁹⁷
 my aunts life to live. They will get enough their age
irahi⁹⁸ hîcîne'k'jê⁹⁸ wagê'jê.⁹⁹ "HA⁹⁸ha' ô'u'sga'no na'ji'ne¹⁰⁰
 they will go up to she said. "Well grandson stand up
iroikô nañk'uwîna'nihek'jane'na¹⁰¹ E'gi hironi'kônaiñk'janihe'-
 they will follow me thus forever. And I shall follow you for-
an¹⁰² ô'u'sga'no hida'jê'¹⁰³ wa'ua¹⁰⁴ jê¹⁰⁴ uañgerani'na¹⁰⁵ hañkê'
 ever, grandson with your strength do a man you are, not

⁸⁴ First *ki* reflexive pronoun, referring to the fact that the people are regarded as related; *ni* is the negative particle. As I have never found another instance of *ni* appearing without *hañkê'*, I assume that I overheard the latter word. For *-ge'jini* see note 82.

⁸⁵ See notes 3 and 43.

⁸⁶ Referring to the Winnebago ghost-village.

⁸⁷ *hisge'* TRULY; *-hjî* intensive suffix.

⁸⁸ *wa'êjînt* A HARE (see note 88).

⁸⁹ Verb 1st person *hai'p'in*, 2d person *rai'p'in*, 3d person *gi'p'in*. The force of *gi* in verbs that elide it in the first and second persons is obscure, although it is generally the instrumental prefix. In this case it is the *gi*, meaning FOR, TO; IT IS PLEASING TO ME. *ni* negative particle; *ka'ja*, contracted for *nañk-ga'ja* (see notes 74 and 23).

⁹⁰ *e* demonstrative THIS.

^{90a} The verb is found only in the reflexive form, 1st person *wa'kara'tik*, 2d person *wa'raka'rañk*, 3d person *waba'rañk*; *wa* indefinite pronoun; *kara* reflexive pronoun; *-e* is a glide.

⁹¹ This should be *hi'rena'ñksê*, the change from *e* to *a* being due to the presence of the negative.

⁹² An idiomatic expression with force of an exclamation. Probably a contraction of *haga' + wa'ja + ga'ja + mai'ja*; *haga'* is an exclamation employed by women (see note 115); *mai'ja* A YEAR, TIME.

⁹³ *na'êge'* HEART.

⁹⁴ 1st person *hi'sdek*, 2d person *ni'sdek*, 3d person *dek*, TO BE SORE; *i'ja*, *hi'ja*, ONE, A.

⁹⁵ Conjunction, meaning IN SPITE OF, NOTWITHSTANDING.

⁹⁶ See note 12; *-ji*, concessive conjunction meaning IF; *-gi'ji* is often used with the same force.

⁹⁷ 1st person *hi'pónañk'je'na*, 2d person *hi'ni'pónañk'je'na*, 3d person *hi'pónañk'je'na*. The initial *hi-* in the first person is a contraction of the prefix *hi-* and the pronoun *hi-*; *-iré* personal pronoun 3d person plural (see note 81).

⁹⁸ From *ê'at* TO BE OLD. The fact that it has the nominalizing prefix would indicate that *ê'at* is a verb.

⁹⁹ 1st person *hi'rahi'*, 2d person *hi'ra'rahi*, 3d person *hi'ra'hi*, TO REACH; *-ê'is* or *-hjî* superlative particle; for *êe* see note 81. The simple future *-k'je* is used because the limits of the action are conceived as having been set. The suffix *-na* would have made the future indefinite.

¹⁰⁰ 1st person *wa'ge*, 2d person *wara'ge*, 3d person *wage*, TO MEAN.

¹⁰¹ 1st person *na'jin*, 2d person *na'ga'jin*, 3d person *na'jin*, TO STAND. The *-ê* or *ré* is the imperative. There are two kinds of imperatives, immediate and general. The immediate is *-ê*, and the general is *-a'jê*.

¹⁰² Contraction for *hi-ra-ho'-hin-kóna'ñk'-ú'itê-ha'nihe-k'jane'na*; *hi'ra* prefix meaning WITH, in sense of accompaniment; *ho* prefix, meaning obscure here; *hi'* objective personal pronoun 1st person singular; *ko'nañk* stem of verb TO FOLLOW; *nihe'* is an auxiliary verb and is used to imply repetition. It is regularly conjugated 1st person *ha'nihe*, 2d person *ranihe*, 3d person *nihe*. It must not be confused with *ni'he*, which is not conjugated and appears as a suffix with the meaning of HAD; *'ú'itê* THEY DO; for *ne'na* see note 43.

¹⁰³ *-ni* objective personal pronoun 2d person singular. The stem appears either as *-nañk* or *nañk* (*ha'nihe* (see note 101)).

¹⁰⁴ Adverb. The ending *-a'jê* would seem to indicate that it is really the imperative form of a verb.

¹⁰⁵ Imperative form (see note 100); *wa* indefinite pronoun.

¹⁰⁶ From *uañk* MAN, and *hant'na* TO HAVE, TO POSSESS (see note 14).

hakjaⁿbeniaⁿjê. ¹⁰⁸ look back."	Hogigi'ñh Around	rawi'gi. ¹⁰⁷ they started.	"Hañkê' "Not	hakjaⁿbziⁿ look back"
šia'ka ¹⁰⁸ she said	k'unika'gā grandmother	jagu''ñⁿ ¹⁰⁸ why	wegunihiregê'jini ¹² she said it he thought	
Cowe'hjiniñk ¹¹¹ Just a little	hoira'ge'ja ¹¹² to the left	hakjaⁿpga'jaⁿ look back (he did)	hagohu'na ¹² to where started	
horuhônújike'rejê. ¹¹⁴ it caved in instantaneously.	"Cû'sga'no, "Grandson,	hagagasgeja'ñhji ¹¹⁵ oh, my! oh, my!	ua'ngera a man	
niga'jaⁿ you are	wajaⁿnukanaⁿ ¹¹⁶ (but) something great	hanika'rajiñhjiñga'jaⁿ. ¹¹⁷ I had encouraged you much.	Cû'sga'no, Grandson	
dêere'sgê ¹¹⁸ this even	hañkê' not	karu's ¹¹⁹ take it back	duhürägni'naⁿ I can	hokóna'jane. ¹²⁰ these falling."
Hot'a'jôⁿnê. The deaths	waga'kêê ¹²¹ she meant	ai'renaⁿ ¹²² it is said.	Hogigi'ñh Around	harai'regi ¹²³ they went
pejicê'jera; ¹²⁴ the edge of the fire;	hogi'wê ¹²⁵ that way	wa'u-ine'je they went	ai'renaⁿ they say.	

¹⁰⁸ From *ha'kja* BACK, and *jaⁿ* TO LOOK; *ñ* negative particle; *aⁿjê* imperative.

¹⁰⁹ *ra* for *re*, which changes in the plural; from verb to go; *-wi* is the sign of the plural, but is rarely used for the 3d person. The usual form would have been *ra'irê*.

¹¹⁰ 1st person *ha'ñt*, 2d person *ra'ñt*, 3d person *ñt*, TO SAY, TO CALL OUT; *-aba* or *-a'aba* is the walking or lying form 3d person singular.

¹¹¹ Interrogative pronoun.

¹¹² See notes 74 and 82.

¹¹³ *co'we* IN FRONT; *-ñjiⁿ* intensive particle; *-ññk* diminutive.

¹¹⁴ *hoira'gê* LEFT; *c'jâ* THERE.

¹¹⁵ *hak'* or *hakja'* IN BACK; *hohu'ra* TO COME FROM (nominalized).

¹¹⁶ 1st person *hauñu'ñonaⁿ* (for *ho'+hiñu'ñonaⁿ*), 2d person *honi'ñuñonaⁿ*, 3d person *ho'ñuñonaⁿ*, meaning TO FALL IN, like the bank of a river; *-ñji-* a particle meaning IMMEDIATELY, IS THE TWINKLING OF AN EYE; *-kê're* an auxiliary verb, never appearing independently.

¹¹⁷ An exclamation of a woman.

¹¹⁸ *ruka'naⁿ* adjective, GREAT, MIGHTY.

¹¹⁹ *ha* preposition; *ñ* objective personal pronoun 2d person singular; *kara* reflexive-possessive pronoun, used because the hare is related to *K'unika'ga*; *jiⁿ* stem of verb TO ENCOURAGE; *-ñjiⁿ* intensive; *-ga'jaⁿ* a stop.

¹²⁰ *dê'ê* demonstrative of 1st person; *-re'sgê* EVEN; for *-re* see note 21.

¹²¹ See note 23.

¹²² *hakón'ed* THE FALLING; *jâ'nê* standing singular form of demonstrative *dê*.

¹²³ From *wagê'* TO MEAN, and *a'kêê* walking form of verb 3d plural.

¹²⁴ From *he* TO SAY. The *e* changes to *a* in the plural; *irê* 3d person plural. Is always used as quotative in sense of IT IS SAID.

¹²⁵ *re* TO GO (see note 107); *-gi* WHEN.

¹²⁶ *peê* FIRE; *cêê* THE EDGE.

¹²⁷ Used as an adverb, but really a verb; 1st person *wa'giwê*, 2d person *hori'giwê*, 3d person *ho'giwê* TO GO AROUND AND AROUND.

[Free Translation]

As our father came to consciousness, he thought of the (substance) he was sitting on. His tears flowed and he cried, (but not long did he think of it). He saw nothing. Indeed, nothing was there anywhere. He took something of the substance he was sitting on, and made a little piece of earth for them (our ancestors), and from the place on which he sat (he) cast it down below. Then he looked at what he had made, and he saw that it had become very similar to our earth. But nothing grew upon it; bare it was, and not quiet, but revolving. "How shall I make it become quiet?" he (Earth-Maker) thought. Then (from what he was sitting on) he took some grass and cast it toward the earth; and he looked upon what he had made, but it was not quiet.

. . . Again he made a man; and when he had finished him, he called him Tortoise. At the conclusion of his thinking (i. e., when he had come to consciousness) he had made the two-legged walkers (human beings). (Then he spoke to him thus: "The evil spirits) are about to destroy (my creation), and you, Tortoise, are being sent to bring order into earthly things again." Then (Earth-Maker) gave him a knife. When he came on earth, he began to make war, and did not look after the creation (of Earth-Maker); indeed, he did not look after it; so (Earth-Maker) took him back. . . . There he (the Hare) went into the house. "Say, grandmother, the work my father sent me to do I have now accomplished; his creation I have fixed for him, and (all that I was sent out for) I have accomplished. The lives of my uncles and my aunts (human beings) will be like mine (i. e., immortal)." (Then the grandmother answered,) "Grandson, how did you make the lives of your uncles and your aunts like your own, for how could you do something in a way our father had not (intended) it to be? He could not create them thus."—"My grandmother must be related to them (those I have killed); she does not like what I have done, for she is saying that I killed them (the evil spirits)." The Hare thought to himself. "No, grandson, I am not thinking of that, I am saying that our father made death, so that there should not be a dearth of food on earth for all, so death he made to prevent their overcrowding each other. He also made a spirit-world (in which they were to live after death)." But the Hare did not like what she said. "Surely," he thought to himself, "grandmother (does not like it); she must be related to the (evil spirits), for she is taking their part."—"No, no, grandson, it is not so; but as you have been sore at heart for a long time, (to appease you) your uncles and aunts will obtain a sufficient number of years, and they will attain to old age." (Thus she spoke:) "Now, grandson, stand up, (you) they will follow me forever, and I shall follow you forever; so try, grandson, to do (what I tell you) with all your power; and (remember) that you are a man. Do not look back after you have started." Then they started to go around (this earth). "Do not look back," she said. (Thought the Hare,) "(I wonder) why she said it!" And then he turned just the least little bit to the left; and as he looked back toward the place from which he had started, everything caved in (instantaneously). "Oh, my! oh, my!" (exclaimed the grandmother), "grandson, a man you are, but I thought you were a great man, so I greatly encouraged you. Now, grandson, even (if I wished to), I could not prevent death." This, it is said, she meant. Around the earth they went to the edge of the fire (that encircles the earth); that way they went, it is said.



ESKIMO

BY

WILLIAM THALBITZER

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ESKIMO

By WILLIAM THALBITZER

§ 1. INTRODUCTION

The Eskimo language is spoken by hardly forty thousand individuals, who live in small groups on the northernmost shores of America, from Alaska to East Greenland. Their territory extends south of Bering sea and includes the easternmost point of Asia. Since the main groups have been separated for at least six hundred years,¹ more likely for a thousand years or longer, it is but natural that their language should have split up into a number of dialects. It becomes evident, from a comparison of these widespread dialects² as recorded by different authorities, that their differentiation has developed largely through phonetic and sematological changes, and only to a slight degree through intercourse with Indians. The dialectic differences are important, although not so extensive as to obscure the identity of the Eskimo languages of Alaska and of Greenland. We even find dialectic deviations from fiord to fiord. Nowadays an East Greenlander does not understand a West Greenlander until both have become accustomed to each other's speech; and the Greenlander has to learn the peculiarities of the dialect of the Baffin-land Eskimo to carry on conversation with him.³ The dialects of western Alaska differ fundamentally from the Greenland dialects, about as much as English and German or English and French differ from each other. Owing to lack of material, it is at present difficult to draw safe conclusions concerning the historical relations of these dialects as regards

¹The ancestors of the present Central and South Greenlanders (the *Kalaallit* tribe) appeared in Greenland in the fourteenth century, but they must have separated more than a hundred years before that time from their fellow-tribes on the opposite shores of Davis strait (G. Storm, *Monumenta historica Norvegiæ*, 76, 206; Thalbitzer III, 111-112, and IV, 208).

²H. Rink, in his "Eskimo Tribes" (*Meddelelser om Grønland*, XI, 1887-91), was the first to undertake such a comparison; Thalbitzer, I, 181-269 (Phonetic differentiations in the Eskimo dialects).

³This was tested by a Greenlander who had an opportunity to meet with some Eskimos of Baffin land. See *Atuagagdliutit* (the Greenlandic periodical), No. 1, pp. 2-3 (Godthaab, 1861).

their common origin. All that can be done is to indicate some of the main lines of dialectic differentiation.

It is not known how many dialects there are. In Greenland at least five may be distinguished, three of which (those of Upernavik, Disco bay, and Ammassalik) have been closely examined by me.¹ In this sketch I shall describe the dialect of the largest two fiords of West Greenland,—that of Disco bay (69° – 70° N. lat.) and of the neighboring Oommannaq fiord (70° – 71° N.). Of course this does not imply that that dialect is more typical than any of the others.

Notwithstanding the fact that the dialects of western Alaska differ essentially from the Eskimo dialect which is spoken at the mouth of the Mackenzie river, yet these dialects have certain peculiarities in common which show that genetically they belong together. We may speak of a western Eskimo group of dialects, comprising the many different dialects of Kadiak island, Bristol bay, the mouth of the Yukon river, Norton sound and Kotzebue sound, Point Barrow, and the mouth of the Mackenzie river, as opposed to the eastern Eskimo group of dialects; namely, those of Labrador, Baffin land, and Greenland. Within the eastern Eskimo branch I have presumed a closer relationship to exist between the dialects of Labrador and Central or South Greenland (from about 63° to 66° N. lat. on the western coast) than between those of the other parts of the group.² The latter comprises the four northernmost dialects, which are now widespread, but which perhaps less than a thousand years ago were still a unit,—the dialects of Baffin land, Smith sound, Upernavik, and Ammassalik (East Greenland). It is probable that these Eskimo reached the shores of Davis strait at a later period than the Labrador and South Greenland Eskimo. Finally, I shall only touch on the group of dialects that are spoken on the western shores of Hudson bay, Southampton island, Melville and Boothia peninsulas, and in part of Baffin land,—properly the central dialects. It remains undecided as yet with which group these dialects must be classed.

It is fitting to add here that I feel indebted to Professor Franz Boas for his kind and valuable assistance in the revision and finishing of this grammar.

¹The Danish Commission for the Direction of Geological and Geographical Explorations in Greenland arranged for two investigations of the Eskimo language in Greenland,—first, in 1900–01, in West Greenland (see *Meddelelser om Grønland*, XXXI, Copenhagen, 1904), and again, in 1905–06, in East Greenland.

²Thalbitzer I, 237, 260, 262–265.

The abbreviations *Al.*, *Gr.*, *Lab.*, *M.*, stand throughout for *Alaska*, *Greenland*, *Labrador*, *Mackenzie river*, respectively.

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PHONETICS (§§ 2-12)

§ 2. Sounds and Sound-Symbols

Following is the system of sounds, or phones, of the dialect of Disco bay, West Greenland, symbolized by phonetic symbols:

CONSONANTS

	Bilabial	Dental	Velar	Uvular	
Stopped consonants . . .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} p \\ m \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} t \\ n \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} k \\ ŋ \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} q \\ \tilde{q} [N] \end{array} \right.$	voiceless voiced
Open consonants (fricatives) .	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} w[\tilde{b}] \\ f \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} l \text{ } \text{ } j \\ L \text{ } s \text{ } s \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} g \\ x \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} r[x] \\ R[x] \end{array} \right.$	voiced voiceless

VOWELS

	Normal		Uvularized, being followed by <i>r</i> , <i>x</i> , <i>q</i> , or <i>q̣</i> .
Closed vowels . . .	<i>i</i> <i>I</i>	<i>ü</i> <i>y</i>	<i>u</i> <i>U</i>
Semi-closed . . .	<i>e</i> <i>ə</i>		<i>ɛ</i> <i>ɤ</i>
Semi-open . . .	<i>ä</i> <i>ä</i>		
Open . . .	<i>a</i>		

The majority of the symbols here used are in accordance with the signs employed by the Association phonétique internationale.¹ I prefer the simple *r* instead of the *x*, and *w* instead of *b* of the Association, that the Eskimo words may not look more difficult than necessary; nevertheless, *r* and *w* in the Eskimo language mean something very different from the English *r* and *w*. The same is true of my signs for the *s*- and *a*- sounds, and, of course, of all the uvularized vowels, all of which only in part agree with sounds of any other language that I know of.

: indicates length of the preceding vowel or consonant; e. g., *a:* = *aa* or *ā*; *m:* = *mm* or *m̄*.

I prefer in ordinary orthography to double the sign to indicate length of sound: thus, *aa*, *mm*, *ss*, etc. A single consonant is always to be considered short.

' stands before the stressed syllable of a word. Degrees of stress are indicated thus: ' *a*, strong stress; '' *a*, very strong stress; , *a* or *a*, weak stress.

~ indicates nasalization: *ã*, *q̃*, *ṛ*.

ʼ, ʷ mean *glides* of the preceding vowel: *aʼ* [*aʰ*] or [*aʔ*], *aʷ* [*aʷ*] or [*aɥ*].

ʷ, ʳ mean labialization and uvularization.

Following is a detailed description of these sounds:

ʰ uvularized *a*, or followed by a uvular, in my ordinary² transcription *ar*, or pronounced with the soft palate (the velum) strained and lifted. It is like *a* in English *FAR*, followed by the Eskimo fricative *r* (or *q*); see under *r*.

arssaq a ball

a as in French *ÂME*, *PATTE* (rarely like French *PÂTE*, *PAS*, or English *FATHER*).

arnaa his woman, mother

ataa beneath it

â about as in *MAN*; a short *a* modified by closed consonants and point-consonants (or dentals) (Sweet, "A Primer of Phonetics," §§ 50 and 190).

qilâk sky

nânoq bear

pimmât as he came

¹ Le Maître phonétique, 1906: Exposé des principes de l'Association phonétique internationale.— Cf. Paul Passy, Petite Phonétique comparée (Leipsic et Berlin, 1906).

² In my ordinary transcription I have tried to avoid diacritical marks.

meerqät children

aäppaa his companion

ä about like the vowels in French LAIT, German DENN; between *ε* and *ä* of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, "Petite phonétique comparée," §§ 241 and 248; Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," §§ 152 and 156), rather wide than narrow.

arnät [ʌrn:ät] plural of *arnaq* woman

'nätt'eq a seal

kisi'änne but

o stopped front palatal, voiceless (Passy, l. c., § 187; Jespersen, l. c., §§ 118 and 168); in ordinary transcription *tj* or *kj*. Common in some Eskimo dialects; for instance, Mackenzie river, *tçitamät* [citamat] FOUR; also in the dialects of Upernavik and Ammassalik in Greenland. (Thalbitzer I, 90, 190-191, 209, 221, 259.) *ʔ* is the same sound very far forward.

ç as in German ICH.

ixxia [iç:ia] his throat (see under *x*).

o see after *o*.

e more closed than *e* in French ÉRÉ, and a little more forward. When it is used long, it sounds about like a long *ɪ*.

qaane over it, on its surface

neesaq [ni:saq] a porpoise

The "European" *e*, as in German SEE, may, however, occasionally be heard. Notice the different pronunciations of my *ee* pure, and *eer* which I use in my ordinary transcription for *eer*. The first sound is about like a long *ɪ*; the latter, rather like *ä*.

ɛ=*e*, uvularized *ä* (cf. *ʌ* and *r*).

erneq [ɛrn:ɛq] son

meeraq [mɛ:raq] child, plural *meerqät* [mɛ:rqät]

ɛ=*e* uvularized, farther back than *ɛ*, and sometimes like *ä* (Thalbitzer I, 107, 109) on account of the rounding of the innermost part of the mouth.

peerpoq [pɛ:rpɔq] it is free, it is off

ə=*o* uvularized, short mid-vowel.

f bilabial fricative.

sarfaq [sarɸ:aq] a current (Central and South Greenland, Labrador)

g is a *j* articulated as deep in the mouth as a *k*, voiced. It is usually symbolized as *g* in North German REGEN, BOGEN, and in Danish

DAGE, VIGE. Central and South Greenland, East Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river. *q* occurs rarely in the northern part of West Greenland instead of *ŋ*. The corresponding voiceless sound is *x* or partly *ç*.

iga (South Greenland), *ina* (North Greenland), a pot

h is heard sometimes in interjections.

i high narrow vowel (Bell and Sweet), as in French FINI.

ittaq many years ago

iLlit thou

r between *i* and *e*, especially before *n*, *m*, *ŋ*.

inaa [*ma:*] its (the bird's) nest

j like *y* in YARD, or like *j* in German JA.

ajaa his aunt

pujoq smoke

q, *r*, *R*, and *N* are uvular consonants, so called because they are articulated at the uvula. The posterior part of the velum and the root of the tongue are drawn back and up toward the back of the fauces, whereby the space in that part of the mouth seems to become larger. *q* is a stopped voiceless consonant (TENUIS), probably identical with the QOF of the Arab (Passy, l.c., § 189).

qagqag [*qAq:Aq*] mountain

arqa [*Aq:a*] his name

erqaane [*Eqa:ne*] in the vicinity

k as in French CAS without aspiration; only before *i*, *e*, and *u*, it may be heard aspirated.

kaapoq he is hungry (pronounce *k* like voiceless *g*), but

keewaa it bit him (more like [*kçe:wa:*])

l and *L* are articulated nearly alike, bilaterally, with the tip of the tongue against the back of the upper teeth. They have the latter feature in common with the Eskimo *t* and *n*. The voiceless *l* [*L*] is of rare occurrence in Indo-European languages, but it is well known from many other languages both in America (*lh* of the Nahuatl, *l* of Kwakiutl) and in Africa.

ila certainly

ulo woman's knife

illo house

arLuk grampus

L, see *l*.

ɹ a sort of *l*, with the tip of the tongue bent up toward the alveolar arch, in some districts assuming the character of an untrilled palatal *r*, like the English *r* in ARAB, but with a firmer pressure against the palate; for instance, in the southern part of Egedesminde district (Disco bay) *aa^wpasaartoq* instead of *aa^wpalaartoq* RED.

m as in English, but it is often long in Eskimo.

ammassät [*am:as:ät*] capelans.

n articulated like *t* and *l*, at the lower edge of the upper teeth or at their posterior surface.

ŋ like *ng* in SING, SINGER (notice that the combination *ŋg* does not occur in Eskimo). Frequently this sound is so loosely articulated that it may be described rather as a nasalized *g* [*ḡ*] fricative.

aŋakkoq shaman

eyä pot

aŋut man, father

paniŋa or *paniḡa* my daughter

ŋ see *ḡ*.

o is a little more closed than the French *o* in ROSE.

sakko implement (used for hunting)

anore wind

oo is more like a long *u* (q. v.); but *oor* means, in ordinary transcription, uvularized *o* [*o̠*] or [*ɔ̠*], which is more open.

ooneq [*u:nēq*] a burn

o uvularized *o* rather closed like *o* in so, followed by the Eskimo fricative *r* or *q*.

qooq urine

ornippaa he comes to him

ɔ uvularized *o*, more open, like *o* in English MORE, or like *a* in ALL, followed by *r* or *q*. See *o*, *o*.

orssoq [*ɔrs:ɔq*] blubber

p as in French PAS without aspiration.

paa mouth of a river

ḡ uvular nasal = *ŋ* (Passy, l. c., § 196).

ernit (dialect of Disco bay) lakes=*ernit*, singular *imeq* fresh water; in Oommannaq fiord also intervocalic: *anone*=*anoḡe* WIND, instead of *anore*.

r uvular fricative, voiced, is related to *q* as *g* is to *k* and *w* to *p*; usually articulated as far back in the mouth as *q*. It is quite another sound than the English *r*, but it has some resemblance to the French and German back *r*, when untrilled, and especially to the Danish *r*, produced by friction right by the back of the fauces (Jespersen, "Lehrbuch der Phonetik," § 141; Passy, l. c., § 222). It is the *x* of the Association phonétique internationale. Its articulation is especially tense when it is followed by *q*; e. g.,

sarqaq the sunny side

aarqât gloves

rq is nothing but a modified form of long *q* [*q:*]; other combinations with *r* in Greenlandic are *rt*, *rs*, *rf*, *rl*, *rq*, *rm*, *rn*, *rη*, *rn*. A vowel preceding one of these sound-groups is always strongly uvularized. The *r* modifies the character of the vowel, and is anticipated in its pronunciation. The two sounds—the vowel + the *r*—in reality make up a phonetic whole (Thalbitzer I, pp. 110 and 152), and the following consonant is nearly always geminated (long). It might be symbolized thus:

arqa his name = *aʳqqa* [*ʌq:a*]

orssog blubber = [*ʊʳs:ɔq*]

erneq son = [*Eʳn:Eq*]

When the *r* stands alone between vowels, its place of articulation is often somewhat advanced, and the friction not very tense; e. g., in *neriwoq* EATS. In some districts (for instance, in the Oommannaq fiord) the outgoing air is apt to escape through the nose-passage, causing *r* to be nasalized, or [*ʳ̃*]; this nasal is related to *q̃* [*N*] as *q̃* to *η* or as *w̃* to *m*.

neriwoq (Oommannaq) eats

x indicates a voiceless *r*, short or long, = *x* of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 222). It is something like *ch* in German (Swiss) BACH.

marraq clay

errorpaa washes it

∧ see after *L*.

s is usually voiceless. In *rs* it resembles the English *s*, only that the articulation is a little looser and the aspiration stronger. In *ts* the articulation of *s* is tenser and it is farther forward than

the English sound, because the *t* is nearly interdental. Therefore there is a difference between the *s*-sounds in *arssaq* A BALL, and *nātseq* A SEAL. In other words, an *s* [s] is heard, which, although not quite identical with the *ʃ* or *ʒ* of the phoneticians, as in English SHE, bears some resemblance to it; e. g.,

aaseet [a:se:t] (West Greenland) of course

aa^wsaq [a:^wsaq] summer

saa [sa:] its front

In the articulation of this *s*, not only the blade, but the whole anterior portion of the surface, is raised; the blade of the tongue being a little retracted and formed like a shallow groove, through which the air escapes without any strong pressure.

t as in French, without aspiration, especially before the vowels *a* and *o*.

taa^wna [da:^wna] that there

tooq [do:q] a mattock

But before *i*, *e*, *u*, often aspirated, especially when the *t* is long, as in the imperative plural *-itte* in Northwest Greenland (= *-itæ* in Central and South Greenland). It might be symbolized as *ɾ*.

areq a name

nāreq the floor or bottom

rikeq forefinger

arerpôq he goes down

tärrit the lakes (nearly like [tätseit])

The articulation of *t* is very different from that of the English *t*, the tip of the tongue being stretched against the lower edge of the upper teeth. The Eskimo *t*, like the *n*, *l*, *ɾ*, are alike in this respect, being sometimes nearly interdental.

ɾ see *t*; *ʔ* see *c*.

u like *ou* in French JOUR, ROUGE.

uffa there!

una he (she, it)

ʊ between *o* and *u* stands for long *u* [u:]; e. g.,

kook [kʊʊk] river

oommannaq [ʊ:m:än:aq] common place-name

w is the voiced sound that corresponds to *r*, articulated alike, the lips hardly touching each other; but in West Greenland often so that the under lip is slightly drawn toward the upper front teeth. It differs from the English *w* in that the lips are

not rounded and there is no raising of the back surface of the tongue. *w* is the [ɔ] of the Association phonétique internationale (Passy, l. c., § 210; Jespersen, l. c., § 125).

awaa the back part of the head

sawik iron, knife

x the ɕ of the Association phonétique internationale, see under *c*. It stands also for the *ɔ* of the Association (Passy, l. c., § 221; Thalbitzer I, 86-87).

axxertoq (Central and South Greenland, Labrador) approaching *ü* between [u] and [y] in French *JOUR* and *RUE*, German *FRÜH*; mid-vowel with slight lip-rounding. Occurs especially between *s*, *n*, *j*, *t*; for example:

toyosünnippoq it is sweet (to taste)

toossüt a beam of the house

nüjüittoq tame, not shy

itüippoq goes across

r is related to *ü* as *ɪ* to *i*, *ʊ* to *u*.

suná [sɾna] what

tuttut [tɾtɾtɾ] reindeer

z voiced *s*, occurs rarely, if ever, in the Eskimo dialects (Thalbitzer I, 209, 215).

§ 3. Accent and Quantity

In the Eskimo language two or more long sounds may follow each other in a word without being shortened. Every sound of the language, whether consonant or vowel, may be short or long (geminated), apart from the fact that the voiced consonants, in case they are lengthened, become unvoiced (the nasals only excepted). The combination of the sounds being thus entirely independent of their quantity, four types of combinations are possible, and do occur (the same, e. g., as in Finnish):

- (1) Short vowel + short consonant, as in *nuna* LAND.
- (2) Short vowel + long consonant, as in *mánnu* THIS.
- (3) Long vowel + short consonant, as in *maane* HERE.
- (4) Long vowel + long consonant, as in *maanna* NOW.

The dynamic accent in a great many words is uncertain or only slightly differentiated. Examples are:

pania his daughter
nulia his wife
awoga toward the north
unnummat as it became night
ornippaa he comes to him

There is always a marked stress on the vowel before a long (geminated) consonant, or on a long vowel. Accordingly, all the syllable of the words just mentioned—*unnummat*, *oruippaa*—are stressed. Besides, the final syllable has a tendency to attract the stress to itself: *ti'keq*, *pami'oq*, *seqi'neq*, *in'ut'taq*, *a'nina'me*. Words of irregular form prove, if distinctly pronounced, to be very irregularly stressed: or the stress undulates through the syllables in varying degrees of strength, according to the psychic importance of each syllable or according to the traditional rhythmical formation of the language. But even the longest Eskimo word, in the flow of conversation, is kept together as a whole, or stamped as a unit, by means of a true word-stress concentrated on a single syllable, which in most instances will be found to be near the end of the word. In most words consisting of more than three syllables we may distinguish at least three, or even four, degrees of stress (1, weak; 2-3, middle; 4, strong); e. g.,

3 2 1 1 4 1 3 3 1 2 1 4 3 2 2 3 1 1 1 4 1 3 4 1 1 1 2 4
Kaasasornujoyuaq allineq ajormat tipumissaraluarlono attamut igitar-
 3 1 3 1 1 2 4 3 1 1 4 2 3 3 3 1 1 4 3 3 2 1 1
paat' ilaai oqassapput ujaraangittoq alliumaarpoq illut aji-
 4 1 3 1 1 3 1 2 1 1 4 2
sorsuit piniartunik ulikaartut.

According to their stress, we may distinguish between two kinds of primary words or word-stems,—oxytone, having strong stress on the last syllable; and paroxytone, having stress on the penultima.

Oxytone:

<i>tu'peq</i> tent	<i>ti'keq</i> forefinger
<i>a'teq</i> name	<i>a'put</i> snow
<i>a'nut</i> man, male	<i>a'naa</i> her elder brother
<i>ti'pik</i> smell	<i>ne'qe</i> meat
<i>sa'wik</i> knife	

Paroxytone:

<i>'orssoq</i> blubber	<i>'tippik</i> piece of the framework of
<i>'illo</i> house	a kayak
<i>'erneq</i> son	<i>'sakko</i> implement for hunting

It is noteworthy that in the development of the language, in a great many words a shift of stress has taken place, whereby oxytones have become paroxytones, or *vice versa*. This is shown by many inflected forms and derivations in the Greenland dialect here mentioned, and so by comparison of other dialects.

Greenland	<i>a'meq</i> a skin	> plural	<i>'ammit</i> skins
Greenland	<i>ma'lik</i> a wave	> verbal	<i>'mallerpoq</i> the sea is rolling
Greenland	<i>'illit</i> thou	< casus obl.	<i>i'linnut</i> to thee
Greenland	<i>a'teq</i> a name	= Alaska	<i>'ätēq</i> (Barnum 325)
Greenland	<i>aku'taq</i> bastard	= Alaska	<i>a'kutak</i> mixed dish
Greenland	<i>ilu'mut</i> yes, truly	= Alaska	<i>i'lumun</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 336)
Greenland	<i>uki'oq</i> winter	= Alaska	<i>'ukshuk</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 372)
Greenland	<i>'tällimāt</i> five	= Alaska	<i>tal' Lemän</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 367)
Greenland	<i>a'taa^wseq</i> one	= Labrador	<i>attauseq</i> = <i>'attaa^wseq?</i>
Labrador	<i>'sittamat</i> four	= Alaska	<i>st'amen</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 365)
Greenland	<i>nä'teq</i> bottom, } floor	= Alaska	{ <i>'nätrok</i> (<i>ibid.</i> 355) boot- sole <i>'nätük</i> (<i>ibid.</i>) floor
Greenland	<i>'u^wllume</i> to-day	= Caribou lake ¹	<i>upélumi</i> to-day
Greenland	<i>'qallit</i> the upper- most	= Caribou lake	<i>kpalépit</i> (superposés)
Greenland	<i>'axxerpoq</i> ap- proaches	= { Alaska	<i>aggē'irqtōa</i> [<i>āk:ē'irt:oa</i>] (Barnum 319) I draw near, come in view

§ 4. Changes of Palatal Consonants

The following instances show that shifting of consonants occur partly in connection with the shifting of stress and partly without such.

If the final syllable of a word that ends in *q* or *k* becomes penultima by the addition of a suffix, the syllable loses its stress and the consonant may assume an intervocalic position. In these cases the consonant becomes voiced, *q* shifting to the voiced *r*, and *k* to *g*, which, in turn, changes to *ŋ*. The same changes of these sounds sometimes occur when the part added is not a suffix, but an independent word.

q > r. *q* becomes *r* in the plurals of many nouns; e. g.,

Singular	Plural	
<i>tī'keq</i>	<i>tikerit</i>	forefinger
<i>'nerLeq</i>	<i>nerLerit</i>	goose

¹ Mackenzie river, Petitot Vocabulaire, p. 7.

For further examples see Thalbitzer I, 245.

qa'noq how; *qano'rippa* how is it; *qano'runna* how is that; *qano'o'garpa* how did he say

'ern'neq son; *'ernne'ra* (< *erneq* + *a*) his son

sooq why; *'sooruna* yes, certainly (*sooq una* why do you ask)

oqarpog (West Greenland) he says; *orarpog* (East Greenland);

orarpog (Mackenzie river, Petitot, p. xxxiv, *opakluartuark*)

segineq (West Greenland); *seriniktenga* (Baffin land, Boas I, the sun

neqe (West Greenland) meat; *neriwoga* (West Greenland) I eat (cf. Southwest Alaska *nugrhōa* I eat)

q > r. The shift *q > r* in the Mackenzie-river dialect is doubtful: e. g., in *uwaqut* (Southwest Greenland) *we*, *uwarut* (?) (Mackenzie river, Petitot) *we*.

q > ʃ[N]. This shift is found in the terminal sound of many words of the Baffin-land, Smith-sound, and Ammassalik dialects, which have their terminal sounds nasalized, whereas the other dialects keep the oral tenuis *q*. Also the dialect of the Mackenzie-river Eskimo bears evidence of a similar tendency, as shown by some few examples of it; e. g.,

Smith sound *tuluang* [*tuluɔŋ*] raven Central Greenland *tulu^aaq*

Baffin land *sirinirn* [*seriniŋ*] the sun Central Greenland *segineq*

Mackenzie river *ateŋ* [*ateŋ*] a name Central Greenland *ateq*

r > ʃ. This shift takes place in the dialect of Oommannaq fiord in North Greenland in those words in which *r* occurs between vowels; e. g., in—

Oommannaq Fiord

neq̃iwog

anoq̃e

Disco Bay

neriwog he eats

anore wind

k > g. This shift appears in a comparison of some of the possessive and verbal endings of the Greenland and Southwest Alaska dialects.

Southwest Alaska

-ka my, I

atkūkā atōrākā (Barnum 312),
my coat I put it on (*atkuk* na-
tive fur coat)

-kū, -kē it, them

atorlūkū (Barnum 312)

atoryakōnākū (*ibid.*)

atoq'luke (*ibid.*)

South Greenland

-ga my, I

kapitaga atoriga my coat I
who use it (*kapitak* a kayak-
ing coat)

-go, -gīt it, them

atorlugo he using it

atoqinago do not use it

atorlugo he using them

k > **ŋ**, probably through an intermediate *q*, is a shift well known in the Greenland grammar; e. g.,

Singular	Plural	Possessive
<i>kīllik</i> boundary	<i>kīllīŋit</i>	<i>kīllīŋa</i> its boundary
<i>toollīk</i> loon	<i>toollīŋit</i>	
<i>assīk</i> picture, portrait	<i>assīŋit</i>	<i>assīŋa</i> his portrait

The older *q*, from which the *ŋ* developed, may be traced in the long vowel in the plural of such words as *mannik* EGG, plural *manneet*, probably < *mannīgit* (Thalbitzer I, 250).

The shifting from terminal *k* to *ŋ* is known in many other dialects. *ŋ* appears as a final sound in nearly all the dialects, excepting those of West Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river; but most of the dialects that present forms with *ŋ* abound in examples of other words ending in *k*. We get the impression that either the speakers' own pronunciation must have been somewhat fluctuating on this point, or else the recorders must have vacillated in their interpretation of the sounds heard.

Baffin land *saviŋ*; West Greenland and Labrador *savi'k* knife

Baffin land *inuŋ*; West Greenland and Labrador *inuk* man, etc.; (*ŋ* *passim* in Baffin land); but also—

Baffin land *ixaluk* (Boas IV, 47); West Greenland and Labrador *egaluk* salmon

Baffin land *qaxodluk* (*ibid.* III, 127); West Greenland and Labrador *qaqulluk* fulmar

Baffin land *kōuk* (*ibid.* IV); West Greenland and Labrador *kook* river

[The differences in pronunciation in Baffin land are individual differences. In 1884 the old men from the east coast of Cumberland sound used throughout the oral stops; while women and young men used nasalized consonants. It seems that the nasalization is in this case due to an extension of the characteristic pronunciation of women to the male sex.—F. B.]

Smith Sound *qopanung* [*qopanunŋ*] Greenland *qupalu* (*arsu*) sparrow

Smith Sound *marluŋ* or *maqgon* Greenland *marlluk* two

Point Barrow *madrirīñ* [*-riŋ*] Greenland *marloreek* twins

Point Barrow *ujarūñ* [*ujaraŋ*] Greenland *ujarak* a stone

Point Barrow *-wiñ* [*wiŋ*] Greenland *-vik* place (suffix)

For examples of forms ending in *ŋ* from Southwest Alaska, see Barnum, "Grammatical Fundamentals," the stories *passini*, e. g., p. 286; but in his vocabulary, and elsewhere in his grammar, the words end in *k* or *q*.

q > *ŋ*. In most of the dialects the fricative *q* is frequently used; but in the northeastern group it is regularly replaced by *ŋ*, sometimes by *ȝ*. *q* is found also in Labrador and in the southern part of West Greenland, between Holstensborg and Julianehåb (61°–66° N. lat.); whereas north of Holstensborg the same words are pronounced with *ŋ* instead of *q*.

Southern
West Greenland

ajagaq
naalagaq
igippaa
iga
paniga
qaqugo

North of
Holstensborg

ajagaq cup and ball
naalagaq master
igippaa he throws it away
iga (*iga*) kettle
paniga my daughter
qaqogo when (in the future)

Cf. the Labrador forms *ajagaq*, *iga*, *panniga*, *qaqugo*, *toogaq* walrus-tusk

Another example is:

South Greenland *oqarfigaa* he says to him; North Greenland *oqarfiŋaa* (Upernavik *oqarpiŋaa*; Ammassalik *okarpeerŋaa*)

q and *w* shift in the Labrador and North Greenland forms; e. g., in—

Labrador (and
South Greenland)

tulugaq
oogaq
inugaq

Northwest Greenland

tulwagaq raven
oorwaq codfish
inurak toe

The interchange between *ŋ* and *q* in *uwana* I, and *uwagut* WE, may also be appropriately mentioned here. It suggests that *-ŋa* in *uwana* may have originated from *-ga*, although at a very early period, since the Southwest Alaska form of this word is *hwēngā* (Barnum 68); i. e., *w'weŋa*.

§ 5. Changes of Dental and Labial Consonants

> *n* as terminal sounds: e. g.,

West Greenland *iput*

West Greenland *aput*

West Greenland *qulit*

West Greenland *gamutit*

West Greenland *ayut*

Baffin land *ipun* oar

Smith sound *apun* snow on the ground

Smith sound *qolin* ten

North Alaska *gamotin* (Thalbitzer I, 225) sledge

Mackenzie river *ayun* man, male

n takes the place of *t* at the end of words in all the dialects except those of Labrador and West Greenland, but including that of Smith sound, though terminal *t* may occur sporadically in most of the dialects.¹ The *n* may have originated through the nasalization of *t*, corresponding with the shifting of *k* > *ŋ*.

We see this shift in the Northwest Greenland dialect, too, in some instances:

kikkun uko who are they; *soon u'ko* what are they. *Kikkun* and *soon* are special forms of *kikkut* and *soot* (in the singular *kina* WHO, and *suna* WHAT).

The same shift may have stamped the declension of nouns in the plural, since the suffixes in the oblique cases are added to a nominal plural stem ending in *n* instead of *t*; e. g.,

qaqqat mountains; *qaqqanut* to the mountains; *qaqqane* in, on, the mountains (but in the singular *qaqqamut*, *qaqqame*)²

p > *m*. This shift is of rare occurrence now in Greenland. It may occasionally take place in the relative (or genitive) juxtaposition of two nouns, the latter of which begins with a vowel (cf. Egede, "Grammar," p. 2, "*B* finale mutatur in *M*, sequente voce a vocali incipiente" [this *B* means *p*]; e. g.,

illum isertarria the entrance of the house (instead of *illup*)

The same shift is attested by records from other dialects; e. g.,

West Greenland *aap* yes; Ammassalik *aam* or *eem* in *aamila*, *eemila* yes, certainly; Cape York *eem* yes

[In Baffin land the old pronunciation of men was *t*; that of women and of younger men is *n* (see p. 985).—F. B.]

²In some irregular plurals these suffixes, *-nut* *-ne*, really seem to be added to the full plural form; e. g., *kikkut* WHO, plural *kikkunnut* (<*kikkutnut*) TO WHOM, *kikkunne* (<*kikkutne*) IN, AT WHOM (plural). The above-mentioned regular endings may have been formed after the analogy of these "irregular" ones.

Southwest Alaska *am'im kol'anun* [*amim qol* . . .] above the door (Nelson, tale from St. Michael, Norton sound, in "Eskimo of Bering Strait"); cf. Greenland *ammip qulaanut* above the skin

Southwest Alaska *nunam* of the land (Barnum, 9), cf. Greenland *nunap*

[In Baffin land both *p* and *m* occur in the same way as *r* > *q*, *r* > *g*, *t* > *n*, are found. See p. 985, and note 1, p. 987.—F. B.]

m > *w* or *u*.

Labrador <i>imnaq</i>	Gr. <i>i^wnaq</i> steep declivity
Baffin land <i>taimna</i>	Gr. <i>taa^wna</i> that one
Baffin land <i>imna</i> (Boas II, 348)	Gr. <i>i^wna</i> that
Baffin land <i>uvamnule</i> but to me (<i>ibid.</i>)	Gr. <i>uvā^wnnut</i> to me
North Alaska <i>uūmnun</i> [<i>uamnun</i>] (Ray 56)	Gr. <i>uvā^wnnut</i> to me
Southwest Alaska <i>kūmlōk</i>	Gr. <i>ku^wlloq</i> thumb
Southwest Alaska <i>pēkamkin</i> mine thou art	Gr. <i>piḡa^wkkī</i> I have thee

p (*f*) > *w* or *u*.

Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>iblit</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>'illit</i> thou
Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>illipsee</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>i'li^wsee</i> you
Labrador (nowadays) <i>igvit</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>illit</i> thou
Labrador <i>uibvak</i>	Gr. (1900) <i>u'iffaq</i> a fern
Baffin land <i>taipkoa</i>	Gr. <i>taa^wkoa</i> those
Mackenzie river <i>tapkoa</i>	
North Alaska <i>kablun</i>	Gr. { <i>qā^wllut</i> or } eyebrow
Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>kablo</i>	
Greenland (Egede, 1750) <i>kablunak</i>	Gr. <i>qāllunaaq</i> European
Mackenzie river <i>kpaptçi</i>	Gr. <i>qā^wssit</i> how many
Southwest Alaska <i>kafchin</i> [<i>qārcin</i>]	
Southwest Alaska <i>'chupplu</i>	Gr. <i>su^wlloq</i> tube
Southwest Alaska <i>'aprūn</i> main trail, regular passage	Gr. <i>a^wqut</i> or <i>a^wqut</i> pathway
Mackenzie river (coast of Hudson bay) <i>nippiakkiak</i>	Gr. <i>nivīarsiaq</i> girl

§ 6. Shifting of Voiced and Voiceless Fricatives

It is a characteristic feature of the Greenland language, and probably of the Eskimo language as a whole, that no voiced consonant occurs which is long (geminated), with the sole exception of the nasal consonants, *m* (*ammit* SKINS), *n* (*anneq* THE GREATEST ONE), *ŋ* (*iḡḡik*

TOP OF A MOUNTAIN), *N* (*ONNA* ARMPIT). The other voiced consonants of the language (*w*, *l*, *j*, *g*, *r*) are always short, and are found only between weak (unstressed) syllables or in the transition from a weak to a strongly stressed syllable. If the weak syllable has the stress owing to derivation or inflection of the word, the fricative consonant becomes unvoiced and long; e. g.,

r > *RR*.

West Greenland *ma'ralluk*
morass, swamp

West Greenland *neri'woq* eats

West Greenland *taa*q dark-
ness, shadow
Mackenzie river *tapapk*
OMBRE

Southwest Alaska *a'riftaka*
I quarrel with him

Greenland *'marrag* clay

Greenland *'nerriwik* eating-
place (table, etc.)

Greenland *'tarraq* shadow, re-
flection

Greenland { *'arriwoq* hastens
'arrappoq flies into
a passion

g > *XX*.

Southwest Greenland *ni'gaq* a
snare

Southwest Greenland *i'ga* a
pot

Southwest Greenland *ni'geq*
south wind
Mackenzie river *niyepk* east
wind

West Greenland *'nixxät* snares
(plural)

West Greenland *'ixxawik* the
pot-place (kitchen, etc.)

West Greenland *'nixxerpoq* it
is south wind

l > *LL*.

West Greenland *a'log* a sole

West Greenland *il'inne* at,
by thee

West Greenland *allut* soles
(plural)

West Greenland *'illit* thou

w > *FF*.

West Greenland *i'wik* (a
blade of) grass

West Greenland *awa* north

West Greenland *a'wippaa*
divides it in two pieces
Mackenzie river *avitoak*
DIVORCER

West Greenland *'irrit* grass
(plural)

West Greenland *'affa* there in
the north

West Greenland *'affaq* the half
part

j > *s*. In the evolution of the Greenland group of dialects the shift *j* > *s* appears to have been of special importance. In a great many words the dialects west of Davis strait have *j*, which has grown into voiceless *s* in Greenland.¹

Mackenzie River	Labrador	Greenland	
(?)	<i>puije</i>	<i>puise</i>	seal
(?)	<i>angmajet</i>	<i>ammassät</i>	capelars
<i>iyik</i> (pl. <i>iyit</i>) or <i>iyipk</i> }	<i>iije</i> (or <i>ijje</i>)	<i>i'se</i> (pl. <i>i'sit</i>)	eye
<i>nuvüya</i> , pl. }	<i>nuvüja</i> , pl.	<i>'nuia</i> (pl. <i>nu'issät</i>)	cloud
<i>nuvüyat</i> }	<i>nuvujet</i>		
<i>kpéyuk</i>	<i>qejuk</i>	<i>q'i'suk</i>	wood
<i>mikiyopk</i>	<i>mikijoj</i>	<i>mikisooq</i>	little

c (cc) > ss.

Mackenzie River	Labrador	Greenland
<i>tamadja</i> or <i>madjia</i>	<i>tamadja</i> (Bourquin	<i>tamassa</i> here it is
[<i>mac:a</i>] VRAIMENT,	§ 192) here it is	<i>massa</i> here is; to
CERTAINEMENT		wit
<i>kpapiopk</i> FLÊCHE	<i>kargjok</i> arrow	<i>qarsoq</i> arrow
<i>ugiuk</i> = <i>ogjiuk</i> [<i>oc:uk</i>]	<i>ugjuk</i> seal	<i>ussuk</i> seal (<i>Phoca</i>
PHOQUE		<i>barbata</i>)
<i>itjek</i> [<i>ic:ek</i>] FROID	<i>itje</i> frost	<i>isse</i> frost, cold
<i>todjiapk</i> [<i>to:c:aq</i>]	<i>tootjaq</i> beam	<i>toosraq</i> beam of a
POUTRE		house
(?) - <i>tuapk</i> (verbal	- <i>djuag</i> big, great	- <i>ssuag</i> big, great
ending)		
(?) - <i>yuapk</i>		

t > s.

tt > ts.

North Alaska (Ray)	Mackenzie River	
	<i>tçitamat</i> [<i>çitamat</i>]	four
	<i>tçuna</i> [<i>çuna</i>]	what
<i>nutjü</i> [<i>nuç:ä</i>]	<i>nutçet</i> or <i>nudjiat</i>	hair
<i>netyä</i>	<i>natçepk</i> or <i>nadjèpk</i>	seal (<i>Phoca vitulina</i>)
<i>naityuä</i>	<i>naitopk</i> (FIN)	short
<i>akityuä</i>	<i>apitopk</i>	soft

¹ The original sound may still be traced in some words of the dialects of Ammassalik (*kjörma* ALONE; -*kajik* [suffix] BAD) and of Smith sound (Thalbitzer I, 192, 215).

Labrador	Northwest Greenland	Central and South- ern Greenland	
<i>sittamat</i>	<i>sisamat</i>	<i>sisamat</i>	four
<i>su'na</i>	<i>'suna</i>	<i>'suna</i>	what
<i>nutset</i>	<i>nuttät</i>	<i>nutsät</i>	hair
<i>netseq</i>	<i>nätteq</i>	<i>nätseq</i>	seal (<i>Phoca vitulina</i>)
<i>naitok</i>	<i>naa'ttoq</i>	<i>naa'tsoq</i>	short
<i>akkitok</i>	<i>aqittoq</i>	<i>aqitsoq</i>	soft

In Southwest Alaska the *j* seems to have changed to *s*, too, in some few words; e. g.,

Southwest Alaska	Greenland
<i>'ukšuk</i> winter < * <i>[ukjuk]</i> ?	<i>uki'oq</i> winter
<i>nešqoq</i> head < * <i>[näjqoq]</i> ?	<i>niaqoq</i> head < * <i>najaqoq</i> ?
Mackenzie River	
<i>'kashprük</i> (Barnum 341) water-proof shirt	<i>kaypak</i> ROBE DE POIL.
<i>kashbruk</i> (Schultze) storm-coat < * <i>(kaj^Frak]</i>	

§ 7. Shifting of Voiceless Fricatives and Stopped Consonants

The *x*, *χ*, and *ƿ* do not exist in the dialects of Upernavik, Smith sound, and Ammassalik. In this "northeastern group" these sounds are replaced by *q*, *k*, and *p*. In addition to this, the Ammassalik dialect has even carried this shifting of open and stopped consonants through in changing *l* to *t* (Thalbitzer I, 202).

Central and South- west Greenland	Upernavik	Ammassalik	
R-q.			
<i>arReetumik</i>	<i>aqgeesumik</i>	—	slowly
<i>errorLoŋo</i>	<i>eqqorLoŋo</i>	<i>eggertĩŋo</i>	washing it
X-k.			
<i>naaxxa</i>	<i>naakka</i>	—	no
<i>axxerpoq</i>	<i>akkerpoq</i>	<i>akkerpoq̃</i>	approaches
<i>säxxaq</i>	<i>säkkag</i>	<i>säkkag̃</i>	a thin-haired skin
F-p.			
<i>sarfaq</i>	<i>sarpaq</i>	<i>sarpaq̃</i>	current
<i>arfäq</i>	<i>arpäq</i>	<i>arpäq̃</i>	whale
<i>oqarFiŋaa</i>	<i>oqarpiŋaa</i>	<i>oqarpeewaa</i>	he says to him
L-t.			
<i>iyŋerLune</i>	—	<i>iyŋertĩne</i>	singing
<i>iLLua</i>	—	<i>ittiwa</i>	his house

The following words of the Baffin-land and Labrador dialects may be compared with those just mentioned:

North Labrador *naa^wkak* (South: *aukak*) = Upernavik *naakka* no
 Labrador *magguk* [*ma^{rr}ruk*] Bourquin § 6 = Smith sound *magqog* =
 Central West Greenland *marluk* two
 Baffin land *itirbing* [*itirpiŋ*] Boas I, 660 = Ammassalik *iserpik* =
 West Greenland *iserfik* entrance-place
 Baffin land *majoartune*, *ingertune* Boas II = Ammassalik *-tine* (verbal ending) = West Greenland *-lune*

§ 8. The Greenlandic *s* Sounds

The Greenlandic *s* (*ss*) sounds may be traced to different sources. Some have originated from *j*, others from *c*, and others again from *t*. *ss* [*s*·] has in many cases originated from a consonant *j* (voiced or voiceless?).

Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Alaska
<i>s</i> < <i>t</i> .			
<i>sisamat</i>	<i>sittamat</i>	<i>tçitamat</i> [<i>ci</i>]	<i>stamen</i> four
<i>sisit</i>	<i>sitte</i> lair of a fox	<i>tchiti</i> [<i>citi</i>] ANTRE	—
<i>iserpoq</i>	<i>itterpoq</i>	<i>itertoapk</i> he enters	<i>t'trāutākā</i> I bring it in with me
<i>ss</i> < <i>tj</i> [<i>c</i>].			
<i>timmissāt</i>	<i>timmitjāt</i>	(sing. <i>tinmiapk</i>)	(sing. <i>tingmēiyak</i> [<i>tīm</i> : <i>i'aa^jaq</i>]) bird
<i>s</i> < <i>ts</i> [<i>ʃ</i>].			
<i>apersoot</i>	<i>appertsuk</i>	<i>ʔatep^tçion</i>	(<i>'āpprūn</i>) question
<i>ss</i> [<i>s</i> ·] < <i>kj</i> , <i>gj</i> .			
<i>nāssuk</i>	<i>nakjuk</i> antler	<i>nagiuk</i> or <i>nakd- jiuk</i> [<i>nac:uk</i>]	(<i>ʔ=</i> <i>nəshkōk</i> head [Barnum 355] cf. §6)
<i>sisseq</i>	<i>sigjak</i> shore	<i>tçigdʒapk</i> RIVAGE	—
<i>^wss</i> < <i>pj</i> , <i>wj</i> .			
<i>tⁱw^{ss}arLuk</i>	<i>tipjarluk</i> driftwood	—	—
<i>ss</i> < <i>rc</i> .			
<i>issaa^k</i>	<i>iggak</i> [<i>ixxa:k</i>] snow-goggles	(<i>itçipapk</i> LU- NETTES)	(<i>'ikchāun</i> [<i>irca:wⁿ</i>] medicine for the eyes)

The shift $t > s$ may be observed in those grammatical forms, in which a suffix the usual initial of which is t has to be added after a word ending in i , since t between two i 's will change to s ; e. g., in the optative *takulisit* WOULD HE WOULD SEE YOU, $< *li-tit$ but *takulittit* WOULD THEY WOULD SEE YOU, $< -lit-tit$. Likewise in *takonamisit* AS HE SAW YOU (cf. *takonamittit* AS THEY SAW YOU).

aa^wLaaisit your gun, the guns ($< aa^wLaa^tt$ a gun)
illuisiñut through his houses ($< illuatiñut$ through his house)
kamisit = *kamittit* (both in use) your boots
-sippaa = *-tippaa* (verbal suffix, causative)

The shift $j > s$ has left few traces only in the Greenland grammar; e. g., in the inflection of some few nouns.

kana'joq, plural *ka'nassut* ($< *kanajjut$) a sea-scorpion
qarajaq, locative *qarasame* (place-name in Oommannaq fiord)
pinasut three, plural $< *pinajjoq$ (cf. *pinajuat* the third, etc.)
(Thalbitzer I, 177)

§ 9. Shifting of Consonants with Change of Place of Articulation

The shifts mentioned in the preceding sections are all alike, in that the place of articulation does not change. The following examples of shift are chiefly due to a shifting of the place of articulation:

Labrador	Mackenzie River	Greenland
<i>qikkertaq</i>	<i>kpikepktapk</i>	<i>qe'qerttaq</i> island
<i>nellunaikutaq</i>	<i>nélunaykutapk</i> (SIG- NAL)	<i>nálunaarqutaq</i> a mark
<i>erqerqoq</i>	<i>kpikeptkpopk</i> = <i>ék- kaikok</i> coast of Hudson bay)	<i>e'qerqoq</i> fourth finger

The latter word may be compared with the Alaska forms of the same word, northern Alaska *yi'ukutko* (Ray), northwest Alaska *etitkook* (Wells and Kelly), southwest Alaska *ikkilthkōk* (Barnum) [*ik:izqoq*], cf. Thalbitzer I, 263.

The same shift may be observed by a comparison of the West Greenland *teqerqoq* A CORNER OF A HOUSE, and the East Greenland *ti'kerqoq*.

These differences are probably due to analogy, and not to successive shiftings of the parts of articulation. The same is true of the examples

of this shift in the Greenland language, where it appears in double forms of words, like *nuerLoq*=*nuerLuk*, etc. (Thalbitzer I, 176).

Labrador	East Greenland	West Greenland	
wF-X.			
<i>ubva</i>	<i>uppa</i>	<i>uxxa</i> or <i>uffa</i>	perhaps
	Mackenzie River		
XF-^wss.			
<i>nagvârpog</i> [<i>naxfa:r-</i>]	<i>nadžuvaptok</i>	<i>nâ^wssarpog</i>	finds, invents something
wX-F.			
<i>kivgak</i>	<i>kivgapk</i>	<i>ki^wFFaq</i>	a servant
g-w.	As for this shift, see § 4.		

§ 10. Vocalic Shifts

The shifting of *o* > *e*, *u* > *i*, is one of the principal differences between the dialects of West and East Greenland (Thalbitzer I, 196 et seq.). Likewise many words of the western dialects, as spelled by the different recorders, bear evidence of vocalic changes of no less importance. In Alaska we often find *u* in the base of the word, corresponding to *i* or *e* in Greenland.

u-i.

West Greenland	East Greenland	
<i>allergut</i>	<i>atteqin</i>	jaw-bones
<i>sikut</i>	<i>sikin</i>	sea-ice
<i>marLLuk</i>	<i>martik</i>	two
<i>allättoog</i>	<i>attätteeq̃</i>	a seal
<i>nānoq</i>	<i>naneq̃</i>	a bear

u-i.

Southwest Alaska (Barnum)	West Greenland	
<i>nuppa</i> (sound, noise)	<i>nipe</i>	voice
<i>tuppsahok</i> (it stinks)	<i>tipe</i>	smell
<i>tāmchinak</i>	<i>tī^wsinak</i>	fun
<i>nūq'yūqtōđ</i>	<i>neri'suppona</i>	I want to eat
<i>kūv'łārstōk</i>	<i>qī^wLLertoq</i>	it glitters
<i>mammok</i>	<i>mamippoq</i>	it heals
<i>iṽ'rkūchēk</i>	? <i>crisaag</i> or <i>ermalisaq</i> ¹	waterproof boots
<i>kel'lūg'vok</i>	<i>kī'liFFaq</i>	the mammoth

¹ = Baffin land *īmadlin* a piece of skin used to lay in the bottom of a kayak.

x-i, e.

West Greenland	East Greenland	
<i>imanna</i>	<i>iminna</i>	thus
<i>aap ila</i>	<i>{aamila}</i> <i>{eemila}</i>	yes, certainly
<i>aa^wḡooq</i>	<i>eeḡḡooq</i>	yes is said

Baffin Land
aqaarpoq he says no¹

East Greenland
eerqe no

Southwest Alaska

West Greenland

a-i.

a'mānūk or *mūk* ? = *i'muk* milk

u-e.

<i>mūk</i> or <i>moq</i>	<i>i'meq</i>	water
<i>nātuk</i>	<i>na'teq</i>	floor
<i>nēguk</i>	<i>ni'geq</i>	north
<i>'livruk</i>	<i>ili'veq</i>	grave
<i>'kinōk</i>	<i>iki'neq</i>	fire
<i>'kānūk</i>	<i>qa'neq</i>	mouth

uj-ui.

Mackenzie River
nurūya (pl. *nurū-*
yat)

Labrador
nuvujā (pl. *nu-*
vujāt)

Greenland
nuia (pl. *nu'issāt*)
cloud

iw-uj.

ivalok (pl. *ivalut*) *ivalo* (pl. *ivaluit*) *ujalo* or *ujaloq*
sinew

Vowel changes like those here mentioned have left distinct traces in many derivatives of the present Greenlandic language; e. g.,

a-i.

<i>aa^wsaq</i> summer	<i>aa^wsi-wik</i> summer-place
<i>upernaag</i> spring	<i>uperni-wik</i> spring-place
<i>illu^wtta</i> our house's	<i>illu^wttigut</i> through our house
<i>ernerata</i> of his son	<i>erneratigut</i> through his son

u-i.

<i>aput</i> snow on the ground	<i>apiwoq</i> (the ground) is covered with snow
<i>ernutaq</i> grandchild	<i>erniwoq</i> gives birth to a child
	<i>erneq</i> son
<i>ikumawoq</i> is on fire, burns	<i>iki-ppaa</i> sets it on fire
<i>kapuiwoq</i> is one who stabs	<i>kapiwaa</i> stabs him
<i>itu'ippoq</i> goes over land, crosses over the ice	<i>i'ti^wlleeq</i> place where one crosses
<i>ilivaa</i> lays it (or him) down	<i>ilivoeq</i> or <i>iluvoeq</i> a grave

¹ Boas II, 334.

The same sounds are used vicariously in several words in West Greenland.

a-i.

kamik and *kamak* boot (*kamnikka* = *kammakka* my boots)

u-i.

kalu^wssarpoq = *kali^wssarpoq* pulls and jerks in order to advance

isu^wtterpaa = *isi^wtterpaa* unfolds or stretches it out

qappiorpoq = *qappuarpoq* foams, froths; chatters incessantly

§ 11. Mutation

Thus far I have treated the established vowel-shifts belonging to older periods of the language. In addition to these, there is a steady tendency to produce certain slight shiftings of the vowels, in order to accommodate them to the following sounds. This is the Greenlandic (or probably general Eskimo) form of *mutation*. There are two classes of mutation, based on the same principle as the bipartition of the vowel system :

a > *ä* (*ä*)

e > *i*

o > *u*

u > *ü* (*y*)

a > *ʌ*

i, e > *ɛ* (*ɛ*)

o, u > *ɔ* (*ɔ*)

Examples:

a > ä.

nä'saa his hood

arnaa his woman (mother)

tä'seq lake

sapivaa to dike, dam

arva'taq a sealing bladder

uvana I

nä'sät pl.

arnät women

'tätt'it pl.

sä^wssät a dike, dam

a'wättät pl.

u'wä^wttut as I *u'wä^wnne* at me

a > ä.

a'torpa is it used

sisä'maat the fourth

qu'laane above it

a'torpät are they used

'sisämät four

qu'länne above them

e > i.

puise seal

tupeq tent

sule yet

taleq arm

puisit pl.

tupine his (own) tent

sulilo and yet

talia his arm

> *u.*

<i>a'loq</i> sole	<i>alua</i> his sole	<i>'allut</i> soles
<i>illo</i> house	<i>illua</i> his house	<i>illut</i> houses
<i>a'torpoq</i> it is used	<i>a'torput</i> they are used	

> *ü.*

<i>nüju'arpog</i> (a dog) is shy	<i>nüjüittoq</i> not shy, tame
<i>aju</i> -bad, useless	<i>a'jüssisee</i> how bad it is

A shifting in the vowels produced by the intrusion of a following uvular consonant may be termed **UVULAR MUTATION**. The result of this juxtaposition of a vowel + *r*, *q*, or *x* is the uvularization by which the vowel changes according to the scheme just mentioned. The uvularized vowels are symbolized in ordinary transcription as *ar* (*aq*, *ax*), *er* (*eq*, *ex*), or (*oq*, *ox*). The vowel and the consonant in reality make up a phonetic unit. The vowel is pronounced with uvular friction, while an enlargement of the innermost part of the mouth-chamber takes place (cf. § 2 under *q* and *r*). The vowels which are affected in this way have a remarkable hollow and grating sound; in case of *o* and *e* it is occasionally somewhat like *ö* on account of the rounding in the posterior part of the mouth. An *e* between two *n*'s and an *e* between two *r*'s are acoustically widely different sounds.

> *A.*

nāsaa his hood; *nāsaq* a hood
arnaa his woman (mother); *arnaq* [*Arn:Aq*] woman; *arnara* [*Arn:ArA*] my mother
qarsaaq [*qars:A:q*] a loom; pl. *qarsaa't* [*qars:aāt*]
qaqqame [*qaq:ame*] on, in, the mountain; *qaqqaq* [*qaq:Aq*] a mountain

> *E.*

amia or *amee* his (its) skin; *ameq* [*a'meq*] a skin
é'qe=*é'qeq* [*eqeq*] corner; *eqia* his corner of the mouth
neriwoq eats; *neré'reerpoq* [*nərs'rē:rpq*] has finished eating
ernikka my sons; *ernera* [*ErnEra*] my son; *erneq* [*Eq*] a son; *erne* [*Erne*] his (own) son

> *O.*

niaqua his head; *niaqoq* [*niaqoq*] a head
nano=*nanoq* a bear
illo a house; *illorsuaq* [*il:ors:uaq*] a big house
Kaasasuk (name)+*rujuk*+*yuag*: *Kaasasorujoruaq* the little poor wretched *Kaasasuk*

§ 12. Retrogressive Uvularization

Retrogressive uvularization is the name of a phonetic tendency toward uvular anticipation,¹ which may have begun in the earliest history of the language, since it can be traced in all dialects. Its transforming activity has asserted itself at different stages in the development of the language, and has penetrated the eastern dialects in a far higher degree than those of the west. It shows itself in the present state of the Eskimo language, in that many words in the Greenland and Labrador dialects have *ar*, *er*, or (uvularized vowels), when the western and partly also the central dialects have retained the original sounds, *a*, *i*, *u*. In the majority of cases this change may probably be traced back to a shift of the word-stress whereby the vowel of the syllable that lost its stress has in the course of time disappeared. By this contraction of the word, two consonants have come into contact, and either have been assimilated or have shifted places (cf. Alaska *nimra*² and Greenland *nerma* HIS [ITS] BINDING, both formed from *nimeq* + suffix *a*, HIS, ITS). The Alaska form suggests that the *r* of *nerma* may be explained as the final uvular of *nimeq*, shifted to *r*; and this supposition is strongly supported by the fact that the Mackenzie-river dialect (cf. the vocabulary of Petitot), and the dialects west of Hudson bay, contain some transitional forms stressed in the original manner; e. g., *atépeit* [*a'tereet*], the plural of *atén* [*a'teq*] NAME, regularly formed, likewise *atépa* MY NAME (in Alaska *atqa*, in Greenland *arqa*). A metathesis of the consonants has taken place in the Greenland *marluk* TWO, which may be compared with Alaska *malruk* and Mackenzie-river *malærok*. On account of the assimilation or metathesis of the consonants, the uvular consonant which belonged originally to the suffix or final part of the word has been displaced, and is now found in the middle of the word in the forms east of Hudson bay. In most of the eastern dialects the preceding vowel has thus been uvularized: *nirma* has become *nerma*, *qitqa* ITS MIDDLE (Mackenzie river) has become *qerqa* (through **qiqqa*). Intermediate forms are found in the Baffin-land dialect (*iq*, *ir*; *uq*, *ur*; etc.); but in some instances the assimilation of the consonants (*rz*) has been carried further, in the dialects of Labrador and Baffin land (Smith sound), than in West Greenland.

¹ The uvular position of the palate, which originally belonged to the end of the word, is anticipated in the base of the word (Thalbitzer I, 241-242).

² Ray *nimra* THE LASHING OF THE HARPOON-SHAFT.

Examples:¹

West Eskimo

East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)

*ulr, aLr > arl, arL.**malruk* (Barnum) two*marluk* (Gr.) two; *marruk* (Lab.) two*alpāné* (Petitot Vocab. LXII)

JADIS

ālththrākū [*aLra:ko*] (Barnum) next year*arlaane* (Gr.) in the other one; *arraane* (Lab.) last year*nālthkirtōk* [*naLqirtoq*] (Barnum) it is straight*narluwoq* (Gr.) it is straight; (*u > i* see § 10)*naxxowoq* (Erdman: *naggovok*) (Lab.) it is straight*kātłrād* [*kaLra:*] (Barnum 342) white*qa'qortoq* (Gr.) white*kātłcha* (Schultze 66) white*qarsortoq* (Gr.) bleached*elr > erL.**amelrartut* (S. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328)*amerLasoot* (Gr.) many*amalleraktok* (N. Al. Woldt-Jacobsen 328) many*amerLaqaa^wt* (Gr.) they are many*amthlerrūt* (Barnum 75) many*naklrit* (Rink II, 83, no. 21) geese*nokdleret* (Schultze 55); *kdl* = [L] or [rL]?*nerLeq*, pl. *nerLerit* goose*nəgalek* (Ray 55) goose-town*ulr, uLr > orL.**kulthkrvēt* (Barnum 348) [*qulqwił*] the shelves in native houses*qorlor-* e. g., in *qorlorpoq* (Gr.) water falling or streaming down*kulva'raka* (Barnum) I put it up high [*qulwaraka*]*qullarterpaa* (< **qu^wLLar*)* (Gr.) lifts it up in the air*a'tulrāa* (Barnum 327), verbal form < *ātōqtōā* I sing, use, wear, etc.**atorL-*, e. g., *atorLune* (Gr.) using¹The abbreviations Al., C., Gr., Lab., M., stand respectively for Alaska, Coast of Hudson bay, Greenland, Labrador, Mackenzie river.²Perhaps the same word as Lab. *kugvartipa* LIFTS UP IN HIS TROUSERS, etc., which becomes more evident by comparison with Gr. *qallerpaa* COVERS IT (=Lab. *kagvirtipa* [Thalbitzer I, 230] = Al. *kavraqta* [l. c., 231; Barnum 339]).

West Eskimo

enr, emr, ejr > ern, erm, erη.

openrak (Rink) spring-time
openachkāk (Schultze 43)
'up'naqkak (Barnum 373)
pēnrūk socks woven from
 grass (Barnum)
chāpīngrātōk (Barnum) it is
 nothing, it is not an actual
 thing
īngrik (Barnum) mountain

pe'ninra (Barnum 67) the
 stronger, its stronger one

'ēnrū (Barnum) a talisman,
 a charm

nīmxa [*nīmra*] (Ray) its lash-
 ing, band

unr > orn.

un'kā [*unra*] (Barnum) his arm-
 pit

katunra (Barnum) son

tungra (Barnum) a spirit

kinggnunra (Barnum) that or
 those behind

kiñunapa (Petitot)

*sr > rs, gr (cr) > *rj > rs > ss.*

az'rūcharak (Barnum 327) adul-
 tery

āzhrūūgna PECCARE CONTRA VI

ezrekoak (Wells a. Kelly)
 frost-bite

katzrak (Woldt-Jacobsen) white
egra (Wells a. Kelly) (my)
 eye

ēqka [*ijirka*] (Barnum) my eyes
 (*iqka* my eye)

nazruk (Wells a. Kelly) abdo-
 men

kug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) a swan

ug'ru (Wells a. Kelly) bearded
 seal

iggru (Wells a. Kelly) testicles

§ 12

East Eskimo (Greenland and Labrador)

u'pernaaq (Gr.) spring-time

pinne (Gr.) straw that is
pernit (Lab.) stuck in the boot-
saperna- (Gr.) it is impossible
 (to do)

īyīnik (Gr.) top of a mountain

pīmmak (Gr.) skilled through
 practice

pīmariovok, *pīmmariuterpik*
 (Lab.) thinks he is a strong man

aarnuaq (Gr.) charm, amulet
aar < eer?

nerma (Gr.) its band, lashing

orna (Gr.) his arm-pit

qitornaq (Gr.) child

toornaq (Gr.) a spirit

kiyorna (Gr.) after that

arssaarpan (Gr.) deprives him
 violently of something, robs

irseekau (Gr. Egede, 1750)

isseqaa^wq (Gr. now) it is strong
 cold

qarsortog (Gr.) bleached

irse (Gr. Egede, 1750) eye
 (< **irje*)

isse (Gr. now) eye; *i'sikka* my
 eyes

nāssāt (Gr.) abdomen (< **iar-
 jāt*)

qussuk (Gr.) a swan (< **qurjuk*)

ussuk (Gr.) seal (< **urjuk*)

issuk (Gr.) testicles (< **irjuk*)

Here I may mention an Alaska word, part of which is apparently influenced by retrogressive uvularization: *ir'shntnhrdt* (Barnum 337) MOUNTAIN SPIRITS is the same word as Gr. *issergat* (< **irsininqat*?), singular *isseraq*, spelled by Egede (1750) *irserak*. The same is true of the Al. 'kākrlōk (Barnum) THROAT, 'kāchluk (Schultze) LIP=Gr. *ʔarloq* LIP.

ʔq, lq, sq > rq.

Alaska	Mackenzie River (Petitot)	Baffin Land (Boas)	Labrador (Bourquin)	Greenland
<i>atkra</i> (Woldt-Jacobsen)	<i>atkpa</i> his name		<i>arqa</i>	<i>arqa</i> his
<i>atra</i> (Barnum) his name	<i>atépa</i> my name			name
<i>nātrok</i> (Barnum)	<i>natkpo</i> FOND DU BARK		(<i>netteg</i> , <i>nat- teg</i>)	<i>narga</i> floor, bottom
<i>mittqon</i> (N. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen)	<i>metkpon</i>	<i>migun</i>	<i>merqut</i>	<i>merqut</i>
<i>minqon</i> (S. Al., Woldt-Jacobsen) needle	AIGUILLE			needle
	<i>mitkpopk</i> POIL	<i>migung</i>	<i>mergoq</i>	<i>mergoq</i> hair of animals
<i>ikkilthkok</i> [<i>ik: ilqoq</i>] (Barnum)	<i>ekkaikok</i> (C.)			
<i>ekkitaurak</i> (Woldt-Jacobsen) the little finger	<i>kpikeptkpopk</i> (M.)	<i>ixiqoq</i>	<i>erqerqoq</i>	<i>eqerqoq</i> the little finger
' <i>ikqua</i> (Schultze) the end	(<i>itçuk</i> FIN)	<i>iqoa</i>	<i>erqua</i>	<i>erqua</i> the back end of it
(<i>kō'ka</i> [Barnum] middle)	<i>kpitkpa</i> MILIEU	* <i>qiqa</i>	<i>qerqa</i>	<i>qerqa</i> the middle of it
' <i>irk'klū</i> (Barnum) evil	<i>epklo</i> INTESTIN	<i>iqarvik</i>	<i>erchavik</i>	<i>erlawik</i> in- testines
' <i>guluk</i> (Schultze) intestines			[<i>er:awik</i>]	<i>erloq</i> rec- tum
(' <i>iqta</i> [Barnum] his den)	(<i>itçuk</i> ANGLE)	<i>iqe</i>	<i>erqe</i>	<i>eqe</i> , <i>eqeq</i> cor- ner

Alaska	Mackenzie River (Petitot)	Baffin Land (Boas)	Labrador (Bourquin)	Greenland
<i>akkizhzhigik</i> [ao:is:igiq] (Barnum) ptarmigan		<i>axi'girn</i> [ari'xiq]	<i>aqigeq</i>	<i>a'qisseq</i> ptarmigan
'chiskōkā [cisqo- ka] (Barnum) my knee	<i>tchitkpopk</i> GENOU	<i>si'yoq</i>	<i>seerqoq</i>	<i>seerqoq</i> knee
'ōkōk [oq:oq] blubber	<i>opktqok</i> GRAS	<i>uxsuq</i> [ursuq]	<i>orssaq</i>	<i>orssaq</i> blubber
<i>uskoqtoqtākā</i> (Barnum) I hold him with a cord (dog, etc.)		<i>uqsirn</i>	<i>orssaq</i>	<i>orssaq</i> bone ring for fastening the traces (sledge- dog)

The importance of retrogressive uvularization in the evolution of the Eskimo language is evident. Indeed, this phonetic process has deeply impressed itself on the morphology of the eastern dialects, the vocabulary as well as the grammar. The following sections, treating of the general grammatical features of the language, contain many examples of inflectional forms, that may be understood only when we bear this fact in mind.

Retrogressive uvularization is one of the most influential forces of transformation, due to the change of the word-stress mentioned in § 3.

CLASSES OF WORDS, BASE AND STEM (§§13-16)

§ 13. General Remarks on the Structure of the Eskimo Language

The structure of the Eskimo language is of a highly synthetic character, which apparently testifies to a typical tendency of the Eskimo mind to concentrate and condense its notions into as few word-complexes, or units of speech, as possible. Therefore a single Eskimo word may represent a whole sentence as compared with our usual mode of expression; e. g.—

anerquwaatit he (a) begs (*quwa*) you (*tit*) to go out (*aner*)
aneiaargerquwaatit he begs you again (*qer*) to go out early (*iaar*)

As a rule, such an Eskimo word or word-sentence can be analyzed and divided into an initial base-word (*aner* TO GO OUT), one or several

middle suffixes (*iaar*, *qer*, *quwa*), and a final element (*atit*). In this chapter we shall consider only the final elements, which are the proper inflectional forms and represent the most important, because the most frequently used, grammatical elements of the language.

§ 14. Base and Stem

Most words of the Eskimo language have two or several inflectional stems. The shortest stem is often identical with the base, and may be an obsolete stem. The base, from this point of view, is the primary stem, or the smallest number of sounds of which the word can consist, without losing its close resemblance to the actual forms of the word; we will call this the **BASE OF DERIVATION**.

The inflectional stem, or stems, are the secondary or expanded stems, which have originated in the history of the language, owing partly to suffixation and partly to phonetic changes in the bases of the word.

In the dialects of West Greenland (the northernmost at Smith sound excepted), all words end either in one of the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, or in one of the consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*. Of these sounds, only final *p* is confined to a certain class of words (viz., nouns), whereas the other final sounds are common to all classes of words. Words that end in *a*, *e*, or *o*, or in *q*, whether nouns or verbs, are always singular forms; *k* is the dual character, *t* the plural character; but there are nouns that end in *k* or *t* in the singular; e. g., *inuk* A MAN, AN ESKIMO; *sānnāt* TOOL.

In studying the bases of Eskimo words we shall soon see that several of them end in other sounds than we are accustomed to find in actual words of modern Eskimo; e. g., in *i*, *u*, or *l* (*L*) (see § 15). The Eskimo bases are either monosyllabic or bisyllabic; the stems appear to be bases widened by one or two sounds, and sometimes also affected by change of stress. From this point of view, the bases are hypothetical forms, secondary as compared with the words of the modern language; i. e., they have been reconstructed from these words for purposes of comparison. They are the explanatory connecting-links between related modern words, which may often be found to be very dissimilar.

On the other hand, if bases of this language occur which may end in other sounds than those nowadays found as the terminations of modern words, we are not bound to think that they end thus merely

because they have been artificially obtained by analyses, nor that such endings have never existed. There may have been a period in the development of the Eskimo language when the words occurred in forms different from any words that exist now.

§ 15. Examples of Bases and Stems¹

Bases	Derivative stems			
	Stage I (a, e, o).	Stage II (k, t, p).	Stage III (q).	Stage IV.
*ciu Al. <i>chū</i> front, bow of a boat M. <i>tcivulepk</i> the first, foremost Gr. <i>siua</i> , <i>syua</i> bow of a boat	*ciua <i>syuaq</i> front tooth	*ci'uk, ci'ul Al. <i>chē'ūtika</i> my ear Gr. <i>siut</i> ear Gr. <i>si'uLleq</i> fore- most	*ciuaq <i>syuarpoq</i> is be- fore	*clor <i>syoraq</i> front
*kui Gr. <i>kuiwaa</i> pours it Al. <i>kwiq</i> river=Gr. <i>kook</i> < *kui		*kui (> ku:k) Gr. <i>kooppoq</i> streams down Al. <i>'kwi'gum</i> of the river	*kooq <i>kooroq</i> valley = M. <i>kopkinept</i>	
*ayu Al. <i>'agman</i> man, male Gr. <i>ap'ul</i> , man, male Gr. <i>apuwog</i> pursues, hunts		*a'gut Al. <i>a'gñūtfak</i> stag, big buck		*ayut, *ayuleq *ayula <i>ayutit</i> the men <i>ayutaa</i> his father <i>ayuterpul</i> our father
*ca (*ca?)	*caa-*cao Gr. <i>saa</i> its front Al. <i>'chāōkik</i> the first, foremost Al. <i>chāōkikā</i> the one before me	*cat <i>sūlleq</i> < *sakiq the front-most, foremost		*caat Gr. <i>saappoq</i> turns front <i>saappaa</i> turns to, speaks to
*ca-*can Al. <i>chā</i> what thing? Al. <i>'chāpik</i> an ac- tual thing Al. <i>chānōk</i> a thing	*cana Al. <i>chā'nāōn</i> knife Gr. <i>sānawog</i> cuts, works	*canri > sannī Al. <i>chān'rētnōk</i> nothing Al. <i>chān'rīlgnōk</i> a thing of no value Gr. <i>sānnū</i> dust (<i>sānik</i> a mote of dust) ²	<i>sanneq</i> <i>'sannerpaa</i> soils it with dust (<i>sa'nerpaa</i> cleans it of dust) ²	

¹ The abbreviations Al., Gr., Lab., M., stand throughout for Alaska, Greenland, Labrador, and Mackenzie river, respectively.

² *sānik* thus appears to be a derivative of the plural collective *sānnū*.

sānerpaa may have been formed after the analogy of *i'maerpaa* TO EMPTY (TAKE [THE CONTENT] [ima] AWAY), cf. *imnerpaa* FILLS IT (with ima).

Bases	Derivative stems			
Vocalic or consonantal	Stage I (a, e, o)	Stage II (k, t, p)	Stage III (q)	Stage IV
*cane Gr. <i>sania</i> its side Gr. <i>sandmut</i> side-wards, athwart		*sa'ník Gr. <i>sani'gerpaa</i> takes place at his side Al. <i>chán'níká</i> my nearness, vicinity	*sanneq <i>sannerpoq</i> turns athwart of it ¹ <i>chá'nirgnák</i> cross-way	
*qul Al. <i>'kúlmá</i> my elevation Gr. <i>qulleg</i> the uppermost Gr. <i>qummut</i> < * <i>qul-mut</i> upwards, up	*qula-*qule Al. <i>'kúla</i> straight up above Al. <i>kú'léné</i> up Gr. <i>qulaane</i> above it Gr. <i>qulequt</i> upper appurtenance		*qulq > * <i>qorL</i> Al. <i>qhlútrád</i> a waterfall Al. <i>káqtóq</i> it is high Gr. <i>qorLortoq</i> waterfall	*qulva > * <i>qurva</i> Al. <i>qúlvádráká</i> I put it up high Gr. <i>qullárpapa</i> I lift it, elevate it
*at (or <i>atj</i>) Gr. <i>alleg</i> nethermost Gr. <i>ammut</i> < <i>atmut</i> downwards Al. <i>ámmdá'káutáká</i> I throw it down	*ata-atje Gr. <i>ataa</i> under it Al. <i>d'ché</i> below Al. <i>a'chéné</i> under it Al. <i>achimné</i> under me		*atq, *aleq Al. <i>átráqtód</i> I come down Gr. <i>a'terpoga</i> I go down	*arq (Gr.) Gr. <i>arqarpoga</i> I descend Gr. <i>arquppara</i> I bring it down
*tim Gr. <i>time</i> body; inland Gr. <i>timmut</i> landwards (on the sea) Al. <i>t'má</i> torso, body	*tima-*time <i>timaane</i> in the inland <i>timia</i> his body	*timak Al. <i>t'máthlak</i> dried fish	*timeq Gr. <i>timerleg</i> nearest to the inland	
*aw Gr. <i>awna</i> < * <i>awna</i> he in the north Gr. <i>awfa</i> < * <i>awfa</i> there in the north	*awa-*awo Gr. <i>'awane</i> in the north Gr. <i>awoga</i> to the north Al. <i>a'wáné</i> over there somewhere Al. <i>a'wáwálover</i> there	*awat or *awak Gr. <i>awammut</i> outwards Gr. <i>awáLleg</i> outermost Gr. <i>awayya</i> from the north Gr. <i>awannag</i> north wind		*awata Gr. <i>awataane</i> outside of it Gr. <i>awatag</i> , in pl. Gr. <i>awáttút</i> bladder ²
(*u)?-*uw (or <i>uwx</i>)? Gr. <i>una</i> he there Lab. <i>u'fa</i> or <i>u'xxa</i> there Lab. <i>u'ra</i> perhaps Al. <i>únd</i> he	*uwa-*uwo, *uwxo Gr. <i>uwane</i> there; <i>ooga</i> < * <i>uwo-pa</i> (?) to there; <i>ooma</i> < * <i>uwo-ma</i> (?) of him there; <i>uwxoona</i> through there Al. <i>'hwdné</i> here; <i>hwákún</i> from here	*uwak <i>u'wayya</i> from there		

¹Gr. *sannerut* a crossbar.

²*awataq* means properly SOMETHING THAT HAS ITS PLACE OUTSIDE; i. e., on the deck of the kayak.

Bases	Derivative stems			
Vocalic or consonantal	Stage I (a, e, o)	Stage II (k, t, p)	Stage III (q)	Stage IV
	* <i>uwa</i> -* <i>uwe</i> Gr. <i>uwaga</i> I; <i>uwagut</i> we Al. <i>hwōng</i> I; <i>hwōnkūtā</i> we Al. <i>hwō</i> I; <i>hwōn-</i> <i>gd</i> of me	* <i>uwap</i> or * <i>uwat</i> or * <i>uwak</i> Gr. <i>u'wānnut</i> to me Gr. <i>u'wālla</i> of our Al. <i>'hwang'nān</i> to me		
* <i>ta-tax</i> (?) Lab. <i>tagva</i> < * <i>tax</i> <i>Pa?</i> then Lab. <i>tagga</i> [<i>tax:a</i>] there it is	* <i>taa</i> -* <i>tao</i> Lab. <i>tāva</i> < * <i>tao-</i> <i>va</i> then, so it was Gr. <i>taawa</i> so it was Gr. <i>taa*na</i> < * <i>taona</i> he there			* <i>taooo</i> Gr. <i>taoosuna</i> of him there
* <i>ta</i> /j Gr. <i>tāssa</i>	* <i>tāja</i> -* <i>tājo</i> Gr. <i>tāssa</i> it is—, it is enough Gr. <i>tāssane</i> there; <i>tāssoo-</i> <i>na</i> through there		* <i>tājak</i> <i>tāssayya</i> from there	
* <i>ma</i> Al. <i>māniōk</i> it is here Al. <i>māhān</i> hence by this way (cf. Gr. <i>maona</i> through here)	* <i>maa</i> -* <i>mao</i> Gr. <i>maane</i> here Gr. <i>maa*na</i> < <i>maona</i> through here		* <i>maak</i> <i>maayya</i> from here <i>maanna</i> < * <i>ma-</i> <i>akna</i> now, the present moment	
* <i>ma</i> /j Gr. <i>massa</i> -this is—; here is— Gr. <i>manna</i> < * <i>ma</i> <i>na</i> this one M. <i>tamadja</i> surely	* <i>matja</i> -* <i>matjo</i> Gr. <i>massa</i> Gr. <i>massame</i> certainly, of course Gr. <i>matuma</i> = <i>masuma</i> of this here		* <i>matjak</i> Gr. <i>massaktut</i> now, for the time being	

§ 16. Classes of Words

The lines of demarcation between classes of words are vague, because a great many of the inflectional and derivative endings (suffixes) are common to words that we are accustomed to consider as belonging to separate classes, such as nouns and verbs. On the other hand, we can not assert that the evolution of this language has not tended toward a fixed grouping of some of the suffixes around certain classes of words (e. g., demonstratives; temporal particles; the terms I and THOU; WHOLE and ALONE). No doubt the Eskimo language shows

tendency similar to that of our own, of distinguishing between nouns and verbs; but this tendency has been crossed by other tendencies toward demarcation which partially neutralize the former, as will become evident in the following discussions.

Accordingly, instead of basing the distinction between Eskimo word-classes on the same principles as those of Latin grammar, I have chosen to depart from the category of the latter without completely giving up its technical terms of expression, which are useful because they are easily understood. In all branches of science, when proceeding from the known to the unknown, it is necessary to interpret the latter in the light of the former.

Following this method, we may distinguish between the following classes of words:

α. BASE-WORDS

- I. Words with full typical inflection { 1. Nouns (*illo* HOUSE, *ateq* NAME).
2. Verbs (*ikiwoq* IS IN, *aterpoq* GOES DOWN).
- II. Words with defective inflection (*tamaq* ALL, *wanya* I, the numerals, etc.).
- III. Words with atypical inflection: demonstrative and interrogative words (*una* HE THERE, *kina* WHO).
- IV. Words without any inflection { 1. Interjections.
2. Particles, temporal (*qana* WHEN), modal (*qanortoq* UTINAM), local (*uffa* THERE), etc.

β. SUFFIXES (ACTUAL AND OBSOLETE)

- I. Common to all kinds of words.
- II. Confined to certain groups of words.

INFLECTION (§§ 17-50)

Typical Inflection (§§ 17-44)

§17. *Plural and Dual Inflection*

This is the most general kind of inflection in the Eskimo language, applying to all sorts of words with the exception of particles and interjections.

There are two set of typical signs of the plural common to both nouns and verbs. Here we are concerned chiefly with the first set, or the pure dual and plural endings. The dual or plural signs of the other set are closely connected with or incorporated into the other inflectional endings, for which reason they have been more or less completely united with them in form as well as in meaning: e. g., the plural *n* in *illune* IN THE HOUSES, as compared with the *m* in *illum* IN THE HOUSE; or *k* in *ernikka* MY SONS, as compared with *r* in *erneri* MY SON.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
West Greenland .	$\begin{cases} a & o & e \\ q & k & t \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{(by adding } k) & ak & uk & ik \\ \text{(by substitution)} & k \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} at & ut & it \\ t \end{cases}$

Examples:

Nouns: <i>nuna</i> land	<i>nunak</i> two lands	<i>nunāt</i> lands
<i>illo</i> house	<i>illuk</i> two houses	<i>illut</i> houses
<i>isse</i> eye	<i>issik</i> two eyes	<i>issit</i> eyes
Verbs: <i>atoraa</i> he using it	<i>atoraak</i> they two using it	<i>atoraāt</i> they using it
<i>atorpoq</i> it is used	<i>atorpuk</i> they two are used	<i>atorput</i> they are used
	<i>atorik</i> hé using two	

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Baffin land . .	$\begin{cases} a^1 & o^2 & e^3 \\ q^4 > n^5 & k^6 > \eta^7 & n^8 \end{cases}$	$k^9 > \eta^{10}$	$t^{11} > n^{12}$

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| ¹ <i>nūna</i> land (Boas VI, 109) | ⁷ <i>irdning</i> son (<i>ibid.</i> , 102) |
| ² <i>igdlu</i> house (<i>ibid.</i> , 101) | ⁸ <i>angun</i> paddle (Boas I, 659) |
| ³ <i>ale'rtse</i> stocking (<i>ibid.</i> , 98); | ⁹ <i>patalaughuk</i> let us two strike (Boas II, 347) |
| <i>anu're</i> wind (<i>ibid.</i> , 99) | |
| ⁴ <i>tulugaq</i> raven (<i>ibid.</i> , 113) | ¹⁰ <i>inung magong tikitong</i> two men are coming (Boas I, 621) |
| ⁵ <i>nigirn</i> south wind (Gr. <i>nigeq</i>); | ¹¹ <i>qingmit</i> dogs (Boas VI, 105); |
| <i>nirdlirn</i> goose (Boas I, 664), | <i>ujarpā</i> he searches for them (<i>ibid.</i>) |
| cf. Gr. <i>nerLeg</i> | |
| ⁶ <i>ugjuk</i> a thong-seal (Boas VI, 114) | ¹² <i>tigmidjen</i> the birds (Boas II, 340) |

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Mackenzie river| (cf. Petitot p. L.)	$\begin{cases} a^1 & o^2 & e^3 \\ q^4 > n^5 & k^6 > \eta^7 & t^8 > n^9 \end{cases}$	$k^{10} \text{ or } q^{11}$	t^{12}

Examples:

- ¹ *tçilla* weather
² *epklo* intestines
³ *apnè* woman
⁴ *talepk* arm
⁵ *ateñ* name
⁶ *wyapak* stone
⁷ *apañ* father
⁸ *aggut* man

- ⁹ *ipun* oar
¹⁰ *nunak* two lands (Petitot XLIX)
¹¹ *atekpepk* two names (*ibid.*, L)
¹¹ *tupapkp* two tents (*ibid.*, XLIX)
¹² *nunat* lands; *tupkpéit* tents; *amit* skins; *ublut* days

Alaska (see Barnum)	Singular			Dual	Plural
	<i>a</i> ¹	<i>u</i> ²	<i>i</i> ³		
. . .	<i>q</i> ⁴ (?)	<i>k</i> ⁵	<i>n</i> ⁶	<i>k</i> ⁷ (<i>q</i> ⁸ ?) <i>q</i> ⁹ ?	<i>t</i> ¹⁰ (<i>n</i> ¹¹)

Examples:

- ¹ *sla* weather
² *irkklu* evil
³ *inglu* half
³ *snè* [*snè*] its bank or edge
⁴ *püyök* smoke *k*=[*q*]?
⁵ *ingrik* mountain
⁶ *ippün* native spoon or ladle
⁶ *cha'nasun* native knife
⁶ *slin* whetstone
⁷ *snäk* the banks (dual); cf. also Barnum 283

- ⁸ *iydrörlütüing*, see Barnum 281-282
⁹ *chivoaqka* my upper front teeth (Barnum 6); cf. the verb forms
¹⁰ *nunat* village (lands)
¹⁰ *ingrit* mountains
¹¹ *n* occurs as plural sign only in the numerals: *stämén* four, etc. (Barnum 219)

In the Greenland dialects the formation of the plural of nouns is often accompanied by change of stress: e. g.,

a'meq a skin

pl. *'ammit*

The dual form is much less used than the plural; and I think a great many nouns are never used in the dual, this form being replaced by the plural. On the other hand, there are some few words that occur only in the dual form: e. g.,

marluk two; *marlonnguik* two small ones

pussook the claw of a crayfish; the thumb and the forefinger

issaa'k goggles

The following words are collective plurals:

attät a dung-hill

norlut ligature

ullut a bird's nest (especially the down in the nest)

arssarnerit aurora borealis

pa'wtit a paddle

nuffrit a bird-dart

nässät the stomach

qa'tixxät the back (of man or animal)

assaa'tt the hand (< *assak* a finger)

umiät the boat rowed by women (< *umiaq* the empty boat)

Examples of words that form no plural are:

orasoq blubber

oquk mould

nilāk freshwater ice

nuak snout

Nouns (§§ 18-29)

§ 18. CLASS I. PLURAL INFLECTION WITHOUT SHIFT OF STRESS

The examples given in § 17 show that two principles are applied in the formation of the plural,—single addition of the plural sign to the singular form; and substitution of the plural sign for the final consonant. We observe the first principle in *illo*, pl. *illut*; the latter, in *ulloq*, pl. *ullut*. In the latter instance, *t* has been substituted for *q*. These two principles may be observed in the whole inflectional treatment of the noun.

On the whole, the plural stems of the nouns are prototypes of their inflection. Many nominal stems are affected by a shift of stress in the plural, which has often been followed by phonetic shifting in the stems of the words. We shall first treat words that show no shift of stress.

The plural ending is regularly *t*, but in some cases *it*.

1.

Singular	Plural	
<i>pana</i>	<i>panāt</i>	knife
<i>tutto</i>	<i>tuttut</i>	reindeer
<i>sise</i>	<i>sisit</i>	fox's den

2.

<i>qaqqaq</i>	<i>qaqqāt</i>	hill, mountain
<i>ayakkoq</i>	<i>ayakkut</i>	pagan priest
<i>qimmeg</i>	<i>qimmit</i>	dog
<i>tikippoq</i>	<i>tikipput</i> (they)	he has come

3. *-it* is added to the consonantal stem (i. e., the absolutive) of words ending in *t* (which *t*, when following an *i*, is regularly changed into *s* [cf. § 8]) and to the absolutive of certain words that end in *-eq* and *-ik* (the *q* and *k* being changed into *r* and *ɣ* [cf. § 4]).

Singular	Plural	
<i>sānnāt</i>	<i>sānnātīt</i>	tool
<i>merqut</i>	<i>merqutīt</i>	needle
<i>sillit</i>	<i>sillīsīt</i>	whetstone

Singular	Plural	
<i>ikeq</i>	<i>ikerit</i>	bay, sound
<i>erneq</i>	<i>ernerit</i>	son
<i>tikeq</i>	<i>tikerit</i>	forefinger
<i>illeq</i>	<i>illerit</i>	sleeping-place in the house
<i>uppiq</i>	<i>uppenit</i>	owl
<i>nukik</i>	<i>nukenit</i>	sinew, tendon
<i>mamik</i>	<i>maminit</i> or <i>mamit</i>	the fleshy side of a hide
<i>i^wkkik</i>	<i>i^wkkinit</i>	gum
<i>assik</i>	<i>assenit</i>	image, picture

5. -it is added to the vocalic stem of many words that end in *k* in the absolutive case:

Singular	Plural	
<i>unnuk</i>	<i>unnuit</i>	night
<i>inuk</i>	<i>inuit</i> or <i>innuit</i>	man (human being)
<i>assak</i>	<i>assaa't</i> (< <i>assait</i>)	finger

7. -it is added to many words that end in *aq* in the absolutive, especially to all words ending in -*innaq* and -*ttiaq*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>sorqaq</i>	<i>sorqaa't</i>	whalebone
<i>utorqaq</i>	<i>utorqaa't</i>	old (man or woman)
<i>naa^wjaa'nnaq</i>	<i>naa^wjaa'nnaa't</i>	only a gull
< <i>naa^wja + innaq</i>		
<i>umiättiaq</i>	<i>umiättaa't</i> < <i>umiät +</i>	a medium-sized boat
< <i>umiaq + ttiaq</i>	<i>ttaa't</i> < <i>ttiaait</i>	

8. -it is added to some words ending in -*oq* or -*eq* in the absolutive case:

Singular	Plural	
<i>nuloq</i>	<i>nuloot</i> < * <i>nuloit</i>	rump
<i>ilorleq</i>	<i>ilorleet</i> < * <i>ilorleit</i>	innermost

§ 19. CLASS II (a). PLURAL INFLECTION WITH SHIFT OF STRESS

The following nouns all agree in having in the singular strong stress on their final syllable, and weak stress on the preceding syllable; but in the plural the latter becomes strongly stressed, and accordingly, as a rule, lengthened (cf. § 3). The stress shifts, being thrown back toward the beginning of the word; and this shifting is combined with a change of the quantity of the sounds of the last two syllables, the short consonant between them being either geminated or changed, or displaced by a uvular, in the plural.

9.

Singular	Plural	
<i>a'meq</i>	<i>'ammit</i>	skin, hide
<i>i'maq</i> the sea	<i>'immät</i>	places of open water (in the ice)
<i>nä'noq</i>	<i>'nännut</i>	bear
<i>sä'nik</i>	<i>'sännit</i> or <i>sanyit</i>	dust
<i>ka'mik</i>	<i>'kammit</i>	boot
<i>u'mik</i>	<i>'ummit</i> or <i>uyyit</i>	beard
<i>uwi'nik</i>	<i>u'winnit</i> or <i>u'winyit</i>	flesh (of a living animal)

10.

<i>awa'taq</i>	<i>a'wättät</i>	a buoy
<i>taalu'taq</i>	<i>'taa'luttät</i>	little sledge

11. In the next following examples the penult consonant of the word becomes unvoiced in the plural:

Singular	Plural	
<i>isi'yak</i>	<i>i'sikkät</i>	foot
<i>'naalu'yag</i>	<i>'naa'lak'kät</i>	one who is obeyed, master
<i>'alla'yag</i>	<i>'alläk'kät</i>	letter

12.

<i>ne'yag</i>	<i>'nixxät</i>	a snare, gin
<i>qatë'yak</i>	<i>qa'tixxät</i>	back (of man)

13.

<i>tä'leq</i>	<i>'tällit</i>	arm
<i>uka'leq</i>	<i>u'källit</i>	hare
<i>ma'lik</i>	<i>'mällit</i>	wave, billow
<i>'nättora'lik</i>	<i>'nätto'rällit</i>	eagle
<i>a'loq</i>	<i>'allut</i>	sole
<i>u'loq</i>	<i>u'illut</i>	mussel
<i>asa'loq</i>	<i>a'sällut</i>	place of the harpoon-line on the kayak

14.

<i>nu'jaq</i>	<i>'nuttät</i> (South Gr. = <i>nutsät</i>)	hair
<i>ku'jak</i>	<i>'kuttät</i>	loin
<i>nara'jaq</i>	<i>'na'rattät</i>	bait

5.

Singular	Plural	
<i>nä'saq</i>	'nättät (South Gr. nätsät)	hood, cap
<i>kä'saq</i>	'kittät	anchor
<i>tä'seq</i>	'tättit	lake
<i>o'qaa^wseq</i>	<i>o'qaa^wtsit</i>	word
<i>qoŋa'seq</i>	<i>qo'ŋätt^sit</i>	neck

16.

<i>ajri'aq</i>	<i>a'jussät</i>	boil
<i>saatri'aq</i>	'saa'tus'sät	crab
<i>kani'oq</i>	<i>ka'nissut</i>	sea-scorpion
<i>iluli'aq</i>	<i>ilu'lissät</i>	iceberg
'ixxi'aq	'ix'xissät	throat, gullet
<i>qasenjaq</i>	<i>qase'ŋissät</i>	Phoca vitulina
<i>napari'aq</i>	<i>napa'rissät</i>	upright, rear piece of the sledge
<i>nu'kappi'aq</i>	<i>nu,kap'pissät</i>	bachelor

In the last-mentioned examples the *ss* of the plural seems to have originated from a semi-vowel (or *j*) that has become audible between the vowels, instead of the hiatus of the singular; so that, for instance, *ka'nissut* has developed from a plural form *kanijjut*, corresponding to a singular *kani'joq*, which form may sometimes really be heard instead of *kani'oq*. The shift *j > s* has been treated in § 6.

17.

Singular	Plural	
<i>iwik</i>	'iffit	grass, reed
<i>sa'wik</i>	'saffit or sa'weet	knife, iron

18.

<i>qi'pik</i>	'qi ^w kkit	feather-bed, blanket
<i>inu'waq</i>	'nukkat	toe
<i>tulu'waq</i>	<i>tu'lukkat</i>	raven

§ 20. CLASS II (b). PLURAL INFLECTION AFFECTED BY RETRO- GRESSIVE UVULARIZATION¹

In the following examples (nos. 19–24) the plural stems admit a uvular which causes a shifting of vowel (uvular mutation) in their penultima.

¹ See § 12, p. 998.

19.

Singular	Plural	
<i>sio'raq</i> [<i>siorAq</i>]	<i>si'orgât</i> [<i>sioq:ât</i>]	sand, granule
<i>piâ'raq</i>	<i>pi'argât</i> [<i>piAq:ât</i>]	a young one
<i>o'qag</i>	<i>'orgât</i> [<i>Oq:ât</i>]	tongue
<i>talé'roq</i>	<i>ta'lerqut</i> [<i>talEq: ut</i>]	fore-paw of a seal

20.

<i>a'teq</i> [<i>ateq</i>]	<i>'arqit</i> [<i>Aq: it</i>]	name
<i>na'teq</i>	<i>'narqit</i>	floor, bottom
<i>pa'teq</i>	<i>'parqit</i>	marrow
<i>i'teq</i>	<i>'erqit</i>	anus
<i>q'i'teq</i>	<i>'qerqit</i>	center, middle
<i>ni'teq</i>	<i>'merqit</i>	eider-duck

21.

<i>i'peq</i>	<i>'e^wqqit</i>	dirt, filth
<i>tu'peq</i>	<i>'to^wqqit</i> or <i>'torqit</i>	tent

22.

<i>ilu'weg</i>	<i>i'lor^rrit</i> or <i>ilorrit</i>	grave
<i>ni'geg</i> (South Gr.)	<i>'nerrit</i>	south wind
<i>qa'tik</i>	<i>'qarrit</i> or <i>'qakkit</i>	bird's breast

23.

<i>a'leq</i>	<i>'arLit</i>	harpoon-line
<i>qon'u'leq</i>	<i>qon'orLit</i>	cabbage

24.

<i>i'meq</i>	<i>'ernit</i>	lake
<i>arfi'neq</i>	<i>'ar'ferqit</i>	six
<i>ni'meq</i>	<i>'neryit</i> or <i>nermit</i>	binding, string
<i>qa'neq</i>	<i>'qarnit</i>	mouth
<i>saa^wneq</i>	<i>'saa^wryit</i> or <i>saa^wrnit</i>	bone
<i>u'neq</i>	<i>'ornit</i> or <i>ornit</i>	arm-pit

§ 21. CLASS III. IRREGULAR PLURAL INFLECTION

Plural inflection on irregularly amplified stems, without any shifting of stress (aside from the single exception *qa'jaq*), takes place in the following nouns:

25.

Singular	Plural	
<i>qa'jaq</i>	<i>'qâ'nnât</i>	kayak

26.

<i>ka'laaleq</i>	<i>ka'laallit</i>	a South Greenlander
<i>mâ'neelag</i>	<i>mâ'neellât</i>	uneven land or ice

27.

Singular	Plural	
'qaateq	'qaarqit	ferrule
'meeraq	'meerqât	child
a'kunneq	a'korqit	interval

28.

pooq	puxxut	bag (cf. Al. <i>pugyarak</i>)
u'naaq	u'narrât	harpoon-shaft

29.

aaq	atsit	sleeve (Al. <i>'amrak</i>)
naaq	nâssût abdomen	(the skin of) the belly
îḡa'laaq	îḡa'lâssût	window
'anno'raaq	'anno'râssût	shirt, dress

30.

The suffixes *-ḡuaq* LITTLE, *-suaq* GREAT, and *-aluaq* FORMER, ELSE, form their plurals by changing *-uaq* into *-uit*: e. g.,

Singular	Plural	
nunagḡuaq	nunagḡuit	a little land
nunarsuaq	nunarsuit	a great land
nunagaluq	nunagaluit	former land

§ 22. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IRREGULARITIES IN THE FORMATION OF THE PLURAL

The formation of the plural of nouns is very irregular, notwithstanding the fact that the plural forms all end in *t*. The chief element in these irregular formations is a shift of the word-stress, combined with a consonantal increase in the stem of the word. From this we may conclude that there must be some connection between these phenomena. Since the psychical factor must be considered the *primus motor* in the life of the language, we see the cause of the quantitative change in the shift of the stress. I have set forth elsewhere (Thalbitzer I, § 34) how I think this differentiation in the formation of the plural may be explained. It is not necessary to suppose that the general principle of the plural inflection by adding *t* or *it* has ever been set aside, or had to struggle with some other principle, but in certain words the plural ending *it* was added after the full singular stem (the absolutive) of the word instead of after the vocalic stem: e. g., instead of making *malik* A WAVE assume the regular plural form *malîit*, the ending *it* was added after the final *k*, no matter if this *k* properly pointed out the singularity of the notion; and thus a new

plural form, *malikit*, was introduced. The *k* that came to be between vowels changed to *g*, and *maligit* lost the vowel of its central syllable when the stress was drawn back to the first syllable. *malgit* became *mallit* in Greenland, the *lg* (or *lx*?) being assimilated into one sound. In the same manner I think most of the geminated consonants in plurals have originated from the final syllable of the singular, the terminal consonant (*g* or *k*) of this syllable having been retained in the plural. In *mm*, *kk*, *ll*, etc., then, two different consonants appear assimilated in accordance with the phonetic laws of the language, but each of them maintaining its existence in the lengthening (gemination) of the sound.

§ 23. ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE

The relative case, or *p*-case, of nouns is formed by adding *p* or *up* to the same stem of the noun as that from which the plural is formed. In most instances, in forming this case, the plural sign *t* is simply replaced by *p*.

By the addition of the *p*, the *a*-stems take the ending *-ap*; the *o*-stems *-up*; the *e*-stems, *-ip*; e g.,

Absolute	Relative
<i>arnaq</i> woman	<i>arnap</i> of the woman
<i>nuna</i> land	<i>nunap</i> of the land
<i>ayakkoq</i> shaman	<i>ayakkup</i> of the shaman
<i>illo</i> house	<i>illup</i> of the house
<i>taleq</i> arm	<i>tállip</i> of the arm
<i>isse</i> ['ise] or [i'se] eye	<i>issip</i> of the eye

-ip is added after those words that end in *t* in the absolute (cf.

§ 18.3): e. g.,

Absolute	Relative
<i>ayut</i> man, male	<i>ayutip</i> of the man

-up is the relative ending of all the nouns of the series nos. 4, 5, 6,

7, 8, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 30 (§§ 18-21): e. g.,

Absolute	Relative
<i>erneq</i> son	<i>ernerup</i> of the son
<i>inuk</i> man	<i>inoop</i> of man (< <i>inu-up</i>)
<i>iserfik</i> entrance	<i>iserfiup</i> of the entrance
<i>nunayaluq</i> former land	<i>nunayaloop</i> of the former land
<i>nateq</i> floor	<i>narqup</i> of the floor
<i>tupeq</i> tent	<i>to^wqqup</i> of the tent

§ 23

In the western dialects, *m* stands for *p* in this grammatical function:

Alaska	<i>rum āchādnē</i> beneath the house	Greenland <i>inip ataane</i>
Barnum 13)	<i>chikum illoānē</i> of the ice in its interior	Greenland <i>sikup iluane</i>
(<i>Ibid.</i> , 33)	<i>slām</i> of the world	Greenland <i>silap</i>
Mackenzie river	<i>nunam</i> of the land	Greenland <i>nunap</i>
(Petitot XLIX)	<i>tupkib</i> of the tent	Greenland <i>to^wqqup</i>
XXXIV)	<i>anopem</i> of the wind	Greenland <i>anorip</i> or <i>anorrrup</i>

§ 24. LOCAL CASES

The local case-endings are alike in the singular and the plural, but they are added to different stems of inflection, the nominal stem in the singular ending in *m*, in the plural in *n*. This is the same in the Greenland and in the Alaska dialects. Only the prosecutive case is excepted; since in the singular it shows a consonantal stem ending in *k*, but in the plural either a lengthened stem ending in *-te*, or a lengthened suffix (*-tiqut*).

	Northwest Greenland Singular		Southwest Alaska Singular
Absolutive	<i>qaggaq</i> mountain		<i>ingrik</i> mountain (Barnum 10)
Allative	<i>ut qagqamut</i> to the mountain	<i>un</i>	<i>ingrimūn</i> [<i>iyri-mun</i>]
Locative	<i>e qagqame</i> in the mountain	<i>e</i>	<i>ingrimē</i> [<i>iyprime</i>]
Ablative	<i>it qagqamit</i> from the mountain	?	
Instrumentalis	<i>ik qagqamik</i> by the mountain	<i>uk</i>	<i>ingrimūk</i> [<i>iyri-muk</i>] or [<i>-mik</i>]?
Prosecutive	<i>kut qagqakkut</i> over or through the mountain	<i>kun</i>	<i>ingrikūn</i> [<i>iyri-kun</i>]
Conformative or Aequalis	<i>tut qagqatut</i> like a mountain	<i>tun</i>	<i>ingritūn</i> [<i>iyri-tun</i>]
	Plural		Plural
Absolutive	<i>qagqat</i> mountains		<i>ingrit</i> mountains
Allative	<i>ut qagqanut</i> to the mountains	<i>un</i>	<i>ingrinūn</i>
Locative	<i>e qagqane</i> in the mountains	<i>e</i>	<i>ingrinē</i>

	Northwest Greenland Plural		Southwest Alaska Plural
Ablative	<i>it</i>	<i>qagqanit</i> from the mountains	?
Instrumentalis	<i>ik</i>	<i>qagqanik</i> by the mountains	<i>uk ingrinük</i>
Prosecutive ¹	<i>igut</i>	<i>qagqatigut</i> over the mountains	<i>t'hun ingritthün</i> [<i>igrit-t'hun</i>]
Conformative or Æqualis	<i>tut</i>	<i>qagqattut</i> like the mountains	<i>tun ingrittün</i>

		Northwest Greenland	
		Singular	Plural
Absolutive		<i>illo</i> a house, the house	<i>illut</i> houses, the houses
Allative	<i>-ut</i>	<i>illumut</i> to, into, the house	<i>illunut</i> to, into, the houses
Locative	<i>-e</i>	<i>illumme</i> in the house	<i>illune</i> in the houses
Ablative	<i>-it</i>	<i>illumit</i> from the house	<i>illunit</i> from the houses
Instrumentalis	<i>-ik</i>	<i>illumik</i> by (with) the house	<i>illunik</i> by (with) the houses
Prosecutive	<i>-kut, -gut</i>	<i>illukkut</i> through the house	<i>illutigut</i> through the houses

There is only one kind of irregularity, or of deviation from this type of inflection, arising by the retention of the final consonant of the absolutive case in the other cases, this consonant being assimilated with the initial consonant of the case-suffix. Accordingly, only such words as end in a consonant in the absolutive singular may show irregularities; e. g., *ulloq*, which retains its final *q*, assimilated into *r* in four of the singular cases, but is quite regular in the plural.

	Singular	Plural (regular)
Absolutive	<i>ulloq</i> a day, the day	<i>ullut</i> days
Allative	<i>ullormut</i> to the day	<i>ullunut</i> to the days
Locative	<i>ullorme</i> in the day, on the day	<i>ullune</i> in the days
Ablative	<i>ullormit</i> from the day	<i>ullunit</i> from the days
Instrumentalis	<i>ullormik</i> with the day	<i>ullunik</i> with the days
Prosecutive	<i>ullukkut</i> in or through the day	<i>ullutigut</i> through the days

NOTE: *ullorme* on that day; *ullume* to-day.

¹ The prosecutive plural ends, in Southwest Greenland, in *-tigut* (= Labrador), which form is nearer to the Alaska *-t'hun* (or *t'xun*?) than is the north Greenlandic form.

Other examples:

<i>nä't^{eq}</i> floor	' <i>ukkaq</i> front wall of house .
<i>nä't^{ermut}</i> to the floor	' <i>ukkarmut</i> to the front wall
<i>nä't^{erme}</i> (or <i>nargane</i>) on the floor	<i>ukkarme</i> at the front wall
	<i>ukkakkut</i> through the front wall
	<i>ukkatinut</i> through the front walls
<i>i'meq</i> fresh water	
<i>i'mermut</i> to the water	
<i>i'merme</i> in the water	
<i>imikkut</i> through the water	

Words ending in *-Leq* (local superlative ending):

<i>sī'ulLeq</i> the foremost one	<i>kīy'ulLeq</i> the last one
<i>sī'ullerme</i> at the foremost one	<i>kīy'ullerme</i> at the last one
<i>siullermik</i> firstly	<i>kīy'ullermik</i> the last time
<i>i'lorLeq</i> the innermost one	' <i>kīlLeq</i> the most western one
<i>i'lorLermut</i> from the innermost one	
<i>ilorLernut</i> to the innermost ones	' <i>kīllermut</i> to the most western one
<i>ilorLikkut</i> through the innermost one	' <i>kīllikkut</i> through the most western one
<i>ilorLertigut</i> through the innermost ones	<i>kīllertigut</i> through the most western ones

§ 25. LOCAL CASES—Continued

In nouns ending in *-k* this sound has been assimilated by the formative endings:

	Singular	Singular
Absolutive . . .	<i>sawik</i> a knife	<i>katak</i> inner doorway in the house
Allative . . .	<i>sawimmut</i>	<i>katammut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>sawimme</i>	<i>katamme</i>
Instrumentalis .	<i>sawimmik</i>	<i>katammik</i>
Prosecutive . .	<i>sawikkut</i>	<i>katakut</i>
Conformative .	<i>sawittut</i>	<i>katattut</i>

Examples:

'*sarpimmik* by means of the tail (of a whale) (< *sarpik*,
uilu'limmut to the mussel-place (< *uilulik* place where there are
 mussels)
noōmmut from the point of land (< *nook*)
inuttut as a human being (especially Eskimo) (< *inuk*)

Nouns ending in *-t* either retain this sound in assimilated shape in the singular declension, or form their cases on a lengthened stem (*-te*); e. g.,

aput snow on the earth (*apummut*, *apumme*, *apummik*)

oommat heart (*oommamnik* or *oommatimik* by the heart; *oommatinik* by the hearts; *oommatikkut* through the heart; *oommatitigut* through the hearts)

nappaa^wt illness (*nappaa^wmmut* or *nappaa^wtimit* from [because of] illness; *nappaa^wtinit* from illnesses; *nappaa^wtikkut* through illness; *nappaa^wtitigut* through illnesses)

A few words ending in final *t* are regularly declined after the type of *illo*; e. g., *kammeeumik* or *kammiumik* with the boot-stretcher (*<kammiut*).

All nouns belonging to Class II (§§ 19-20) and most of the nouns belonging to Class III (§ 21) form their local cases, both singular and plural, on the plural stem. The absolutive case stands isolated among these formations, being apparently irregular. The explanation of this fact is similar to the one set forth in § 22, and I have treated the question more fully in "A Phonetical Study," § 34.

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive . . .	<i>ameq</i> hide, skin	<i>ammüt</i>
(Relative) . . .	(<i>ammip</i>)	(<i>anmüt</i>)
Allative . . .	<i>ammimut</i>	<i>ammimut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>ammime</i>	<i>ammime</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>ammimüt</i>	<i>ammimüt</i>
Instrumentalis .	<i>ammimik</i>	<i>ammimik</i>
Prosecutive . .	<i>ammikkut</i>	<i>ammimütigut</i>
Absolutive . . .	<i>ujaraq</i> stone	<i>ujarqat</i>
(Relative) . . .	(<i>ujarqap</i>)	(<i>ujarqat</i>)
Allative . . .	<i>ujarqamut</i>	<i>ujarqanut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>ujarqame</i>	<i>ujarqane</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>ujarqamüt</i>	<i>ujarqanüt</i>
Instrumentalis .	<i>ujarqamik</i>	<i>ujarqanik</i>
Prosecutive . .	<i>ujarqakkut</i>	<i>ujarqanütigut</i>
Absolutive . . .	<i>kooroq</i> valley, ravine	<i>koorqut</i>
Allative . . .	<i>koorqumut</i>	<i>koorqunut</i>
Locative . . .	<i>koorqume</i>	<i>koorqune</i>
Ablative . . .	<i>koorqumüt</i>	<i>koorqunüt</i>
Instrumentalis .	<i>koorqumik</i>	<i>koorqunik</i>
Prosecutive . .	<i>koorqukkut</i>	<i>koorqunütigut</i>

	Singular
Absolutive	<i>it^eerog</i> stale urine
Allative	<i>it^eergumut</i>
Locative	<i>it^eergume</i>
Ablative	<i>it^eergumit</i>
Instrumentalis	<i>it^eergumik</i>
Prosecutive	<i>it^eergukkut</i>

§ 26. PERSONAL CASES, OR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION, OF NOUNS.

GREENLAND

	Absolutive			Relative		
	Singular of the noun	Plural of the noun	Dual	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ga, ra</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mma</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>t</i>	<i>tit</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>wit, rpil</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>ppit</i>
4th per. sing. ¹ .	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nne</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mme</i>
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>rput, pput</i>	<i>wut, gut</i>	<i>pput</i>	<i>wta</i>	<i>wta</i>	<i>wnnuk</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>rse, sse</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>sse</i>	<i>wse</i>	<i>wse</i>	<i>wtik</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>rtik, ttik</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>ttik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mik</i>	<i>mmik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>a</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>kit</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>at</i>	<i>e, et</i>	<i>yik (<gik)</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>kit</i>

ALASKA (BARNUM 19-25)²

	Singular	Plural	Dual	Singular	Plural	Dual
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ka</i>	<i>nka</i>	<i>rka</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mma</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>in</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>rkin</i>	<i>hpil, hfit</i>	<i>fit</i>	<i>rpit</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nne</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>mme</i>
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>wut, hput</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>rput</i>	<i>mta</i>	<i>mta</i>	<i>mmta</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>se, ze</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>rce</i>	<i>hpice, fce</i>	<i>pice, fce</i>	<i>rpice</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>siy, ziy</i>	<i>tiy</i>	<i>rtiy</i>	<i>müy</i>	<i>müy</i>	<i>xamüy</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>a, e</i>	<i>aj, c</i>	<i>ak, ik</i>	<i>an, in</i>	<i>ajn</i>	<i>rkin</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>at</i>	<i>ajn, ayt</i>	<i>rkit</i>	<i>ata, ita</i>	<i>ajta</i>	<i>rketa</i>

It will be clear from this synopsis that some of the Greenland singular and plural endings must be accounted for in the dual forms of the Alaska dialect. I have especially in mind the endings beginning in *r* (<*q*), *rput* OUR, *rse* YOUR, *rtik* THEIR OWN, *rpit* OF THY, which in Greenlandic indicate the singular of the thing owned; in Alaska, duality. Likewise the Greenland *yik* THEIR OWN TWO ONES, which does not agree in form with the Alaska *rket*, originally must have meant THEIR TWO SELVES' TWO, since it is in form in accord-

¹ I designate by "fourth person" the reflexive, the form expressing that the subject of the sentence is possessor.

² I have here hypothetically transcribed the paradigms of Barnum in accordance with my own spelling of the Eskimo language.

ance with the Alaska possessive suffix of this meaning: *rkik* (in the relative *rkenka*). The dual system is disappearing in Greenland, but it has been recorded by Paul Egede and S. Kleinschmidt, so that all the original Greenland forms are known. I have only cited two-fifths of the forms in the synopsis above presented; namely, such as express duality of the object possessed. The other forms express duality of the possessor: e. g.,

POSSESSIVE DUAL ENDINGS

Possessor dual	Greenland			Alaska		
	Object possessed. Absolute			Object possessed. Absolute		
	Singular	Dual	Plural	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	<i>puk</i>	<i>ppuk</i>	<i>wuk</i>	<i>wuk</i>	<i>rpuk</i>	<i>puk</i>
2d	<i>tik</i>	<i>ttik</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>zik</i>	<i>rtuk</i>	<i>tuk</i>
3d	<i>k</i>	<i>kik</i>	<i>kik</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>rkik</i>	<i>kek</i>
4th	?	?	?	<i>zik</i>	<i>tik</i>	<i>tik</i>
	Object possessed. Relative			Object possessed. Relative		
1st	<i>wennuk</i>	<i>wennuk</i>	<i>wennuk</i>	<i>muznuk</i>	<i>zmuznuk</i>	<i>muznuk</i>
2d	<i>wtik</i>	<i>wtik</i>	<i>wtik</i>	<i>hpituk</i>	<i>tpituk</i>	<i>pituk</i>
3d	<i>ata</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>nnuk</i>	<i>rkinka</i>	<i>kinka</i>
4th	?	?	?	<i>muznuk</i>	<i>zmuznuk</i>	<i>muznuk</i>

In the absolutive first person the two dialects of Greenland and Alaska apparently have interchanged their singular and plural forms, *puk* meaning in Greenland OUR TWO SELVES' ONE, in Alaska THOSE BELONGING TO OUR TWO SELVES, and *wuk* vice versa. The double duals especially (of both object possessed and possessor) have been contracted in Greenland, *rp* being assimilated to *pp*, *rt* to *tt*, etc. The Greenland *kit*, OF THEIR TWO SELVES' TWO, may be the remnant of the Alaska *rkin(ka)*, exactly as is the Greenland dual absolutive *kik* a remnant of the Alaska *rkik*; whereas the last syllable, *ka*, of *rkinka*, seems to be a special suffix, perhaps formed in analogy to the *nka* of the absolutive plural first person. It is astonishing to find that the relative endings of the fourth person in the Alaska dialect are identical with those of the first person. The dual forms of that person are probably lost in the Greenland dialect.

The consistent use of the uvular as the general sign of the dual in the Alaska possessive suffixes is worthy of notice, while in the other forms, in the Alaska dialect as well as in the others, the palatal *k* per-

forms the dual function. Does this fact perhaps justify us in assuming that the uvular (i. e., *q*) was once used for marking the dual in the Eskimo language? (cf. §17.)

§ 27. PARADIGM OF THE POSSESSIVE INFLECTION OF NOUNS

GREENLAND DIALECT

	Absolutive illo HOUSE		Relative illup OF THE HOUSE	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	illôya my house	illukka my houses	illuma	illuma
2d per. sing. .	illut thy house	illutit thy houses	illuwit	illuwit
4th per. sing. .	illune his own (SUUS) house	illune his own houses	illume	illume
1st per. pl. .	illorput our house	{illuwut or illorput} our houses	illuwta	illuwta
2d per. pl. .	illorse your house	illuse your houses	illuwse	illuwse
4th per. pl. .	illortik their own (SUUS) house	illutik their own houses	illumik	illumik
3d per. sing. .	illua his (EJUS) house	illue his (EJUS) houses	illuata	illuata
3d per. pl. .	{illut their (BORUM) house	{illutit or illue } their (BORUM) houses	illumik	illumik

It will be noted that most cases are formed from the vocalic stem of the word, except three; namely, the first, second, and fourth plural possessive, singular object, absolutive, which are formed on a lengthened consonantal stem, **illoq*, as if to emphasize the idea of the singular of the object (ONE HOUSE) as against the plurality of the personal endings (OUR, YOUR, THEIR) or of those plural cases which end in *wut* (*put*), *se*, *tik*.

The possessive inflection of nouns is apparently always regular, because the endings are invariably the same. The peculiarities in the inflection of many nouns are due to shifts in the word-stems, not in the endings of the suffixes. Exceptions are such occasional assimilations of the initial sounds of the suffixes as follow the linking to different stems: e. g., *-itit* THY; *illutit* THY HOUSES; *-isit* in *uwisit* THY HUSBANDS (<*uwe*); the shifts of *e* > *i*, *o* > *u*, *a* > *â*, etc. (cf. §§ 5 and 10); *aaq* A SLEEVE, *aai* < **aae* HIS SLEEVES (*i* < *e* HIS).

Only two of the possessive suffixes have alternating forms dependent on the word-stem to which they are to be added:

First person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, absolutive, *ya* or *ra*

Second person, singular possessor; singular object possessed, relative *wit*, or *rpit* or *ppit*

-ra is the form of the suffix of the first person singular *MY* in such words as end in *q* in the absolutive:

erneq a son
arnaq woman
qarssog arrow

ernera my son
arnara my mother
qarssora my arrow

All words ending in a vowel add *ŋa*; e. g., *illŋa* my house.

-ŋa is added to the vocalic stem of words ending in *k* in the absolutive:

panik daughter

paniŋa my daughter

Words ending in *t* in the absolutive form their first person and some of the other personal cases on a longer stem ending in *-te*:

ayut man

ayuteŋa my father

A remarkable fact is the constant identity of the form of the second person singular possessor, singular object possessed, absolutive (*illut* THY HOUSE) and of the plural form of the word (*illut* HOUSES). There is probably no exception to this rule. Since many words form irregular plurals, either because of retention of the terminal consonant of the singular or owing to internal changes of their stems (cf. § 22), the same irregularity also appears in their second person singular forms:

taleq arm
talia his arm

tallit thy arm = *tallit* arms

§ 28. IRREGULAR POSSESSIVE INFLECTION

Following are some deviations from the typical paradigm given above:

(a) Many words ending in *e* form their third person possessives exactly as if they were vocalic *a*-stems (cf. § 15 **tim*).

ise ['*ise*] or [*i'se*] EYE.

Possessor	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
3d per. sing. .	<i>isua</i>	<i>isuai</i>	<i>isaata</i>	<i>isaiisa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>isaat</i>	<i>isaait</i>	<i>isaata</i>	<i>isaiisa</i>

MAN, FATHER < * *ayute*.

Possessor	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	<i>ayuleya</i>	<i>ayutikka</i>	<i>ayutima</i>	<i>ayutima</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>ayutil</i>	<i>ayutitt</i>	<i>ayutivitt</i>	<i>ayutivitt</i>
4th per. sing. .	<i>ayutine</i>	<i>ayutine</i>	<i>ayutime</i>	<i>ayutime</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>ayuterput</i>	<i>ayuleput</i>	<i>ayutiwtia</i>	<i>ayutiwtia</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>ayuleroc</i>	<i>ayutise</i>	<i>ayutiwsee</i>	<i>ayutiwsee</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>ayulertik</i>	<i>ayutittik</i>	<i>ayutimik</i>	<i>ayutimik</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>ayulaa</i>	<i>ayulaai</i>	<i>ayulaata</i>	<i>ayulaa'aa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>ayulaat</i>	<i>ayulaait</i>	<i>ayulaata</i>	<i>ayulaa'aa</i>

In some of the personal cases this word has double forms, its stem-terminal being assimilated with the suffix-initial.

- 4th per. sing. *ayutine*=*ayunne* his (SUUS) father
ayutime=*ayumme*
- 4th per. pl. *ayutimik*=*ayummik*
- 1st per. pl. *ayuterput*=*ayupput* our father
- 1st per. sing. *ayutima*=*ayumma*
- 2d per. sing. *ayutiwitt*=*ayuppit*

(b) *tā'leq* (pl. *'tāLLitt*) ARM.

	Absolutive		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	<i>tā'lera</i> my arm	<i>tāLLikka</i> my arms	<i>tāLLima</i>	<i>tāLLima</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>tāLLitt</i> thy arm	<i>{tāLLittit or tāLLiitt}</i> thy arms	<i>tāLLiitt</i>	<i>tāLLiitt</i>
4th per. sing. .	<i>{tāLLine or tāLLine}</i> his or her own arm	<i>{tāLLine or tāine}</i> his, her, own arms	<i>tāLLime</i>	<i>tāLLime</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>tā'lerput</i> our arm	<i>tāLLiitt</i> our arms	<i>tāLLiittia</i>	<i>tāLLiittia</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>tā'lerse</i> your arm	<i>tāLLise</i> your arms	<i>tāLLiisse</i>	<i>tāLLiisse</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>tā'kertik</i> their own arm	<i>{tāLLittik or tāLLiittik}</i> their own arms	<i>tāLLimik</i>	<i>tāLLimik</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>tā'lia</i> his, her, arm	<i>tā'lee</i> his (EUS) arms	<i>tāliata</i>	<i>ta'leesa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>tā'liat</i> their arm	<i>{tā'leet or tā'lee}</i> their (EORUM) arms	<i>tāliata</i>	<i>tā'leesa</i>

Thus the word *taleq* is in most of the personal cases declined on the plural stem *tāLLe*, with shifting of the word-accent and change of the medial consonant (*l > LL*), which becomes geminated and unvoiced in the forms here in question.

The following nouns are declined after the analogy of *taleq*:

Singular	Plural or second person singular	Third and fourth person possessive
	First and second person possessive	
<i>a'loq</i> . . .	'allut soles, thy sole; <i>allukka</i> my soles	<i>allune</i> or <i>alle</i> his own sole
<i>a'meq</i> . . .	'ammit skins, thy skin; <i>ammiwut</i> our skins <i>ammiwit</i> of thy skin (or skins)	
<i>qa'jaq</i> . . .	'qatnndt kayaks, thy kayak; <i>qatnna</i> my kayaks	<i>qatnne</i> their own kayak (or kayaks)
<i>nu'jaq</i> . . .	'nuttat hair, thy hair; <i>nuttatit</i> thy hair (pl.)	'nuttane his (own) hair <i>nu'jaaf</i> his (another man's) hair
<i>o'qaq</i> . . .	<i>o'qqat</i> tongues, thy tongue	<i>o'qaa</i> his, its tongue
<i>o'qaawseq</i> . . .	<i>o'qaawsit</i> words, thy word <i>o'qaawsitika</i> my words	

Most of the words that end in one of the suffixes *-yaq*, *-yak*, *-waq*, *-raq*, *-roq*, belong here, but others as well; for instance,

allanaq something written;

a letter

isinyak (pl. *i'sikkat*) a toe, the foot

iseraq the upper part of the foot

akeraq enemy, opponent

inuwaq a toe (*inuwai* his toes)

Likewise the words ending in *-iaq* and *-uaq* (*-uak*); e. g.,

assiliaq picture

uluak cheek

(c) The next paradigm is peculiar, in that the third person is declined on the plural stem throughout.

a'teq (pl. *'arqit*) A NAME.

Possessor	Absolute		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	<i>atera</i>	<i>atikka</i>	<i>alterma</i>	<i>atima</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>arqit</i>	<i>atitit</i>	<i>alterpit</i>	<i>atirit</i>
4th per. sing. .	<i>atine</i> or <i>arqe</i>	<i>atine</i>	<i>alterme</i>	<i>atime</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>alerput</i>	<i>atiwut</i>	<i>atitella</i>	<i>atitella</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>aterse</i>	<i>atise</i>	<i>atisee</i>	<i>atisee</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>alertik</i>	<i>atitik</i>	<i>alermik</i>	<i>atimik</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>arqa</i>	<i>arqe</i>	<i>arqata</i>	<i>arqisa</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>arqat</i>	<i>arqit</i> or <i>arqe</i>	<i>arqata</i>	<i>arqisa</i>

The explanation of the development of the irregular forms has been given in § 22.

This is the method of declension of the following nouns:

Singular	Plural or second person singular	Third person possessive
	Second person possessive	
<i>a'leq</i>	' <i>arLLit</i> harpoon-lines, thy harpoon-line	<i>arLLa</i> (<i>a'likka</i> my harpoon-lines)
<i>na'teq</i>	' <i>narqqit</i> floors, bottoms, thy floor, bottom	<i>narqqa</i> (<i>naterput</i> our floor)
<i>pa'teq</i>	' <i>parqqit</i> marrow (pl.), thy marrow	<i>parqqa</i>
<i>qé'teq</i>	' <i>qerqqit</i> middle, mid- (pl.), thy middle	<i>qerqqa</i>
<i>i'teq</i>	<i>erqqit</i> anus (pl.), thy anus	<i>erqqa</i>
<i>ni'meq</i>	' <i>nermmit</i> bindings, string, thy binding	<i>nermma</i>
<i>qa'neq</i>	<i>qarnnit</i> mouths, thy mouth	<i>qarnna</i>
<i>saa'neq</i>	<i>saaornnit</i> bones, thy bone	<i>saaornna</i> (also <i>saaorygit</i> , etc.)
<i>u'neq</i>	' <i>ornnit</i> armpits, thy armpit	<i>ornna</i> (also <i>orygit</i> , etc.)
<i>tu'peq</i>	' <i>towqqit</i> tents, thy tent	<i>towqqa</i> (also <i>tupit</i> , etc.)
<i>iluweq</i>	<i>ilorFEit</i> graves, thy grave	<i>ilorFEa</i> or <i>ilorBa</i>

The following numerals also belong here:

arrineq 6

arfernyat the sixth (properly their number 6, or the number 6 of the fingers)

arqaneq 11

arqaryat the eleventh

arfersaneq 16

arfersaryat the sixteenth

(d) The peculiarities in the declension of the following paradigm remind us of that just mentioned, *ateq*, pl. *arqit*, A NAME, to which it is evidently closely related.

kiLLik (pl. ***kiLLiyit***) A LIMIT, BOUNDARY.

Possessor	Absolute		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kiLLepa</i>	<i>kiLLikka</i>	<i>kiLLemma</i>	<i>kiLLima</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kiLLeyit</i>	{ <i>kiLLitit</i> or <i>kiLLisit</i> }	{ <i>kiLLippit</i>	<i>kiLLitwit</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>kiLLine</i>	<i>kiLLine</i>	<i>kiLLimme</i>	<i>kiLLime</i>
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>kiLLipput</i>	<i>kiLLeyut</i>	<i>kiLLitwta</i>	<i>kiLLitwta</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>kiLLisse</i>	<i>kiLLise</i>	<i>kiLLisse</i>	<i>kiLLisse</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>kiLLittik</i>	{ <i>kiLLitit</i> or <i>kiLLisik</i> }	{ <i>kiLLimmik</i>	<i>kiLLimik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>kiLLepa</i>	<i>kiLLeye</i>	<i>kiLLepata</i>	<i>kiLLeyisa</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>kiLLeyat</i>	{ <i>kiLLeye</i> or <i>kiLLeyit</i> }	{ <i>kiLLeyata</i>	<i>kiLLeyisa</i>

The paradigm of *kiLLik* will serve as a model for the following noun:

assik picture; *asseyit* or *assit* thy picture; *assitit* or *assisit* thy pictures; *asseya* my picture, his or its picture; *assipput* or *asserput* our picture

Some few other nouns that are rarely used except in the third person are treated in the same manner.

**tukik* (third person *tukēya*) the long side of it

**missik* (*missēya* or *missaa*) line between two points, proportional line

**terLLik* (*terLLēya*) his or its safe side (the side from which nothing evil is expected)

qilik (*qilēya*) its bone peg (viz., the bone peg of the throwing-stick)

milik (*milēya*) that which obstructs a passage or channel

nalik (*nalēya*) its equivalent

erneq A SON, *i'keq* FOREFINGER, *'tilleq* PULSE, PULSATION, also belong here:

erneq (pl. *ernerit*) A SON.

	Absolute		Relative	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	<i>ernera</i> my son	<i>ernikka</i> my sons	<i>ernerna</i>	<i>ernina</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>ernerit</i> thy son	<i>ernitit</i> or <i>ernisil</i> } thy sons	<i>ernerpit</i>	<i>ernisil</i>
4th per. sing. .	<i>erne</i> his own son	<i>ernine</i> his own sons	<i>ernerne</i>	<i>ernine</i>
1st per. pl. .	<i>ernerput</i> our son	<i>ernitout</i> or <i>ernigut</i> } our sons	<i>ernitla</i>	<i>ernitla</i>
2d per. pl. .	<i>ernerse</i> your son	<i>ernise</i> your sons	<i>ernisse</i>	<i>ernisse</i>
4th per. pl. .	<i>ernertik</i> their own son	<i>ernitik</i> or <i>ernisik</i> } their own sons	<i>ernernik</i>	<i>ernisik</i>
3d per. sing. .	<i>ernera</i> his (EJUS) son	<i>ernere</i> his sons	<i>ernerala</i>	<i>ernerisa</i>
3d per. pl. .	<i>ernerat</i> their (EORUM) son	<i>ernere</i> or <i>ernerit</i> } their sons	<i>ernerata</i>	<i>ernerisa</i>

§ 29. LOCAL CASES OF POSSESSIVE FORMS OF NOUNS

The local case-endings (§ 24) may be used with the possessives, the local ending always being placed after the possessive one: (HOUSE) MY IN, YOUR FROM, etc. The combination is not brought about by a mere addition of the endings, but the forces of assimilation and analogy have modified the compounds in the development of the language.

The local endings *-ut*, *-e*, *-it*, *-ik*, are augmented by an *n* (thus, *-nut*, *-ne*, *-nit*, *-nik*) when joined to a possessive inflected noun; and the prosecutive ending *-gut* or *-kut* is apparently augmented by *-ti* (thus, *-tigut*). In first, second, and fourth persons, *-nut*, *-ne*, *-nit*, *-nik*, seem to be joined to the relative possessive forms of the nouns (though the first

person plural and the second person singular take a very irregular form in the compounds), but in the third person the same endings seem to be joined after the absolutive possessives.

		Endings
Absolutive	<i>illo</i> a house, the house	-o
Relative	<i>illup</i> of the house	-p
Fourth per. possessive	<i>illum</i> his (her) own house or houses	-me
Allative	<i>illumitut</i> into his own house or houses	-nut
Locative	<i>illumine</i> in his own house or houses	-ne
Ablative	<i>illuminit</i> from his own house or houses	-nit
Instrumentalis	<i>illuminiik</i> by his own house or houses	-nik
Prosecutive	<i>illumitut</i> through his own house or houses	-gut
Conformative	<i>illumisut</i> like his own house or houses	-sut

THE LOCATIVE CASE (-ne) POSSESSIVELY INFLECTED

illo HOUSE; *illum* IN A HOUSE, IN THE HOUSE.

	Singular and plural	Old Eskimo	Modern possessive forms
4th per. sing.	<i>illumine</i> in his house or houses	<*illumene	<i>illum</i>
2d per. sing. .	<i>illumne</i> (also <i>illorne</i>) in thy house or houses	<*illuwitne?	<i>illuwit</i>
1st per. sing. .	<i>illumne</i> in my house or houses	<*illumane?	<i>illum</i>
4th per. pl. .	<i>illuminne</i> in their house or houses	<*illumikne	<i>illumik</i>
2d per. pl. .	<i>illumssinne</i> in your house or houses	<*illupsine?	<i>illumss</i>
1st per. pl. .	<i>illuwittinne</i> in our house or houses	<*illuptane?	<i>illuwita</i>
	Singular, house		(Absolutive)
3d per. sing. .	<i>illuane</i> in his (EJUS) house	<*illuane	<i>illua</i>
3d per. pl. .	<i>illuane</i> in their (EORUM) house	<*illuatne	<i>illuat</i>
	Plural, houses		
3d per. sing. .	<i>illuine</i> in his houses	<*illuene	<i>illue</i>
3d per. pl. .	<i>illuine</i> in their houses	<*illuene	<i>illue</i> or <i>illuit</i>

In the second person the possessive locative ending -*ne* is also common; e. g.,

ki^wffarne (= *ki^wffanne*) at thy servant (< *ki^wffaq* servant, porter)

THE PROSECUTIVE CASE POSSESSIVELY INFLECTED

siut EAR; *siuta-a* HIS EAR; *siuttiut* THROUGH AN EAR.

	Singular and plural	Old Eakimo	(Relative)
4th per. sing.	<i>siutimiut</i> through his (own) ear or ears	< <i>siutimeyut</i>	<i>siutime</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>siutikkut</i> through thy ear or ears	< <i>siutikkut</i>	<i>siutit</i>
1st per. sing.	<i>siutiikkut</i> through my ear or ears	< <i>siutiipkut</i> ? or <i>siutimabut</i>	<i>siutima</i>
4th per. pl.	<i>siutimikkut</i> through their own ear or ears	< <i>siutimikkut</i>	<i>siutimik</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>siutiwasiyut</i> through your ear or ears	< <i>siutipecyut</i>	<i>siutiwac</i>
1st per. pl.	<i>siutiwtiyut</i> through our ear or ears	< <i>siutiplayut</i>	<i>siutiwta</i>
	Singular, ear		(Absolute)
3d per. sing.	{ <i>siutaayut</i> or <i>siutaatiyut</i> } through his (EJUS) ear	{ < <i>siutaayut</i> ? or <i>siutaatiyut</i>	<i>siutaa</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>siutaatiyut</i> through their (BORUM) ear		
	Plural, ears		(Relative)
3d per. sing.	<i>siutaa 'siyut</i>	< <i>siutaaisayut</i> ?	<i>siutaa 'ea</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>siutaa 'siyut</i>		<i>siutaa 'ea</i>

All the other endings beginning with *n* are joined to the noun in the same manner as *-ne*.

Other examples:

-ne.

i'serriane at the entrance (*iserfik*) of it (*a*)

umiap ataane of the umiak, in (*ne*) the under-space (*ata*) of it (*a*)=
under the umiak

qilaa^wp killi'ane of the sky, in (*ne*) the border (*kili'lik*) of it (*a*)=
on the horizon

qa^wnne on the top (*qak*) of me

-nut.

iLLuminut iserpoq he goes into (*nut*) his (*me*) house (*iLLO*)

kili'yanut to the border of it (*a*)

ila'minut to his or her own (*me*) house-mate (*ila*)

iki'nuti^wnnut to my (*^wn*) friend or friends (*iki'nut* [*e*])

-nit.

iniminit from his or its own (*mi*) place, nest, etc. (*ine*)

kili'yanit from the border of it (*a*), especially from that time

noop kujataanit of the point of land (*nook*), from its (*a*) southern
space (*kujat* [*a*])=from the south of the point of land

qaqqap qaanit of the mountain, from its (*a*) top=from the top of
the mountain

nik.

- 'amminik* with his own (*me*) finger (*assak*) or fingers
sa'wimminik with his own knife (*sa'wik*) or knives (*sa'weet*)
alermminnik with their own (*min*) harpoon-line (*aleq*)
ame'torqaminnik with their own (*min*) old skin
ammeterqaminnik with their old skins (*ameq*, pl. *ammit*)

-nut, -kut, -tinut.

- qiyaminut* through or by his own (*me*) nose (*qiyag*)
keenaminut through or over his own (*me*) face
qonasiayut through or about his (*a*) neck (*qonaseq*)
keenaatinyut through his (EJUS) (*a*) face
niaqoaatinyut through his (*a*) head (*niaqog*)
timaatinyut through his body (*time*)
siutiyaakkut through or by my little ear or ears

Verbs (§§ 30-44)**§ 30. CONJUGATION**

The conjugation of the Eskimo verb is based on a set of slightly different stems; i. e., they are derivatives from a common base, which in itself need not be of the character of a verb. The personal verb-suffixes follow the stems as terminals. The suffixes (the verb-signs) have different meanings, constituting at the same time the modes of the verb. Accordingly the stem of the verb alternates during the conjugation. From the base *kapi* are formed the verb-stems *kapiy*, *kapi'wo*, *kapi'wa*, *kapi'le*, *ka'pillo*, etc. (see § 31). Since each of these stems has its own set of six or eight personal endings, it becomes evident that the system of conjugation must be very complex. Moreover, there are four classes of conjugation, according to the difference in form of the bases. Examples of these classes are—

- Class I, **kapi*, the last syllable weak (unstressed), and invariably ending in a normal vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*).
 Class II, **piye* (*piya*), the last syllable weak, and ending in *e* alternating with *a*.
 Class III, **ti'ki* (*tikik*), the last syllable strongly stressed, but never ending in a uvular.
 Class IV, **a'toq* (*ato*), the last syllable strongly stressed, and ending in a uvular (*q > r*).

Thus the differences in the classes of conjugation depend not only upon the final sound, but also upon the stress, of the bases. These differences affect the constituting suffixes. Class I, for instance, adds

in Greenlandic *woq* in the same modes in which Classes III and IV add *poq*.

A consideration of the endings of the conjugated verb proves that most of them coincide, partially at least, with the possessive suffixes of nouns. The etymological researches strengthen this hypothesis concerning the common origin of these elements. Only some few of the personal verb-endings deviate absolutely from the present system of possessive suffixes of nouns. They may be elements of a foreign origin or obsolete suffixes.

Of a neutral character, lacking any mark of personality, is the ending of the third person singular *-oq* (*-poq*, *-woq*), dual *-uk*, plural *-ut*, which quite agrees with the common absolutive ending of the noun; and in so far we might speak of an absolutive of the verb, but it should be noted that we find no corresponding suffixless relative (*-up*) in the conjugation of the finite verb. On the other hand, we find, in the system of verb conjugation, not one set, but two or three sets, of absolutive possessive endings, and another set of relative possessive endings.

The modal suffixes are inseparable from the personal endings; but they may be, and really often are, severed from the base by the insertion of other suffixes. Many of these infixes are of a modal character; but since they do not affect the endings of the words, we shall not treat them here.

The only indication of tense in the simple forms of the Eskimo verb is expressed by modes x and xi (see § 32). As for the other modes, the past tense may sometimes be expressed by infixing *-aluar*(*poq*), *-sima*(*woq*); and the future tense, by infixing *ssa* (*-ssawoq*, in the third person singular contracted to *-sswoq*), or *-uma*(*woq*), *-umaar*(*poq*).

§ 31. SYNOPSIS OF POSSESSIVE ENDINGS OF NOUNS (N.) AND VERBS (V.)¹

The paradigms in the next following sections are confined to the West Greenland dialect.

¹ The dual endings are left out here (cf. § 26). The Roman numerals refer to the modes (see § 32).

A

Simple Absolute Possessives, or Compounds made up of one of the Absolute Singular or Plural Signs, q, k, t, + Possessive Suffix

	N.		V.	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. .	<i>ga ra</i>	<i>kka</i>	<i>ga</i> II VI VII <i>ra</i> III V VIII XII IV IX	<i>kka</i> III V IX
2d per. sing. .	<i>it t</i>	<i>tit stt</i>	<i>tit</i> II VI VII <i>stt</i> V <i>it</i> I <i>rit</i> XII <i>t</i> III VII VIII IX	<i>it</i> III IX
3d per. sing. .	<i>a</i>	<i>e t</i>	<i>q</i> II VI VII VIII <i>a</i> III VII VIII IX <i>ra</i> XII	<i>t</i> III IX
4th per. sing. .	<i>e ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ne</i> VI VIII <i>nne</i> IX	<i>ne</i> IX VIII
1st per. pl. . .	<i>rput ppul</i>	<i>gut wut</i>	<i>rput</i> III V VIII XII <i>pput</i> IX	<i>gut</i> II VII <i>wut</i> III V VIII IX
2d per. pl. . .	<i>ree see</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>ree</i> III VIII XII <i>see</i> IX	<i>se</i> II III IV VI VII IX <i>tte</i> I
3d per. pl. . .	<i>at</i>	<i>it e</i>	<i>at</i> III VII IX <i>rat</i> XII	<i>t</i> II IV V <i>it</i> III VIII IX
4th per. pl. . .	<i>rtik tik</i> <i>tik</i>	<i>tik stk</i>	<i>rtik</i> VIII XII <i>tik</i> IX	<i>tik</i> VI VIII IX

In the compounds, *q* changes to *r* before a consonant or between vowels (§ 4).

ks is assimilated to *ss*

tk is assimilated to *kk*

kn is assimilated to *nn*

kt is assimilated to *tt*

kp is assimilated to *pp*

B

Relative Possessives

	N.		V. x, xi	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
1st per. sing. . .	<i>ma rma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	—
2d per. sing. . .	<i>wit rptl</i>	<i>wit</i>	<i>wit</i>	—
3d per. sing. . .	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	<i>at</i>	—
4th per. sing. . .	<i>me rme</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	—
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>wta</i>	<i>wta</i>	—	<i>wta</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>wse</i>	<i>wse</i>	—	<i>wse</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>ata</i>	<i>isa</i>	—	<i>ata</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>mik rmik</i>	<i>mik</i>	—	<i>mik</i>

C

Compound Verbal Endings, Composed of an Unascertained Element ($w < p f$) + a Possessive Ending, or of Two Absolutive Possessives, or of a Relative Possessive + an Absolutive Possessive ($B + A$ or $B + D$)¹

SINGULAR OBJECTS

me . . .	thou—me <i>rma</i> III <i>mma</i> IX X XI (<i>yga</i> 1?)	you—me <i>sipa</i> I <i>wsipa</i> III IX X XI	he—me <i>apa</i> III IX X XI	they—me <i>appa</i> (<* <i>pa</i>) III IX X XI	he (SE) ² —me <i>miya</i> X <i>nipa</i> XI	they (SE)—me <i>miyya</i> () * <i>miipa</i> X <i>nippa</i> () * <i>nippa</i> XI
thee . . .	I—thee <i>wkil</i> (<* <i>pgit</i> ?) or <i>ayil</i> III IX X XI	we—thee <i>wtigil</i> (< * <i>wlagit</i> ?) III IX X XI	he—thee <i>atil</i> III IX X XI	they—thee <i>attil</i> III IX X XI	he (SE)—thee <i>misil</i> X <i>nisl</i> XI	they (SE)— thee <i>mittil</i> X <i>nittil</i> XI
him . . .	I—him <i>wko</i> X XI	we—him <i>wtigo</i> X XI	thou—him <i>kko</i> (<* <i>wgo</i>) X XI	you—him <i>siuk</i> I IV <i>wsuk</i> X XI	he (SE)—him <i>miuk</i> X <i>nuk</i> XI	they (SE)— him <i>miiko</i> X <i>niko</i> XI
him (SE) ²	I—him (SE) ² <i>wenne</i> IX X XI	we—him (SE) <i>winne</i> IX X XI	thou—him (SE) <i>nne</i> (<* <i>ne</i>) IX X XI	you—him (SE) <i>winne</i> IX X XI	he—him (SE) <i>ane</i> IX X XI	they—him (SE) ² <i>anne</i> (<* <i>tw</i>) IX X XI

PLURAL OBJECTS

us . . .	thou—us <i>wtigut</i> III IX X XI	you—us <i>wsigut</i> III IX X XI <i>sigut</i> I	he—us <i>atigut</i> III IX X XI	they—us <i>atigut</i> III IX X XI	he (SE) ² —us <i>misigut</i> X <i>nisigut</i> XI	they (SE) ² —us <i>misigut</i> X <i>nisigut</i> XI
you (pl.) .	I—you <i>wse</i> III V IX X XI	we—you <i>wse</i> III V IX X XI	he—you <i>ase</i> III IX X XI	they—you <i>ase</i> III IX X XI	he (SE)—you <i>mise</i> X <i>nise</i> XI	they (SE)— you <i>mise</i> X <i>nise</i> XI
them . .	I—them <i>wkil</i> III V X XI	we—them <i>wtigik</i> III V X XI	thou—them <i>kkil</i> V X XI	you—them <i>sigik</i> IV V <i>wsigik</i> X XI	he (SE)—them <i>migil</i> X <i>nigil</i> XI	they (SE)— them <i>miikkik</i> X <i>nikkik</i> XI
them (SE) ²	I—them (SE) ² <i>wtik</i> IX X XI	we—them (SE) <i>wtik</i> IX X XI	thou—them (SE) <i>ttik</i> IX X XI	you—them (SE) <i>ttik</i> IX X XI	he—them (SE) <i>atik</i> IX X XI	they—them (SE) ² <i>atik</i> IX X XI (i) <i>sigik</i> () * <i>isigik</i> (?) V

¹ In this table *wt*, *ws*, *wk*, stand throughout for *wit*, *wes*, *wik*, which are phonetically more correct.

² (SE) i. e., the Latin reflexive pronoun, here only used to indicate a like grammatical function of the Eskimo *me*, *mik*, *tik*, *ne*, *nik*.

D

Simple Personal Suffizes Peculiar to Certain Parts of the System of Conjugation

	VI	(V) IX	I X XI	I IV V	V X XI
1st per. sing. . . .	(ya)	—	—	—	—
2d per. sing. . . .	(tit)	kit, <i>yt</i> (q)	—	—	—
3d per. sing. . . .	<i>yo</i> < <i>go</i>	—	<i>yo</i> (< <i>go</i>) <i>ko</i> , <i>uk</i>	<i>iuk</i> (< <i>*iu</i>)	<i>suk</i> (< <i>*juk</i> ?)
4th per. sing. . . .	<i>ne</i>	—	—	—	—
1st per. pl.	<i>ta</i> (v)	(<i>iyut</i>)	—	<i>tiyut</i> , <i>siyut</i>	—
2d per. pl.	(<i>se</i>)	—	—	—	—
3d per. pl.	<i>yt</i> < <i>git</i>	—	{ <i>yt</i> (< <i>git</i>), <i>kit</i> <i>yik</i> (< <i>gik</i>), <i>kik</i>	<i>yt</i> (< <i>git</i>) <i>yik</i> (< <i>gik</i>)	— <i>yik</i> (< <i>*gik</i>)
4th per. pl.	(<i>tik</i>)	—	—	—	—

yo(*go*) in *-mango*, *-pango*, *-logo* (South Greenland *-mago*, *-pago*, *-lugo*), seems to be of the same origin as *suk*, *iuk*, answering to the Alaskan form *-ghwū*, *-ēū* (Barnum 148, 142). The same may be true of *-uk* in—

atoruk use it!

takunwiuk do you see it?

atorsiuk you use it!

Thus the original form of this suffix may have been a single *o*; but between *e* and *o* a glide sound (semi-vowel) has sprung up and become self-existent, changing to *g*, *k*, *j*, *s*, *η*, at different stages in the history of the language.

ηik, *kik*, probably belonged originally to the dual, but have assumed a plural meaning and stand for *ηit*, to avoid confusion with the second-person forms ending in *-ηit*. The initial *η* of *ηik*, *ηit*, of course, is derived from *g*, which sound is otherwise used in these endings instead of *η*, except in North Greenland.

§32. SYNOPSIS OF VERBAL MODES OF CONJUGATION (DIALECT OF WEST GREENLAND)

Modes of conjugation	Modal characters					Person endings, A, B, C, D ¹	Name and definition of the mode
	Affirmative				Negative		
	Class of conjugation				(V.)		
	I	II	III	IV			
I	<i>p < q</i>	<i>p < q</i>	<i>p, ut²</i>	<i>r</i>	—	A, C, D	FINITE VERB Imperative, intransitive, and transitive.
1st per.	—	—	—	<i>p</i>	—	A	
II	<i>wo</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ppo</i>	<i>rpo</i>	<i>ppila³</i>	A	Middle voice (medium), intransitive } quasi-indicative. quasi-active, or quasi-passive.
3d per. pl.	—	—	—	—	<i>ppilla</i>	A	
III	<i>wa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ppa</i>	<i>rpa</i>	<i>ppila</i>	A, C	Quasi-transitive.
IV, 2d per.	<i>we</i>	<i>paí</i>	<i>ppe</i>	<i>rpe</i>	<i>ppile</i>	A, C	Interrogative, intransitive and transitive.
3d per.	<i>wa</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ppa</i>	<i>rpa</i>	<i>ppila</i> (4)	(4)	
3d per. pl.	<i>ppa</i>	—	—	—	<i>ppilla</i>	A	Optative, intransitive and transitive.
V, 3d per.	<i>le</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>lle</i>	<i>rle</i>	—	(4) A, C	
1st per.	<i>la</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lla</i>	<i>rila</i>	—	A, C, (D)	

¹ A, B, C, D, refer to § 31.² *utigit* or *utigitit* come.³ *utkippilait* or *utkipipit* thou didst not come.⁴ In the third person singular, simply used without any suffix.

Modes of conjugation	Modal characters				Person endings, A, B, C, D	Name and definition of the mode
	Affirmative		Negative			
	Class of conjugation					
	I	II	III	IV		
					(V.)	
VI	LLO	lo	LLO	rLO	nna, u ¹	PARTICIPLE Contemporative or associative, attributive; quasi-active or quasi-passive; 1st, 2d, 4th, per. intransitive, 3d per. transitive. Verbal noun or verbal adjective; agent or medial; attributive or predicative. Passive participle; attributive. Transitive participle, quasi-active, always comprising both subject and object; predicative (or attributive). Past tense or causal proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive. Future tense or conditional proposition; transitive or intransitive; attributive. Verb abstract.
VII a	(s)ae	(s)ae	tic*	ric*	A	
β	(s)ao	(s)ao	ti<*(r)lo	ppilo	A	
VIII	sa	sa	ta sa pa	pa<pa	A	
IX, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	pi<pi	pi<pi	kki	ri	C, D	
3d per.	pa<pa	pa<pa	kka	ra	A	
X, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	pa<pa	pa<pa	kka	ra	B, C	
3d per.	mna	mna	mna	rma	B, C	
XI, 1st, 2d, 4th per.	pu<pu	pu<pu	kku	ru	B, C	
3d per.	ppa	ppa	ppa	rpa	B, C	
XII	ne	ne	nne	ne	A	

¹ a is the negative character in the third person singular, and the first, second, and third persons plural, of the verbs of class IV; *terane* he (3d) not going in <ter-a-ae, but *titinnane* (class III) he not coming.

² May be used without any suffix.

§ 33. MODE I. IMPERATIVE

INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

	(Class of conjugation)	I. <i>kapi</i> , <i>kapiy</i> TO STAB ONE'S SELF	III. <i>ka'ta</i> , <i>katay</i> TO BE DROPPED, OR TO SHED HAIR, HORNS, ETC.	IV. <i>i'eer</i> , <i>iey</i> ENTER, TO G. IN
2d per. sing. .		<i>kapi'yit</i> (thou) stab!	<i>kata'yit</i> drop!	<i>ie'rüt</i> enter
2d per. pl. . .		<i>kapi'yille</i> (you)	<i>kata'yille</i>	<i>ie'rütte</i>

TRANSITIVE

		Singular	Plural	
me	I	thou—me	you—me	A C-endings
	III	<i>ka'pit'yä</i>	<i>ka,pist'yä</i>	
	IV	<i>ka'tay'yä</i>	<i>katasiya</i>	
		<i>i'siy'yä</i>	<i>isisiya</i>	
us	I	thou—us	you—us	D C-endings
	III	<i>kapisigut</i>	<i>kapisigut</i>	
	IV	<i>katattigut</i>	<i>katattigut</i>	
		<i>ieertigut</i>	<i>ieertigut</i>	
him	I	thou—him	you—him	D C-endings
	III	<i>kapiyuk</i>	<i>kapisuuk</i>	
	IV	<i>katayuk</i> ¹	<i>katasiuuk</i>	
		<i>ieeruk</i>	<i>ieersiuk</i>	
them	I	thou—them	you—them	D C-endings
	III	<i>kapiikkil</i>	<i>kapisiyik</i>	
	IV	<i>katakkil</i>	<i>kalasiyik</i>	
		<i>isikkil</i>	<i>ieersiyyik</i>	

¹Some verbs end in *-seuk* in this class; e.g., *tikisseuk* (<*tikippaa*) COME TO HIM OR TO THEM.

§ 34. MODE II. INDICATIVE

INTRANSITIVE (A-ENDINGS)

	I (<i>wo</i>)	III (<i>ppo</i>)	IV (<i>rpo</i>)	Negative (<i>yyla</i>)		
				I	III	IV
1st per. sing.	<i>kapiwoya</i>	<i>katappoya</i>	<i>ieerpoya</i>	<i>kapiyyilaya</i>	<i>katayyilaya</i>	<i>ieeyyilaya</i>
1st per. pl. .	<i>kapiwoyut</i>	<i>katappoyut</i>	<i>ieerpoyut</i>	<i>kapiyyilagut</i>	<i>katayyilagut</i>	<i>ieeyyilagut</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>kapiwutit</i>	<i>katapputit</i>	<i>ieerputit</i>	<i>kapiyyilatit</i>	<i>katayyilatit</i>	<i>ieeyyilatit</i>
2d per. pl. .	<i>kapiwuse</i>	<i>katappuse</i>	<i>ieerpuse</i>	<i>kapiyyilase</i>	<i>katayyilase</i>	<i>ieeyyilase</i>
3d per. sing.	<i>kapiwoq</i>	<i>katappoq</i>	<i>ieerpoq</i>	<i>kapiyyilaq</i>	<i>katayyilaq</i>	<i>ieeyyilaq</i>
3d per. pl. .	<i>kapipput</i>	<i>katapput</i>	<i>ieerput</i>	<i>kapiyyillat</i>	<i>katayyillat</i>	<i>ieeyyillat</i>

In the positive dual the first person ends in *-yuk*; the second person, in *-tik*; the third person, in *-puk*.

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§ 35. MODE III. INDICATIVE

TRANSITIVE (C-ENDINGS)

ne . .	{	I	thou—me	you—me	he—me	they—me		
		III	<i>kapiwarma</i>	<i>kapiwawessiya</i>	<i>kapiwaaga</i>	<i>kapiwaagya</i>		
		IV	<i>katapparma</i> <i>iserparma</i>	<i>katappawessiya</i> <i>iserpawessiya</i>	<i>katappaaga</i> <i>iserpaaga</i>	<i>katappaagya</i> <i>iserpaagya</i>		
us . .	{	I	thou—us	you—us	he—us	they—us		
		III	<i>kapiwawtitiyut</i>	<i>kapiwawessi-yut</i>	<i>kapiwaatiyut</i>	<i>kapiwaatiyut</i>		
		IV	<i>katappawtitiyut</i> <i>iserpawtitiyut</i>	<i>katappawessi-yut</i> <i>iserpawessi-yut</i>	<i>katappaatiyut</i> <i>iserpaatiyut</i>	<i>katappaatiyut</i> <i>iserpaatiyut</i>		
thee . .	{	I {	I—thee	we—thee	he—thee	they—thee		
		III {	<i>kapiwawkkil</i> or <i>kapiwaayil</i>	<i>kapiwawtitiyit</i>	<i>kapiwaatit</i>	<i>kapiwaatit</i>		
		IV {	<i>katappawkkil</i> or <i>katappaayil</i> <i>iserpawkkil</i> or <i>iserpaayil</i>	<i>katappawtitiyit</i> <i>iserpawtitiyit</i>	<i>katappaatit</i> <i>iserpaatit</i>	<i>katappaatit</i> <i>iserpaatit</i>		
you (pl.)	{	I	I—you	we—you	he—you	they—you		
		III	<i>kapiwawsse</i>	<i>kapiwawsse</i>	<i>kapiwaase</i>	<i>kapiwaase</i>		
		IV	<i>katappawsse</i> <i>iserpawsse</i>	<i>katappawsse</i> <i>iserpawsse</i>	<i>katappaase</i> <i>iserpaase</i>	<i>katappaase</i> <i>iserpaase</i>		
him . .	{	I	I—him	we—him	thou—him	you—him	he—him	they—him
		III	<i>kapiwara</i>	<i>kapiwarput</i>	<i>kapiwat</i>	<i>kapiwarwe</i>	<i>kapiwaa</i>	<i>kapiwaat</i>
		IV	<i>katappara</i> <i>iserpara</i>	<i>katapparpul</i> <i>iserparpul</i>	<i>katappul</i> <i>iserpat</i>	<i>katapparse</i> <i>iserparse</i>	<i>katappaa</i> <i>iserpaa</i>	<i>katappaat</i> <i>iserpaat</i>
them . .	{	I	I—them	we—them	thou—them	you—them	he—them	they—them
		III	<i>kapiwakka</i>	<i>kapiwawut</i>	<i>kapiwatit</i>	<i>kapiwase</i>	<i>kapiwaai</i>	<i>kapiwaa't</i>
		IV	<i>katappakka</i> <i>iserpakka</i>	<i>katappawut</i> <i>iserpawut</i>	<i>katappatit</i> <i>iserpatit</i>	<i>katappase</i> <i>iserpase</i>	<i>katappaai</i> <i>iserpaai</i>	<i>katappaai't</i> <i>iserpaa't</i>

§ 36. MODE IV. INTERROGATIVE

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kapiwit</i>	<i>kalappit</i>	<i>iserpit</i>	<i>-yyippit</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>kapiwisc</i>	<i>kalappisc</i>	<i>iserpisc</i>	<i>-yyippisc</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>kapiwa</i>	<i>kalappa</i>	<i>isarpa</i>	<i>-yyila</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>kappipat</i>	<i>kalappat</i>	<i>isarpat</i>	<i>-yyillat</i>

TRANSITIVE

	Class of con- jugation.			Negative	
me. . .	I	thou—me <i>kapiwiya</i>	you—me <i>kapiwisiga</i>	thou—me <i>-yyiliya</i>	you—me <i>-yyilisiga</i>
	IV	<i>iserpiya</i>	<i>iserpisiga</i>		
us . . .	I	thou—us <i>kapiwisigut</i>	you—us <i>kapiwisigut</i>	thou—us <i>-yyilisigut</i>	you—us <i>-yyilisigut</i>
	IV	<i>iserpisigut</i>	<i>iserpisigut</i>		
him . . .	I	thou—him <i>kapiwiuk</i>	you—him <i>kapiwiuk</i>	thou—him <i>-yyiliuk</i>	you—him <i>-yyilisiuk</i>
	IV	<i>iserpiuk</i>	<i>iserpisiuk</i>		
them . . .	I	thou—them <i>kapiwiyl</i>	you—them <i>kapiwisigik</i>	thou—them <i>-yyiliyl</i>	you—them <i>-yyilisiyik</i>
	IV	<i>iserpiyl</i>	<i>iserpisigik</i>		

§ 37. MODE V. OPTATIVE

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kapilaya</i> wish I would stab my- self	<i>katallaya</i>	<i>iserlaya</i> wish I might enter	<i>-nyikkile</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>kapilata</i>	<i>katallata</i>	<i>iserlata</i>	<i>-nyikkilit</i>

TRANSITIVE

me . . {	I IV			he—me <i>kapiliya</i> <i>iserliya</i>	they—me <i>kapiliyya</i> <i>iserliyya</i>
us . . {	I IV			he—us <i>kapilisiyut</i> <i>iserlisiyut</i>	they—us <i>kapilisiyut</i> <i>iserlisiyut</i>
thee . {	I IV	I—thee <i>kapilawkkil</i> <i>iserlawkkil</i>	we—thee <i>kapilawttiyl</i> <i>iserlawttiyl</i>	he—thee <i>kapilistl</i> <i>iserlistl</i>	they—thee { <i>kapilittit</i> or <i>kapilistil</i> <i>iserlittit</i> or <i>iserlistil</i>
you (pl.) {	I IV	I—you <i>kapilawsee</i> <i>iserlawsee</i>	we—you <i>kapilawsee</i> <i>iserlawsee</i>	he—you <i>kapilise</i> <i>iserlise</i>	they—you <i>kapilise</i> <i>iserlise</i>
him . {	I IV	I—him <i>kapilara</i> <i>iserlara</i>	we—him <i>kapilarput</i> <i>iserlarput</i>	he—him <i>kapiliuk</i> <i>iserliuk</i>	they—him <i>kapilissuk</i> <i>iserlissuk</i>
them . {	I IV	I—them <i>kapilakka</i> <i>iserlakka</i>	we—them <i>kapilawut</i> <i>iserlawut</i>	he—them <i>kapilityl</i> <i>iserliyl</i>	they—them <i>kapilisiyik</i> <i>iserlisiyik</i>

Negative forms are—

-nyikkiliuk he—him*-nyikkiliyit* he—them

§ 37

§ 38. MODE VI. CONTEMPORATIVE

Stabbing or being stabbed

	Intransitive (Active or Passive)	Negative
1st per. sing.	<i>kapillōya</i>	<i>kapinnaya</i> ¹
1st per. pl.	<i>kapilluta</i>	<i>kapinnata</i>
2d per. sing.	<i>kapillutit</i>	<i>kapinnatit</i>
2d per. pl.	<i>kapilluse</i>	<i>kapinnase</i>
4th per. sing.	<i>kapillune</i>	<i>kapinnane</i>
4th per. pl.	<i>kapillutik</i>	<i>kapinnatik</i>
	Transitive or Passive	
3d per. sing.	<i>kapillōyo</i> ²	<i>kapinnayo</i>
3d per. pl.	<i>kapillōyit</i> ³	<i>kapinnayit</i>

¹That is, I WITHOUT BEING STABBED.²That is, WE, HE, I, etc., STABBING HIM, OR HE BEING STABBED BY US, HIM, WE, etc.³That is, STABBING THEM, OR THEY BEING STABBED.

§ 39. MODE VII. VERBAL NOUN OR VERBAL ADJECTIVE

 α (noun).

Examples:

* *asasse* [*a'sāse*], with third person possessive suffix *asassia* THE ONE WHO LOVES HIM, < *asaroq*

* *ikiorte*, in third person possessive *ikiortaa* THE ONE WHO HELPS HIM, HIS HELPER, < *ikiorpoq*

 β (noun or adjective).

	I	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kapisoqa</i>	<i>isertōqa</i> I who enter	<i>-yyillōqa</i> I who don't —
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>kapisoqut</i>	<i>isertōqut</i> we who enter	<i>-yyillōqut</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kapisutit</i>	<i>isertutit</i> thou who dost enter	<i>-yyillutit</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>apisuse</i>	<i>isertuse</i> you who enter	<i>-yyilluse</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>apisoq</i>	<i>isertōq</i> he who enters	<i>-yyillōq</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>apisut</i>	<i>isertut</i> they who enter	<i>-yyillut</i>

§ 40. MODE VIII. PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Examples:

asāssaq one who is loved
asāssara my beloved

asāssāt thy beloved
asāssaa his beloved, etc.

	III
1st per. sing.	<i>katāllara</i> my dropped one (the thing I dropped)
1st per. pl.	<i>katāllarpūt</i> our dropped one (the thing we dropped)
2d per. sing.	<i>katāttāt</i> thy dropped one (the thing thou droppedst)
2d per. pl.	<i>katāttarse</i> your dropped one (the thing you dropped)
3d per. sing.	<i>katāllaa</i> his dropped one (the thing he dropped)
3d per. pl.	<i>katāttāt</i> their dropped one (the thing they dropped)
4th per. sing.	<i>katāttane</i> his (SE) dropped one (the thing he dropped)
4th per. pl.	<i>katāttartik</i> their (SE) dropped one (the thing they dropped)

All the typical endings of the possessive inflection of the nouns (§ 26) are available in this mode.

§ 41. MODE IX. TRANSITIVE PARTICIPLE

kapiñiya (S. W. Gr. *kapiñiga*) I WHO STAB HIM OR THAT I STAB
 (STABBED) HIM

thou—me, us <i>kapiḡimma</i> <i>kapiḡittigut</i>	you—me, us <i>kapiḡiṣṣiya</i> <i>kapiḡiṣṣigut</i>	he—me, us <i>kapiḡaaya</i> <i>kapiḡaatigut</i>	they—me, us <i>kapiḡaayya</i> <i>kapiḡaatigut</i>		
I—thee, you <i>kapiḡikkil</i> <i>kapiḡiṣṣe</i>	we—thee, you <i>kapiḡittigil</i> <i>kapiḡiṣṣe</i>	he—thee, you <i>kapiḡaati</i> <i>kapiḡaase</i>	they—thee, you <i>kapiḡaatti</i> <i>kapiḡaase</i>		
I—him, them (SE) <i>kapiḡinne</i> <i>kapiḡittik</i>	we—him, them (SE) <i>kapiḡittinne</i> <i>kapiḡittik</i>	thou—him, them (SE) <i>kapiḡinne</i> <i>kapiḡittik</i>	you—him, them (SE) <i>kapiḡiṣṣinne</i> <i>kapiḡittik</i>	he—him, them (SE) <i>kapiḡaane</i> <i>kapiḡaatik</i>	they—him, them (SE) <i>kapiḡaanne</i> <i>kapiḡaatik</i>
him—I, we <i>kapiḡiya</i> <i>kapiḡippul</i>	them—I, we <i>kapiḡikka</i> <i>kapiḡiwut</i>	him—thou, you <i>kapiḡit</i> <i>kapiḡiṣṣe</i>	them—thou, you <i>kapiḡiti</i> <i>kapiḡiṣṣe</i>		
him—he (SE), they (SE) <i>kapiḡinne</i> <i>kapiḡittik</i>	them—he (SE), they (SE) <i>kapiḡinne</i> <i>kapiḡittik</i>	him, them—he <i>kapiḡaa</i> <i>kapiḡaai</i>	him, them—they <i>kapiḡaat</i> <i>kapiḡaait</i>		

§ 42. MODE X. PAST TENSE AND CAUSAL PROPOSITION

kapiyama WHEN (AS) I STABBED MYSELF, BECAUSE I STAB
(STABBED) MYSELF

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kapiyama</i>	<i>kalakkama</i>	<i>iserama</i>	<i>kapiyyinnama</i>
1st per. pl. . . .	<i>kapiyyáwta</i>	<i>kalakkáwta</i>	<i>iseráwta</i>	<i>kapiyyinnáwta</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kapiyawil</i>	<i>kalakkawil</i>	<i>iserawil</i>	<i>kapiyyinnawil</i>
2d per. pl. . . .	<i>kapiyáwse</i>	<i>kalakkawse</i>	<i>iseráwse</i>	<i>kapiyyinnáwse</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>kapiyame</i>	<i>kalakkame</i>	<i>iserame</i>	<i>kapiyyinname</i>
4th per. pl. . . .	<i>kapiyamik</i>	<i>kalakkamik</i>	<i>iseramik</i>	<i>kapiyyinnamik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>kapimmát</i>	<i>kalámmát</i>	<i>isermát</i>	<i>kapiyyímmát</i>
3d per. pl. . . .	<i>kapiimmáta</i>	<i>kalámmáta</i>	<i>isermáta</i>	<i>kapiyyímmáta</i>

TRANSITIVE

thou—me, us <i>kapiyamma</i> <i>kapiyáwttiγut</i>	you—me, us <i>kapiyáwssipa</i> <i>kapiyáwssiyut</i>	he—me, us <i>kapiimmaya</i> <i>kapiimmatiyut</i>	they—me, us <i>kapiimmaypa</i> <i>kapiimmatiyut</i>	he (SE)—me, us <i>kapiyamiya</i> <i>kapiyamisiγut</i>	they (SE)—me, us <i>kapiyamipya</i> <i>kapiyamisiγut</i>
I—thee, you <i>kapiyáwkkil</i> or <i>kapiyaagil</i> <i>kapiyáwse</i>	we—thee, you <i>kapiyáwttiγil</i> <i>kapiyáwse</i>	he—thee, you <i>kapiimmatil</i> <i>kapiimmase</i>	they—thee, you <i>kapiimmallit</i> <i>kapiimmase</i>	he (SE)—thee, you <i>kapiyamisil</i> <i>kapiyamise</i>	they (SE)—thee, you <i>kapiyamáttil</i> or <i>kapiyamisil</i> <i>kapiyamise</i>
I—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	we—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwttinne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	thou—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	you—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiyáwssinne</i> <i>kapiyáwttik</i>	he—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiimmame</i> <i>kapiimmamik</i>	they—him (SE), them (SE) <i>kapiimmame</i> <i>kapiimmamik</i>
I—him, them <i>kapiyáwkkil</i> <i>kapiyáwkkil</i>	we—him, them <i>kapiyáwttiγo</i> <i>kapiyáwttiγik</i>	thou—him, them <i>kapiyáwkkil</i> <i>kapiyáwkkil</i>	you—him, them <i>kapiyáwssiluk</i> <i>kapiyáwssiyik</i>	he—him, them <i>kapiimmayo</i> <i>kapiimmayil</i>	they—him, them <i>kapiimmayul</i> <i>kapiimmayil</i>
				he (SE)—him, them <i>kapiyamiluk</i> <i>kapiyamiyil</i>	they (SE)—him, them <i>kapiyamikko</i> <i>kapiyamikkil</i>

§ 43. MODE XI. FUTURE TENSE AND CONDITIONAL PROPOSITION

kapinuma WHEN (in future) I SHALL STAB MYSELF, IF I STAB MYSELF

INTRANSITIVE

	I	III	IV	Negative
1st per. sing. . .	<i>kapinuma</i>	<i>katakkuma</i>	<i>iseruma</i>	<i>kapigikkuma</i>
1st per. pl. . .	<i>kapiguwta</i>	<i>kalakkuwta</i>	<i>iseruwta</i>	<i>kapigikkuwta</i>
2d per. sing. . .	<i>kapiguwit</i>	<i>kalakkuwit</i>	<i>iseruwit</i>	<i>kapigikkuwit</i>
2d per. pl. . .	<i>kapiguwase</i>	<i>kalakkuwase</i>	<i>iseruwase</i>	<i>kapigikkuwase</i>
4th per. sing. . .	<i>kapigune</i>	<i>katakkune</i>	<i>iserune</i>	<i>kapigikkune</i>
4th per. pl. . .	<i>kapigunik</i>	<i>kalakkunik</i>	<i>iserunik</i>	<i>kapigikkunik</i>
3d per. sing. . .	<i>kapippat</i>	<i>katappat</i>	<i>iserpāt</i>	<i>kapigippat</i>
3d per. pl. . .	<i>kapippata</i>	<i>katappata</i>	<i>iserpata</i>	<i>kapigippata</i>

TRANSITIVE

thou—me, us <i>kapigumma</i> <i>kapiguwtigut</i>	you—me, us <i>kapiguwsetga</i> <i>kapiguwsetigut</i>	he—me, us <i>kapippaga</i> <i>kapippatigut</i>	they—me, us <i>kapippayga</i> <i>kapippatigut</i>	he (SE)—me, us <i>kapiguniga</i> <i>kapigunisigut</i>	they (SE)—me, us <i>kapiguniyga</i> <i>kapigunisigut</i>
I—thee, you <i>kapiguwkkil</i> <i>kapiguwsee</i>	we—thee, you <i>kapiguwtitigil</i> <i>kapiguwsee</i>	he—thee, you <i>kapippatit</i> <i>kapippase</i>	they—thee, you <i>kapippatitil</i> <i>kapippase</i>	he (SE)—thee, you <i>kapigunisit</i> <i>kapigunise</i>	they (SE)—thee, you <i>kapigunittit</i> or <i>kapigunisit</i> <i>kapigunise</i>
I—him, them (SE) <i>kapiguwne</i> <i>kapiguwtik</i>	we—him, them (SE) <i>kapiguwtinne</i> <i>kapiguwtik</i>	thou—him, them (SE) <i>kapigunne</i> <i>kapiguwtik</i>	you—him, them (SE) <i>kapiguwsetinne</i> <i>kapiguwtik</i>	he—him, them (SE) <i>kapippane</i> <i>kapippatik</i>	they—him, them (SE) <i>kapippanne</i> <i>kapippatik</i>
I—him, them <i>kapiguwkkko</i> <i>kapiguwkkil</i>	we—him, them <i>kapiguwtitigo</i> <i>kapiguwtitigik</i>	thou—him, them <i>kapigukko</i> <i>kapigukkil</i>	you—him, them <i>kapiguwsetiuk</i> <i>kapiguwsetigik</i>	he—him, them <i>kapippago</i> <i>kapippagut</i>	they—him, them <i>kapippassuk</i> <i>kapippatigik</i>
				he (SE)—him, them <i>kapiguniuk</i> <i>kapigunigut</i>	they (SE)—him, them <i>kapigunikko</i> <i>kapigunikkil</i>

§ 44. MODE XII. ABSTRACT NOUN

kapineq THE ACT OF STABBING ONE'S SELF; THE BEING STABBED (BY ANOTHER); A STAB, WOUND.

Absolutive singular	I	II	III	IV	Negative
	<i>kapineq</i>	<i>pinineq</i>	<i>kutanneq</i>	<i>iserneq</i>	<i>-pinneq</i>

These forms are inflected alike, following the paradigm of *erneq* (§ 28); for instance,

1st per. sing. . . .	<i>kapinera</i> my stab (stabbing, being stabbed)
1st per. pl.	<i>kapinerput</i> our stab
3d per. sing.	<i>kapinera</i> his stab
3d per. pl.	<i>kapinerat</i> their stab, etc.

Defective Inflection (§§ 45-48)

§ 45. Prevalence of Possessive or Absolute Inflection in Certain Words

Some words, or groups of words, can take only certain series of the suffixes previously described. All true nouns may take any of the inflectional suffixes of nouns, though of course in many cases the meaning causes one series to be used more frequently than others, or prevents their being inflected equally through all the forms of declension. We have already mentioned some words that are confined either to the plural, or to the dual, or to the singular (§ 17).

Likewise there are words that are nearly always possessive, while others occur generally without possessive pronouns. To the first group belong such words as signify parts of objects; as, for example,

<i>itsia</i> the white of an egg	<i>isaa</i> (< <i>ise</i>) the eye of a man
<i>sua</i> the bow of a boat	or animal; eye of a needle
<i>inua</i> the inhabitant or owner of a thing	

To the latter group belong, for example—

<i>täseq</i> a lake	<i>sila</i> weather
<i>nuna</i> land	<i>nammineq</i> self
<i>ukioq</i> winter	<i>naliñinnaq</i> everybody

Altogether incompatible with possessive inflection are the demonstrative words (§ 50) and *kina* WHO, *suna* WHAT, *alla* OTHER.

§ 46. Interrogative and Personal Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns have irregular plurals. They form, however, regular local cases from the stems *ki* (singular), *kikkut*¹ (plural), *su* (singular and plural).

kina WHO, plural *kikkut* (Al. *kĩnkūt* [Barnum 77]); *kimut* TO WHOM, plural *kikkunnut*

¹ The suffix *-kut* seems to mean SOCIETY, FAMILY.

suna WHAT, plural *soot* [su:t] or [sy:t] (M. *cuna*, plural *cuvit*);
sumut TO WHAT OR WHERE (*sume* WHERE)

The Alaskan *cha* [ca], plural *chat* (Barnum 80), which is perhaps related to the Greenlandic *suna* WHAT THING, is presented by Barnum as having both local and possessive inflection; but in Greenlandic these words have no possessive inflection.

Combination of first and second persons and local declension is seen in the personal pronouns:

uwaya I; plural *uwayut* we; *uwá^wnne* at me, *uá^wttinne* at us;
uá^wnnut to me, *uá^wttinnut* to us; *uá^wttut* like me
illit thou; plural *ili^wsse* or *i'lissee* [ilisse] you; *illinnut* to thee,
ili^wssinnut to you; *ilittut* like you, etc.

§ 47. Words Signifying ALONE, WHOLE, ALL

The following three nouns, signifying the abstract concept ALONE, WHOLE, ALL, in relation to persons or things, receive exclusively relative possessive endings, aside from the third person singular. They remind us of the inflection of modes x and xi of the verbs.

1st per. sing.	<i>kisima</i> I or me alone (only)	<i>ilooparma</i> I or me whole (all over the body)	<i>tamarma</i> I or me whole (wholly)
1st per. pl. .	<i>kisiwta</i>	<i>iloopáwta</i>	<i>tamáwta</i> all of us
1st per. dual	<i>kisiwnnuk</i>		
2d per. sing.	<i>kisiwit</i>	<i>ilooparpit</i>	<i>tamarpit</i>
2d per. pl. .	<i>kisiwese</i>	<i>iloopáwese</i>	<i>tamáwese</i>
2d per. dual	<i>kisiwttik</i>		
4th per. sing.	<i>kisime</i>	<i>ilooparme</i>	<i>tamarme</i>
4th per. pl. .	<i>kisimik</i>	<i>ilooparmik</i>	<i>tamarmik</i>
3d per. sing.	<i>kisiút</i>	<i>iloopaát</i>	<i>tamaát</i>
3d per. pl. .	<i>kiseesa</i>	<i>iloopaása</i>	<i>tamaása</i>

§ 48. Numerals

The distribution of the Eskimo numerals¹ may be symbolized in this manner:

I 2 3 4 5 II 2 3 4 5 (= 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10)
 III 2 3 4 5 IV 2 3 4 5 (= 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20)

The word for 20 is *inuk naa^wloyo* A MAN BROUGHT TO AN END, all his fingers (or hands, I and II) and toes (or feet, III and IV) being counted.

¹Thalbitzer V (1908), 1-25.

The numeral system of the Eskimo is quinary, closely following the fingers and toes of man. An Eskimo always has recourse to his fingers in counting, lifting his hands in front of him. Nevertheless the terms for the numerals are not identical with those for the fingers or toes. (See examples below.)

The numerals lack the possessive inflection except in the third person, by means of which the ordinal numbers are formed.

The following numerals quoted from Thalbitzer (V), Bourquin, Petitot, and Barnum, are slightly transcribed according to my phonetic orthography.

Cardinal numbers	West Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Southwest Alaska
I 1	<i>ataaseq</i>	<i>attaaseq</i>	<i>ataociq</i>	<i>atauceq</i>
2	<i>marluk</i> or <i>arlal</i>	<i>maerluk</i> or <i>agga</i> [arza]?	<i>mallorok</i>	<i>malruk</i>
3	<i>piyasut</i>	<i>piyasut</i>		<i>piypajun</i>
4	<i>siamat</i>	<i>sittamat</i>	<i>ciamat</i>	<i>slamen</i>
5	<i>tallimat</i>	<i>tellimat</i> [tallimat]?	<i>tallimat</i>	<i>tallimen</i>
II (6)	<i>arfineq</i> or <i>arfinillit</i> ¹	<i>arvingat</i> ² [arfigat]	<i>arvenebrit</i>	<i>arvinikiziz</i>
(7)	<i>marluk</i>	<i>aggorlut</i> ³	<i>aypak</i> or <i>malloronik</i>	<i>malruakiziz</i>
(8)	<i>piyasut</i>	<i>piyasut</i>	<i>piyacunik</i>	<i>piypayukiziz</i>
(9)	<i>siamat</i> or <i>qulaaqulat</i> ⁴	<i>sittamat</i>	<i>ciamat</i> or <i>qolnilloat</i>	<i>qolnunarata</i>
10	<i>qulit</i> ⁵	<i>tellimat</i> or <i>qollit</i> [qollit]?	<i>qolit</i>	<i>qola</i>
III (11)	<i>arqaneq</i> or <i>arqanillit</i> or <i>isikkaneq</i> or <i>isikkaniillit</i>	<i>arqapat</i> or <i>itikkane</i>	<i>itiannerat</i> or <i>itiannerbit</i>	<i>ataucimik cipluk</i> (15) <i>akimiat</i>
IV (16)	<i>arfersaneq</i> or <i>arfersaniillit</i>		<i>igluin-itiannerbit</i> or <i>itiannerat arvenebrit</i>	
V (21)	<i>unna</i> or <i>unnisut</i>	<i>ungna</i> or <i>ungnijut</i>	<i>iglut-certut</i> or <i>innuy-citpaq</i> ⁶	<i>juinok ataucimik</i> <i>cipluk</i> ⁶

¹ -*lit*, plural of -*lik* HAVING, SUPPLIED WITH; in plural also -*leet*, *Leet*; same as M. -*letit*, Al. -*liziz* (Petitot LIV) (Barnum 41: *lik*, plural *ligut*).

² *qule* UPPER ONE, in third person possessive *qulaa* + *luat* INNER ONE (i. e., the fourth finger, the forefinger).

³ Plural of *qule* THE UPPER ONES (the hands or fingers as opposed to the toes).

⁴ Corresponds to the Greenland ordinal *arferpat* THE SIXTH.

⁵ Cf. *agga* TWO = Gr. *arlal* (ordinal).

⁶ *citpaq*, cf. *cika* RESTE, RETAILLE, Al. *ciptog* IT EXCEEDS, Gr. *siwnnera* SURPLUS.

Ordinal numbers	West Greenland	Labrador	Mackenzie River	Southwest Alaska
1	{ <i>stulLeq</i> or <i>stulLtal</i>	<i>stoorLeq</i>	<i>civuleq</i>	<i>caokleq</i>
2	<i>a'ippaa</i>	<i>atpaga</i>	<i>ajpak</i>	<i>atpa</i>
3	<i>piyajuat</i>	<i>piyajuat</i>		<i>piyapajuat</i>
4	<i>sisamaat</i>	<i>sittamayat</i>		<i>stameek</i>
5	<i>tallimaat</i>	<i>tellimayat</i>		<i>tallimeek</i>
6	{ <i>arFernal</i> or <i>arFeryat</i>	<i>arvinigat</i>		<i>arvinraq</i>
11	{ <i>argarnat</i> or <i>argaryat</i>	<i>argayartuat</i>		
16	{ <i>arFersarnat</i> or <i>arFersaryat</i>	<i>arvertagartuat</i>		

Irregular Inflection (§§ 49, 50)

§ 49. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *kina* and *suna* have irregular relative cases formed without *p* or other labial modification; thus—

Absolutive

kina who

suna what

Relative

kia of whom

sua of what (or *soop* < **so-up*?)

§ 50. Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

The demonstrative pronouns are inflected in the following manner:

SINGULAR

Cases	Endings	he (she, it) there	the one referred to (in speech or thought)	this here	that yonder
Absolutive . .	<i>na, ya</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>taawna</i>	<i>manna</i>	<i>tyga</i>
Relative . .	(<i>ssu</i>) <i>ma</i>	<i>ooma</i>	<i>taawssuma</i>	<i>matuma</i>	<i>issuma</i>
Allative . .	<i>muyya</i>	<i>oomoyya</i>	<i>taawssumoyya</i>	<i>matumoyya</i>	<i>issumoyya</i>
Locative . .	<i>mane</i>	<i>oomane</i>	<i>taawssumane</i>	<i>matumane</i>	<i>issumane</i>
Ablative . .	<i>mayya</i>	<i>oomayya</i>	<i>taawssumayya</i>	<i>matumayya</i>	<i>issumayya</i>
Instrumentalis	<i>niyya</i>	<i>oomiyya</i>	<i>taawssumiyya</i>	<i>matumiyya</i>	<i>issumiyya</i>
Prosecutive .	<i>moona</i>	<i>oomoona</i>	<i>taawssumoona</i>	<i>matumoona</i>	<i>issumoona</i>

PLURAL

Absolutive . .	<i>ko</i> or	<i>'uko</i>	<i>taawko</i>	<i>makko</i>	<i>ikko</i>
(Relative) . .	<i>koa</i>	<i>'ukoa</i>	<i>taawkoa</i>	<i>makkoa</i>	<i>ikkoa</i>
Allative . .	<i>nuyya</i>	<i>ukunoyya</i>	<i>taawkonoyya</i>	<i>makunoyya</i>	<i>ikkunoyya</i>
Locative . .	<i>nane</i>	<i>ukunane</i>	<i>taawkunane</i>	<i>makunane</i>	<i>ikkunane</i>
Ablative . .	<i>nayya</i>	<i>ukunayya</i>	<i>taawkonayya</i>	<i>makunayya</i>	<i>ikkunayya</i>
Instrumentalis	<i>niyya</i>	<i>ukuniyya</i>	<i>taawkoniyya</i>	<i>makuniyya</i>	<i>ikkuniyya</i>
Prosecutive .	{ <i>noona</i> (<i>natigut</i>)	{ <i>ukunoona</i> <i>ukunatigut</i>	{ <i>taawkonoona</i> <i>taawkonatigut</i>	{ <i>makunoona</i> <i>makunatigut</i>	{ <i>ikkunoona</i> <i>ikkunatigut</i>

In the same way is inflected *i^wнна* (relative *i^wssuma*) THE ONE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED (Latin ILLE).

There are some other demonstrative pronouns—

ä^wнна he (she, it) in the north .

qä^wнна he in the south; he in there (in the house); he out there (outside of the house)

pä^wнна he up there in the east

sä^wнна he down there in the sea

känna he down there

kiŋŋa he there in the south

piŋŋa he up there in the east

All of these follow the paradigms of *taa^wna* and *iŋŋa*. And just as the latter forms with the prefix *ta* *ta'ŋŋa* (THE ONE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED WE ARE SPEAKING OF), so all these pronouns may take the prefix *ta* and signify THE ONE WE ARE JUST NOW SPEAKING OF (OR THINKING OF); as *tamanna*, *taqä^wнна*, *tasä^wнна*, *takänna*, etc.

These words have no possessive inflection. Still more defective is the inflection of the demonstrative local adverbs, in which three of the inflectional endings of the demonstrative pronouns appear; e. g.,—

Cases	Endings	here	there	yonder	in the north
Locative . .	<i>ne</i>	<i>maane</i>	<i>uwaŋe</i>	<i>itane</i>	<i>awane</i>
Allative . .	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>maawŋŋa</i>	<i>ooga</i>	<i>ikoga</i>	<i>awoga</i>
Ablative . .	<i>ŋpa</i>	<i>maaypa</i>	<i>uwaypa</i>	<i>itaypa</i>	<i>awaypa</i>
Prosecutive .	<i>ona</i>	<i>maona</i>	<i>uwxoona</i>	<i>ikoona</i>	<i>awoona</i>

PARTICLES (§§ 51-54)

Although words lacking inflection are not in themselves affected by the manifold changes due to inflection, some of them at least exert a certain influence on the syntactic structure or on the grammatical forms of the words governed by them. This applies especially to the modal and temporal particles (§ 52 and § 53), and will become clear from the examples given below:

§ 51. Interjections

a amazement or bewilderment.

išše aŋššüšer 'a how terrible the cold is! (literally, the cold its badness, ä!)

ta, ata, calls attention to something: LOOK HERE!

aja sighing, especially used by women and children.

aja gasogaa^wna how tired I am!

eeq or **teeq** expresses scorn or irony.

na 'aa sudden pain.

kakkaak, **assaasakak**, surprise, wonder, admiration (M. *apkpalé* ah ! [admiration.])

For hunters' calls, see Thalbitzer I, 323-326:

dRRR . . . dRRR . . . used in decoying young gulls.

qu'teeq qu'teeq to old female gulls.

taka'teeq taka'teeq grq to the three-toed gulls.

haR^m haR^m to auks.

qa^o qa^o to ravens.

§ 52. Modal Particles

aa calling attention to something. In some cases it is used as a prefix:

aa^r'na, 'aauna LOOK HERE, HERE IT (*una*) IS! the same as *aa^juna*

In other cases it is used as a suffix; e. g.,

ooma-aa you there, come here! (*ooma* is the relative case of *una*, thus meaning OF HIM THERE)

aa is very much like the sign of the *a* vocative in such cases as—

ataata-aa father!

aa-makko they, there!

atayo lo! behold! (with future tense of the verb following it.)

atayo usissayit try it and you shall see you will be all right

sun'aa^wFa (< *suna* what + *uffa* there) expresses surprise.

u'se (bringing something back to his memory) now I remember.

usi'uFFa (< *use* + *uffa*) I thought that——. This particle is always followed by a participle or a noun.

usiuffa takussariya I thought (expected) I should have seen him

qanortoq Latin UTINAM, followed by optative of the verb.

na^wk
massa
u^wnnit } although (followed by participle).

massa takussariya ilisariyppilara although I have often seen him,
I do not know him

soorLo as, as if.

§ 53. Temporal Particles

ittaq a long time ago (South Gr. *itsaq*).

ippassaq yesterday (M. *ikpektiapk*).

uLLume to-day.

qilamik soon (M. *kpillamik*).

storna last year (literally, the one just before).

kinorna hereafter (M. *kiñunəpagun*).

qana when (in the preterite).

qaqono when (in the future).

qa'qutiñut at times, from time to time

aqano to-morrow.

§ 54. Particles for Expressing Question and Answer

aap yes (M. *ih*).

naaxa no, no (M. *tchūitop*, *diunak*; West coast of Hudson bay *naaga*).

naamik no (there is no; it is not there).

na^wk where } (M. *tchupavit*, *tchuma*).

sooq why

sooruna certainly.

massame certainly, indeed.

ilumut indeed, I do not lie.

immaqa perhaps (M. *tabliu*; West coast of Hudson bay *iluukuni*).

asukiak I do not know, maybe.

tāssaga I hardly believe.

ai is it, do you (M. *tutchayotin aīn* COMPREHENDS-TU?).

qa'noq how (M. *naw-kut*, *naw-naw*, *kpano-kpano*).

i'laa isn't it so?

qujanaq thanks (M. *kpoyanapa*).

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES (§§ 55-60)

§ 55. General Characteristics of Suffixes

In the Eskimo language suffixes (and infixes) are used to an extent quite unknown to European languages.¹ It has been shown in the preceding chapters that all the grammatical and syntactical ideas of our languages are expressed by this means, and that these forms differentiated into a highly elaborate system. Besides this, many concepts that enrich the subject-matter of our sentences, and which

¹ Thalbitzer II, 50-62.

we express by means of adjectives and adverbs, are in Eskimo suffixes attached to the words expressing fundamental ideas. Nearly one-sixth of the Eskimo "words" (bases, stems, and suffixes) are suffixes.

One suffix may be linked to another, and in this way the fundamental idea of the base-word is gradually more and more specialized and enriched. A whole sentence may be expressed in a word—in a word-sentence.

All suffixes are imperfect words—i. e., sound-complexes or single sounds—each of which has a definite signification. Without much practice it is difficult to recognize the suffixes included in compound words, because at the beginning and at the ending of the suffix phonetic assimilation by the preceding and following sounds occurs.

The order of the suffixes is of importance, and full freedom is not allowed in their use. The independent fundamental word must be placed at the beginning of the word-sentence, and the suffixes are attached to it to explain it more fully. Such suffixes as describe the qualities of the fundamental idea or its modes of action, or which refer to size or time, follow these, and appear inserted between the leading stem and the inflectional endings. These, in turn, are attached more closely to the whole word-cluster than the syntactical suffixes which may terminate it; e. g., *-lo* AND, *-ttaa^oq* ALSO.

The majority of the suffixes may be freely attached to any word. Thus- *liorpoq* TO MAKE OR CREATE may be attached to any word which signifies something that can in any way be made or created. But there are also many suffixes the use of which is restricted to a certain class of ideas, and which may be attached to these only. The suffix *-(r)nar-* means FOR THE FIRST TIME, but only in the sense of noticing something for the first time: *takornarpara*, *tusarnarpara* I SEE IT FOR THE FIRST TIME, I HEAR IT FOR THE FIRST TIME. With other words, like TO USE A THING, OR TO MAKE A JOURNEY, FOR THE FIRST TIME, another suffix, *-(r)qaar-*, is used: *atorqaarpara* I USE IT FOR THE FIRST TIME.

There are many adjectival and adverbial notions for which no suffixes exist. When for this reason it is not possible to express a group of ideas in one word, or in one compound, then the cluster will be broken up, or the expression will be divided into two or several parts. The logical relations between these parts are often shown in the inflection of the word expressing the idea that has been separated. In some cases, however, it can not be recognized by the

inflectional form, but must be deduced from the connection. If the Eskimo wants to say I HAVE A LARGE KAYAK, this may be expressed in one word, because there are suffixes to denote LARGE (*ssuaq*), HAVE (*qar[poq]*), and I (*ya, ra*); but I HAVE A RED KAYAK must be expressed in two words, because there are no special suffixes to signify colors, so that the idea RED must be isolated and expressed by an independent word. The former sentence is expressed by *qajarssuaqarpona* (KAYAK-LARGE-HAVE-I); the latter by *aa^wpalaartumik qajaqarpona*; here the first part (RED) is a participle of the verb *aa^wpalaarpoq* IT IS RED, used in the instrumentalis (*-mik*), so that the whole phrase translated literally means RED (OR REDLY) KAYAK-HAVE-I, very much as one would say I ROW QUICKLY IN A KAYAK.

§ 56. Classes of Derivative Suffixes

The suffixes are divided into two classes, according to their use. Some are employed to *transform* the nominal or verbal quality of the independent words, so that nouns are turned into verbs, and verbs into nouns; others, merely to further *develop* the independent words by enriching them with attributive ideas, but without transforming their nature. Thus it may be seen, in regard both to the suffixes and to the initial stems, that a distinction may be drawn between nouns and verbs, nominal and verbal suffixes, and consequently four fundamental types of arrangement may be observed, and symbolized thus:

$N > v = V$; i. e., a noun transformed by a verbal suffix, and so forming a verb:

<i>illo</i> a house + <i>-liorpoq</i> makes, builds	<i>illuliorpoq</i> he builds a house
<i>pujoq</i> smoke + <i>-sunnippoq</i> it has a smell or taste of	<i>pujorsunnippoq</i> it has the smell or taste of smoke
<i>ameq</i> skin + <i>-erpaa</i> deprives it of something	<i>ameerpaa</i> takes the skin off it, skins it (e. g., the seal)
<i>nassuk</i> horn + <i>-miyarpaa</i> makes a motion with a part of his body toward some- thing	<i>nassumiarpaa</i> horns him, butts him

$V > n = N$; i. e., a verb transformed by a noun suffix, and so making a noun:

<i>tikippoq</i> arrives + <i>-qat(e)</i> com- panion + <i>-a</i> his	<i>tikergataa</i> his arrival-companion, his fellow-traveller
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$V + v = V$; i. e., a verb developed more fully by a verb suffix, the whole constituting a more complex verbal notion:

<i>uter</i> (<i>poq</i>) he returns + <i>-asuar-</i>	<i>uterasuarpoq</i> he hastens to re-
(<i>poq</i>) hastens	turn

$N + n = N$; i. e., a noun more fully developed by a noun-suffix, the whole constituting a more fully developed noun:

<i>illo</i> house + <i>mio</i> dweller	<i>illumio</i> house dweller
<i>illo</i> house + <i>ko</i> rest, remnant	<i>illuko</i> a ruin
<i>illo</i> house + <i>ḡḡuaq</i> little	<i>illongḡuaq</i> a small house

Any compound ending in a suffix may be transformed or further developed. The suffixes thus used for purposes of development and transformation may even succeed each other within the same group. Thus *pisivoq* HE GETS (*si*) A THING (*pe*), of the formation $N > v$, may be further developed by verbal suffixes and become *pisinialerpoq* HE BEGINS (*-ler-*) TO TRY (*-niar-*) TO GET A THING (i. e., he begins to buy a thing), which is consequently the formation $N > v + v + v$. The latter is again transformed by a noun-suffix into *pisinialerfik* A PLACE, OR THE PLACE (*-fik*), WHERE ONE (HE) BEGINS (OR BEGAN) TO BUY A THING (OR THE THING), in which change the formation $N > v + v + v > n$ is produced; and this may again be transformed into a verb (*pisinialerfikaa*) by means of the verbalizing *-a* (in the third possessive singular) HE HAS IT (OR HIM) AS A PLACE WHERE HE BEGAN TO BUY THE THING (i. e., it was in that place where, or of that person of whom he began to buy the thing). In this case the last change gives the formation $N > v + v + v > n > v$.

§ 57. Comparison of Eskimo and Indo-European Derivative Suffixes

In the first instance the Eskimo suffixes are distinguished from those of our own languages by their number; but they differ no less in the vitality of their meanings and in their movability. Thus the diminutive endings in the German RÖSLEIN, HÄUSCHEN, in the English BROOKLET, and in the Latin HOMUNCULUS, SERVULUS, impress us as being fossils in comparison with the Eskimo adjectival suffixes, which may be attached freely to all words. In quite another sense than in our languages, the words of the Eskimo are born on the tongue on the spur of the moment. Where we possess finished, fully developed words or phrases, the Eskimo create new combinations specially

formed to meet the claim of every situation. In regard to word-formations, the language is incessantly *in statu nascendi*.

The greater number of the suffixes of our languages may be proved to have been originally independent words (e. g., the English -LY, -SHIP, -DOM, -SOME, -FUL, -LESS, etc.). How far the Eskimo suffixes have ever been independent words is extremely doubtful; at any rate, there is nothing to show that such is the case.

The Eskimo mode of expression differs essentially from ours in the peculiar power that the suffixes have of linking themselves not simply to an independent word-stem, but to each other, with the result that a complex of ideas may be developed and enlarged within the limits of a single word. We think in sentences, but the Eskimo's thought lives and moves in the word as an embryo in the womb. Even the object of the verb is included in the word-sentence; e. g., *illoqarpoqa* I HAVE A HOUSE.

§ 58. Inflection and Polysynthesis

These peculiar characteristics have determined the viewpoint taken by philologists in regard to the Eskimo language. This may be seen in the work of the Danish scholar Rasmus Rask, who knew the language through the grammars of the missionaries Paul Egede (1760) and Otho Fabricius (1791, 2d ed. 1801), and who has described it in a chapter of his "Undersøgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse" (1818).

H. Steinthal¹ referred the Eskimo and the Mexican languages to a special type, the so-called *EINVERLEIBENDE* type of W. v. Humboldt, which "draws the object into the verb and usually also combines the governing word (*régens*) and the attribute into a whole. . . . The word-formation has swallowed up the sentence-formation, the sentence merges into the word; those who use these languages do not speak in sentences, but in words." According to Steinthal, this type of language belongs neither to the agglutinative nor to the stem-isolating type; it must be called a "formless" type of language.

Lucien Adam, who, at the Americanist Congress of 1883, spoke on the relation of the Greenland language to other languages, arrived at the conclusion that the Eskimo language is not polysynthetic, as are many other languages of North America, but is only a derivative lan-

¹ H. Steinthal, *Charakteristik der hauptsächlichsten Typen des Sprachbaues* (Neubearbeitung von Misteli, Berlin, 1898).

guage. He set forth that the DERIVATION À L'INFINI of this language is due only to exaggeration of a method which is common to all polysyllabic languages, and that the Eskimo language differs from other American languages, and from the Ural-Altaic language, merely by the exaggeration of the derivative method.

As regards the descriptive term POLYSYNTHETIC, it would seem that it very appropriately expresses the conglomeration or clustering of ideas which occurs in Eskimo word-sentences. To use this term as applying to the Eskimo language as a whole is an exaggeration, only in so far as that not all ideas are expressed polysynthetically, but articulate sentences also occur.

We are no doubt as fully justified in speaking of form-endings and inflection in the Eskimo language as we are in speaking of them in those languages that are specially regarded as inflectional. Thus in the Eskimo language both nouns and verbs are inflected to indicate number, case, person, etc., and, as mentioned above, the syntactic relation may likewise be expressed by means of special endings.

On the other hand, it can not well be denied that in the signification and use of the forms certain logical and fundamental differences from the grammatical system of our languages occur, which differences give evidence of marked peculiarities in the psychic basis of the Eskimo language.

§ 59. Noun and Verb

In the Eskimo mind the line of demarcation between the noun and the verb seems to be extremely vague, as appears from the whole structure of the language, and from the fact that the inflectional endings are, partially at any rate, the same for both nouns and verbs. This is especially true of the possessive suffixes.

The part played by the possessive suffixes in the Eskimo language extends far beyond the use which our languages make of the "possessive pronouns." The person-suffixes of the Eskimo verbs prove to be identical with the possessive suffixes of the nouns (equivalent to MY, THY, HIS, OUR, etc.), which may be regarded as an evidence of the noun-character of the verb. Even the verb-forming suffixes *-woq* and *-poq* (third person singular, mode II) appear to be inseparable from the structure of the noun. Therefore these endings for the third person indicative must be regarded as impersonal forms (*kapiwoq* THERE IS A STAB, ONE IS STABBED), or as marking the neutral form of the finite verb,

which assumes a personal meaning only when the purport of the sentence as a whole forces upon the speaker and hearer the idea of a third person that is in a certain condition (passively or reflexively). Thus it happens that personal and impersonal verbs show the same forms throughout.

si'âLLerpoq rain is, it rains
atorpoq use is, it is used
tikippoq arrival is, he arrives
kapiwoq stab is, he is stabbed, or he stabs himself

Accordingly the inflected verb in the indicative intransitive is properly translated in this manner :

atorpona my use = I am used
atorputit thy use = thou art used
atorpoq use = one is used
 = he, it, is used
tikippona my arrival = I arrive
tikipputit thy arrival = thou arrivest
tikippoq arrival = one arrives
 = he arrives

The same applies to the transitive forms of the finite verb; thus—

atorpara my its use = I use it
atorpat thy its use = thou usest it
atorpaa his its use = he uses it
kapiwara my its stab = I stab it
kapiwat thy its stab = thou stabbest it
kapiwaa his its stab = he stabs it

In case an independent word is added as subject, it is used in the relative case:

Peelip kapiwaana Peele's my-his-stab = Peele stabs me
Peelip kapiwaatit Peele's thy-his-stab = Peele stabs thee
Peelip kapiwaa Peele's his-his-stab = Peele stabs him (another)

It is worth noticing that the base of the verb seems to have a passive or reflexive sense; e. g., *Peele kapiwoq* P. STABS HIMSELF, OR P. IS STABBED. Our transitive sentence construction (HE STABS ME) is based on the idea of an active relation between subject and object. The corresponding Eskimo form of speech is based on a passive or reflexive relation between the subject and the object; that is to say, in the Eskimo language no strictly transitive use of the verb is

known. The verb is treated as a noun + a verb-forming suffix (-*wo*, -*wo*; -*po*, -*pa*) which gives the noun a passive or reflexive signification, + the mark of the absolutive (-*q*) or of the person. If we translate an Eskimo verb as an active relation between subject and object, it is only *quasi-transitive*. Its fundamental idea is rather that of a passive than that of an active verb. The Eskimo does not say **HE STABS ME, HE SEES ME**, but rather **MY BEING STABBED BY HIM IS, MY BEING SEEN BY HIM IS**.

Judging from these considerations, we get the impression that to the Eskimo mind the nominal concept of the phenomena of life is predominant. The verbal idea has not emancipated itself from the idea of things that may be owned, or which are substantial. Anything that can be named and described in words, all real things, actions, ideas, resting or moving, personal or impersonal, are subject to one and the same kind of observation and expression. We are accustomed to conceive activities or qualities as essentially different from the things in themselves, and we have a special class of words (*viz.*, the verbs) to express them. They seem to impress the Eskimo mind, or to be reflected by it, as definite phenomena of the same kind as the things, and accordingly are named and interpreted by means of the same class of terms as are used for naming things. The Eskimo verb merely forms a sub-class of nouns.

§ 60. List of Suffixes

The following abbreviations have been used in the list of suffixes:

v. is suffixed to verbs only.

N. is suffixed to nouns only.

N > v is suffixed to nouns after they have been transformed into verbs.

If neither **v.** nor **N.** is added, the suffix may be attached to either class of words. The nominal or verbal character of the suffix may be determined by its signification or by its form.

INTR. = intransitive.

NTR. = neutral, i. e., transitive or intransitive, according to the significance of the leading word.

âet, âit **N.** or **v.** (marks a question or a polite invitation) how? please; e. g., *illit-âit* you, how? i. e., is it you (or yours)?

ajuppoq **v.** **NTR.** frequently

aluag (**N.**), *aluarpoq* **v.** **N > v**, **NTR.** otherwise; former (with proper names); late; although; certainly, it is true—but — (forms conditional mode in verbs)

allarpoq v. NTR. preliminarily, provisionally; first, yet
araq n. miniature, diminutive; a young one; a little
araoq v. NTR. is in the habit of. In mode x, first person singular *ariyama* or *araayama*.

asuarpoq v. NTR. hastens to —; in a short time, speedily

erpaa n. deprives it of, removes the — of it

erpoq has lost its —; sells

erserpoq has lost something he possessed

ersiwoq has some part of his body frozen

Fik, *FFik* v. place or time

fiyaa v. has him (or it) (B) for his (A) place to —, he (it) is his place to —, i. e., he (B) is the object of his (A's) action.

g-, see *η*

iaarpoq, see *jaarpoq*

iaq, *liaq*, *siaq* n., in third person possessive, MADE BY HIM; in first person possessive, MADE BY ME

iaq (v.), *iaqarpoq*, *tariaqarpoq* v. INTR. he (it) is to be —ed (the sense of this suffix corresponds to that of the gerundive in Latin)

iarpaa n. deprives it of several parts, or deprives it of its — several times (cf. *erpaa*)

iarpog n. has got it (his weapon, etc.) injured; broken

iarpog, *liarpog* n. INTR. goes to (a place); is out hunting —

iartorpoq v. NTR. goes or comes in order to —; more and more

imivooq v. NTR. somewhat, very little more —

innag n., *innarpoq* v. NTR. only; exclusively, constantly; without hesitation

ioq v. NTR. also, too; indeed

iorpoq, *liorpoq* n. WORKS, MANUFACTURES; transitive, WORKS (SOMETHING) FOR HIM

iuppaa, *liuppaa* n. works or makes a — of it, uses it for making a —

ippog, *lippog* n. INTR. has arrived at (a place)

ippog is without; is not —

isorpoq n. INTR. has gone or come to fetch —

issarpoq, *lissarpoq* n. INTR. takes a — with him; carries (something) with him

jaarpoq v. NTR. early

jawog v. INTR. is apt to, may easily —

juippog, *suippog* v. INTR. never

qaaq v. NTR. (intensive) very much, strongly

garpoq n. INTR. has —; there is —

gat, in third person possessive, HIS COMPANION, FELLOW; ANOTHER OF THE SAME KIND

gatiyaa has him as (for) his companion

qattaarpoq V. NTR. many in succession; several times

qinawoq V. NTR. it might easily come to pass; wish he (it) would not

qut N. or V. appurtenance; instrument by means of which —

kanneq N., *kannerpoq* V. towards; nearly, not far from —

karpog V. INTR. suddenly

kaarpoq V. INTR. with long, equal intervals

kasik N., *kasippoq* V. NTR. vexatious, bad; odiously, badly; unfortunately

ka^wssak N., *ka^wssappog* V. INTR. vexatious, vexatiously; ugly

katappog NTR. has got too much of —; is sick of —; is tired by —

kippog N. INTR. has (a) little; has little —

ko N. refuse, waste; remnant; cast off, left off

kootaarput or *-rpaai* N. (by numerals) at the time

kuluk N. pitiable; wretched

kuluppoq V. NTR. rather little, tolerably

kkuppaa V. regards, deems, takes him for —

kkut N., family, society, company

LLäppog, *LLättiarpoq* V. NTR. a short time, a moment

LLättaarpoq NTR. now and then, from time to time

LLarpoq V. NTR. with speed; with might and main

LLarqippog V. NTR. he is very clever in —

laarpoq V. NTR. but little; slowly

lawoq V. INTR. impulsively; in an unsteady state

le N. or V. but

leriwoq, *eriwoq* N. INTR. is occupied with, has something to do with —

LLeq N. (local superlative) the extreme one as to place, the — most

lerpoq V. NTR. begins to —; is about to —

lerpaa, *serpaa* (cf. *erpaa*) N. supplies him (it) with a —; places a — on it

lerssaarpoq V. NTR. intends to

lertorpoq V. NTR. in short time

liaq I, see *iaq*; *liarpoq*, see *iarpog*

liaq II N. one who travels to a (place); one who is out hunting — or gathering —

liorpoq, see *iarpog*

lik, pl. *LLit* N. having —, supplied with

lo N. or V. and; *lo-lo*, both — and

looneet or; *looneet-looneet*, either — or

LLuarpoq V. NTR. well, right; opportunely; completely; at all

LLuinnarpoq V. NTR. wholly; completely

- LLuppoq*, *luppoq* N. INTR. has (a) bad —; V. INTR. badly —;
has a pain (in some part of his body)
- lussinnarpoq* V. NTR. in vain
- lusooq* N. or V. like, as if it were
- mmaaq* V. one who is practised in —, skilled in —
- mmaarwoq* V. is practised in —, skilled in —
- marwoq* V. NTR. is in the state of —
- me* N. or V. (intensive) indeed, then
- mmersorpoq* V. NTR. long time, long
- mmippog* *rmippog* N. (instrumentalis) makes a movement with
— (that part of his body)
- mineq* N. a piece of —, a fragment of —
- mio* N. inhabitant of —
- misaarpoq* V. NTR. by little and little; weakly
- mmioq*, *rmioq* V. NTR. (rare) after all
- miwoq* see *imiwoq*
- mukarpoq*, *mmukarpoq* N. INTR. goes (is gone) in the direction
of —
- mukaarpoq* N. INTR. is situated in the direction of —, faces —
- naq*, *rnaq* N. peculiar.
- nnaaq*, *nnaaqva* N. his dearest one, favorite, pet
- nnaarpoq* V. NTR. enjoys to —, with pleasure, continues to —
- naarpaa*, *nnaarpa* V. makes it too —; finds it beyond his expectations
- narpoq*, *nnarpoq* V. (this suffix gives the third person of the finite verb a subjective sense; the third person is used thus for I as a form of modesty; the impersonality = I); (passive; thus used in all persons) is to be —ed, is —ed
- naraa* V. he thinks it —ing
- narwiarpog* V. NTR. there is a risk that —; most probably it will —
- narweerpog* V. NTR. there is no longer any risk that —; now he (it) can not more —
- narweersarpaa* V. prevents him from —
- neq* (verb abstract; mode XII)
- nequrpoq* (passive suffix, especially of such verbs as are not used in mode II)
- nerarpaa* V. says that he (it) —, says that he is —
- ner' Luppoq* V. NTR. wrongly (cf. *LLuppoq*)
- nerpoq* V. NTR. I wonder whether —, or if —
- neruwoq* V. NTR. (comparative) more
- niaq*, *niarpoq* NTR. aims at; endeavors
- nnarpoq* (suffixed to local adverbs) goes (to) there
- nnippog* (verbal derivative, of the verb abstract, mode XII)

- ḡaa, raa* has him (it) for —, he (it) is his —; takes him (it) for —; thinks him (it) to be —
- ḡajak* N., *ḡajappoq* V. NTR. nearly, almost
- ḡasaarpoq* N. is much frequented, full of —
- ḡaarpoq* V. NTR. in a high degree, very much
- ḡeek, ḡeet, reet; ḡeeput, reeput* N. (or V.) pair, joined in pairs; reciprocally, mutually
- ḡḡilaq* V. NTR. not (forms the negative conjugation in the verbs; see §§ 32 et seq.)
- ḡippoq, rippoq* N. NTR. is good, has good — or nice —
- ḡooq (ḡooq), rooq* N. or V. it is related, it is said to be —
- ḡḡorpoq* N. INTR. becomes, grows; TRANS. makes him (it) become —
- ḡḡuaq* N., *ḡḡuarpoq* V. NTR. little —, dear little; with pleasure
- ḡuppoq (ḡuppoq)* N. INTR. longs for —
- paät, passuit* N. a multitude, a great many
- palaaq* N., *palaarpoq* V. NTR. worthless; trash
- pallappoq, paluppoq* NTR. looks as if —, sounds as if —, behaves as if —
- pal'laarpoq*, see *wallaarpoq*
- piluk* N., *piluppoq* V. NTR. evil, bad
- ppoq, rpoq* N. has caught a —; has put — (one's clothes) on *raa*, see *ḡaa*
- reerpoq* V. NTR. has done with —, has already —
- riarpoq* V. NTR. (in epic style) eagerly
- rippoq* V. INTR. is skilled in —, is master at —
- rḡaa'niooput* V. NTR. in emulation; they contend with —
- rḡajarpoq* V. NTR. nearly, had nearly —
- rḡammerpoq* V. NTR. just, just now
- rḡarpoq* V. NTR. hardly, with difficulty
- rḡaarpoq* V. NTR. first
- rḡippoq* V. NTR. again
- rḡippoq* (cf. *LLarqippoq*) V. NTR. is able to
- rḡissiuoq* V. INTR. is or can better now than before
- rḡissaarpoq* V. NTR. doing to the best of one's ability; diligently
- rḡoorpoq* V. NTR. presumably, most likely
- rḡortoog* N. has a large —, has a great —
- rḡuppoq, rḡuppaa* N. goes that way, along that side of it
- rḡuwaä* V. NTR. wants him to —, bids or asks him to; INTR. wants himself to be — ed by some one else
- rḡlaaq* V. newly, recently
- rujuk* N., *rujuppoq* V. NTR. improper, improperly
- rujoḡḡuaq* wretched; miserable, pitiable
- rujussuaq* enormous; awfully —

- rusuppoq* v. NTR. is inclined to —, should like to —
sarpaa v. (causative) works that he (it) —
sarpog, see *tarpog*
ssaq N. future; something that may be used for —
**ssawoq* v. NTR. (future tense) shall, will (cf. *ssooq* and *ssua*)
ssaarpoq v. INTR. manifoldly
ssaarpoq v. NTR. has ceased to —
ssayanwoq v. NTR. thinks that he shall or will —
serpaa, see *lerpaa*
siaq N. bought; got into one's possession
simawoq v. NTR. (preterite, especially the perfect tense) presumably, likely
sinnaawoq v. NTR. is able to; can
siorpoq N. is out hunting —; is in search of —; moves, travels in or on —
siwoq, *ssiwoq* gets or has got —; comes into possession of —; comes across —
ssippaa N. manufactures (that) to him which he shall have
ssooq < **ssawoq* (q. v.), 1 sing. *ssooŋa*; 2 sing. *ssootit*; 3 sing. *ssooq*; 1 pl. *ssoonut*; 2 pl. *ssoose*; 3 pl. *ssapput*
soraa, *soŋaa* v. thinks that he (it) —, supposes that —
ssuaa < **ssanwaa* (see *ssawoq*), mode III, 1 sing. *ssuara*; 2 sing. *ssuat*; 3 sing. *ssuaa*; 1 pl. *ssuarput*, etc.
ssuaq N., *ssuarpoq* v. great, big; large; wide; greatly, strongly, largely
sunnippog N. INTR. has a smell or taste of
ssuseq v. (verb abstract, cf. *neq*)
ttaaŋq, *ssaaŋq* N. and v. also, too
taailiwaa v. prevents him (it) from —
tag, *saq*, *ssaq* v. (passive participle, mode VIII)
tag, *saq*, N. a part of —; belonging to —
taaq, *saag* N. a new —
taarpog, *saarpog* N. has got a new —
tarpog, *sarpog* v. NTR. (iterative) often, frequently; used to —, is in the habit of —; knows how to —
te v. (v. o noun, mode VII)
tiŋaaŋ v. INTR. is so, is such
tiŋaa v. is to him such; has him for his —
tippaa, *sippaa* v. (causative) occasions him (it) to —, makes him —; INTR. makes himself —
toqag, *soqag* N. old
torpoq, *sorpoq*, *rsorpoq* employs it several times; eats it; uses it
toorpoq v. NTR. it occurred to him that —
tterpaa, *serpaa*; *tteerog* v. waits for —
ttiag N., *ttiarpog* v. NTR. middling, moderate; pretty; a short time

- tuag* N., *tuarpog* V. NTR. the only one; only, only one time
tuinnarpog V. NTR. assiduously, continuously
tuwoq N. INTR. has a great —; has many —
uarpog N. has too many —
umaarpog, *jumaarpog* V. NTR. (future tense) will or shall in the future, not immediately, but later on
umarwoq, *jumarwoq* V. NTR. (future) will, wishes to —
unnarpog, *junnarpog* V. NTR. probably, most likely
unnaarpog V. NTR. no longer, no more
uppaa V. (this suffix transforms an intransitive verb into a transitive, or gives the transitive verb another object) with regard to him (it); and the other one too
useq V. state of —, quality of
usaq, *ussaq*; *russaq*, *gussaq* N. similar to —; imitation of —
usaarpog, *ussaarpog* N. represents —, makes it represent —; plays that it is —
ut (*ssut*; *t*) V. vehicle, instrument, medium, means by which —; the cause of —
utiyaa V. by means of that; on that occasion, for that reason
ut N. owned; belonging to —
woq N. INTR. is —, is a —
wallaarpog, *pallaarpog* V. too much; in a very high degree
wik, see *fik*
wiyaa, see *fiyaa*
wik N., *wippog* V. NTR. proper; properly, strictly

TEXT

KAAASASSUK

(Fragment of a tale from North Greenland, recorded in Disco bay, 1901.)

Kaasasorujonuaq¹ allineq² ajormmat³ tinumissaraluarLono⁴ attanut⁵

Kaasasuk wretched little growth because not although they ought to have on the dung-
able to taken him up hill

initarppaa't⁶ ilaai⁷ o,qas'sapput⁸ ujaraannittoq⁹ alliumaarpoq¹⁰
they used to throw his place- used to say he being not a stone later on he will grow
him fellows

illut¹¹ anj'sorssu'it¹² pini'arttunik¹³ ulikaartut¹⁴ naakisarppaa't¹⁵
houses very large with hunters filled they used to pity him

allisarumállono¹⁶ tinussarpaa't¹⁷ allineq¹⁸ ajormmat¹⁹ nulee²⁰ o,qar-
wanting to make him grow they used to take him growth because not his wife he
to them able to

fen'issuaa²¹ allineq²² ajukasippoq²³ attanut²⁴ in'issuk²⁵ inippaa't²⁶
used to say to her growth he is unfortunately on the dung- throw him they threw him
unable to hill out

tinusissäärümmât²⁷ arnarquasaap²⁸ tinowaa²⁹ okkarme³⁰ ineqarLLune³¹
(she) being without any an old woman she took him in the front- having her place
hope of (any other) foster to her wall platform
child

¹ Kaasasorujonuaq < Kaasasuk + ruju(k) POOR WRETCH + yuaq LITTLE. u > o before r and y (§§ 10-11).
K. is the object of tinumissaraluarLono initarppaa't.

² allineq GROWS, allineq verb abstract.

³ ajormmat mode IX of ajorpoq IS UNABLE TO.

⁴ tinumiwaa (= tinummiwaa) HE TAKES HIM WITH HIS HAND OF INTO HIS ARMS. Suffixes: ssa(r) + aluaq + lono (mode VI).

⁵ Allative of attut (only in the plural).

⁶ inip(paa) + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural.

⁷ ila COMPANION, FELLOW (house-fellow or place-fellow), third person plural possessive.

⁸ oqa(rpoq) + ssa(wog).

⁹ ujara(k) + a < u(wog) + yyi(laq) mode VII.

¹⁰ api(wog) IS BIG + soq (mode VII) + ssuaq, in plural ssuit.

¹¹ pe THING, SOMETHING + niar(poq) + to(q) mode VII + nik instrumentalis.

¹² ulikaar(poq) IS FILLED + toq, plural tut, mode VII.

¹³ naak(aa) (conjugation II) + sar(ppaa).

¹⁴ allii(wog) (cf. note 2) + sar(paa) + uma(wog) + Lono (mode VI) third person singular.

¹⁵ tinu(waa) + sar(paa) mode III.

¹⁶ nule + e fourth person singular.

¹⁷ oqa(rpoq) (see note 8) + Fey(aa) (conjugation II) + ssua < ssawaa future tense, mode III, third person singular.

¹⁸ aji(rpoq) + kasi(k)(poq).

¹⁹ Imperative transitive singular (cf. note 6).

²⁰ Cf. note 6.

²¹ tinusi(wog) TAKES HIM TO HERSELF (e.g., as her foster-child) [cf. notes 4, 15] + ssa + erup(paa), mode X, third person singular (AS, SINCE).

²² arna(q) WOMAN + quasa(q) (obsolete) OLD.

²³ The transitive verb corresponding to the intransitive tinusiwoq (cf. note 21).

²⁴ Locative singular < okkaq.

²⁵ ine PLACE + qar(poq) + Lune mode VI, fourth person singular.

tinummanulo ²⁶	piniartut	kamállutik ²⁷	arnarquasaaq	Kaasásummik	
and after having taken him	the hunters	they being angry	the old woman	Kaasassuk	
tinusimmát ²⁸	torssoonut ²⁹	pissippaa't	torssoonelerppoq ³⁰	ullaakut ³¹	
because she had taken him to her	into the entrance- passage	they moved him	he began to live in the entrance-passage	on the morrow	
anilerunik ³²	kammiut	tinussuaat ³³	anaataralono ³⁴	qimmit ³⁵	torsoo-
when they were about to go out	the boot- stretcher	they would take it	using it to thrash with	the dogs	because they
neetarmmata ³⁶	arnaquasaarlo ³⁷	ilanullo ³⁸	anaalerttarppaa't ³⁹		
usually stay in the entrance-passage	and the old woman	considering her as his partner	they used to thrash her		
anjuniarunik ⁴⁰	tikikkunik ⁴¹	ajusimállutik ⁴²	katammik	Kaasassuk	
when they caught seals	when they came home	having caught seals	from the inner entrance-hole	Kaasassuk	
nuissooq ⁴³	qinasinut ⁴⁴	assamminik ⁴⁵	qaqissuaat ⁴⁶	ajussatik ⁴⁷	qalatta-
he shall ascend	by the nostrils	with their fingers	they would lift him	their capture	when it
rinjata ⁴⁸	natsermmut ⁴⁹	poonutaaq	ilissuaat	nererqu'sillu'tillo ⁵⁰	
was boiled	on the floor	a dish	they would put it	and when they were invited to eat	
nerrisissapput ⁵¹	Kaasassuk	kisime ⁵²	saweqarane ⁵³	mikaa'nar-	
they would get the meat	Kaasassuk	he only	having no knife	using only	
LLune ⁵⁴	neresarppoq ⁵⁵	arqalánnerna ⁵⁶	sualuppat ⁵⁷	kinutaai	peer-
his teeth	he used to eat	the tearing it off	if he scolded	his teeth	they taking

²⁶ Cf. note 23, mode x + lo AND.

²⁷ <ka'map(poq) mode VI, fourth person plural.

²⁸ The object of an intransitive verb is set in instrumentalis (*Kaasásummik*).

²⁹ <torssoot (only in plural).

³⁰ torssoo(t) + ne (locative) + ip(poq) IS THERE + ler(poq) BEGINS TO, mode II, third person singular.

³¹ ullaa(q) in the prosecutive.

³² ani(woq) + ler(poq) mode XI, fourth person plural.

³³ Cf. note 23, + ssu(aa) mode III, third person plural.

³⁴ *anaawte A STICK TO BEAT WITH + ra + loyo VI, third person singular.

³⁵ <qimme(q).

³⁶ Cf. note 30, + tar(poq) mode X, third person plural.

³⁷ Lo AND indicates that they thrashed both Kaasassuk and the old woman.

³⁸ <ilapup(paa) mode VI, third person singular, MAKES IT (OF HIM, HER) A PART (ila) OF SOME OTHER THING.

³⁹ anaaler(paa) + tar(paa) mode III, third person plural.

⁴⁰ ayu(woq) CATCH + niar(poq) mode XI.

⁴¹ <tikip(poq) mode XI.

⁴² ayu(woq) [cf. note 40] + stima(woq) mode VI.

⁴³ nui(woq) + ssu(oq) (future).

⁴⁴ qiya(q) in the prosecutive.

⁴⁵ assak in fourth person possessive and instrumentalis plural.

⁴⁶ qaqi(waa) + ssu(aa).

⁴⁷ Cf. note 40, in mode VIII, fourth person plural.

⁴⁸ qalap(poq) + tar(e) irregular, mode X, third person plural.

⁴⁹ na'teq in the allative.

⁵⁰ neri(woq) EAT + qu(waa) INVITE + si(woq) mode VI + lo AND.

⁵¹ <neri(= neqe?) + si + ssu(oq) mode II, third person singular. *nerri-*, cf. *nerrikippoq* IS ACCUSTOMED TO EAT ONLY LITTLE (Kleinschmidt, Ordbog, p. 426).

⁵² See § 47.

⁵³ sawi(k) + qar(poq) + a negative.

⁵⁴ mikappoq especially PLUCKS THE HAIR OF A SKIN BY MEANS OF THE TEETH.

⁵⁵ neri(woq) + sar(poq).

⁵⁶ arqalap(paa) + neq verb abstract, third person possessive.

⁵⁷ Mode XI, third person singular.

Lonit ⁵⁸ them out	killInneq the biting	ajulissuua ⁵⁹ he began to be unable to	nerissane ⁶⁰ his food	kinotaarotariname ⁶¹ because he was deprived of his teeth
ataatip ⁶² one	nāllinileraanamiuk ⁶³ because she (or he) used to pity him	sawimminik ⁶⁴ her (or his) knife	tunisarpaa ⁶⁵ she used to give him	isu- he
maliulerrppoq ⁶⁶ begins to ponder	innuit men	pissāssartartut ⁶⁷ using to train their strength	nakuarsuanorllutillo ⁶⁸ and growing very strong	
ilaa'ne ⁶⁹ once upon a day	it'era ⁷⁰ when he awoke	qaqqamut on the mountain	majuarpooq he ascended	qaqilloolo ⁷¹ and climbing
laarppoq loudly	pissaap strength's	inu ⁷² its genius	naa ⁷³ where (are you)?	maaneepona here I am
teriānniaq a fox	anisorujussuaq ⁷⁴ immensely big	maaneepona here I am	ersilerporlo ⁷⁵ and he begins to fear	qaarquaa ⁷⁶ and he calls on him to approach
ersenaqunnane ⁷⁸ bidding him not to fear him	orunnippaa ⁷⁷ he went towards him	tikikkaane ⁷⁸ he arriving at him	oqarppoq ⁷⁹ he (the fox) said	pa'miuna ⁸⁰ "Of my tail
nooättingut ⁸¹ by the end of it	tenjoonga ⁸² take hold of me"	tinuwaa He took hold of it	immuppaalo ⁸³ and he wrapped it around himself	'pi'ssipporlo ⁸⁴ and (the fox) made a jump
silaa'narfimilo ⁸⁴ and in the air	qa'nāttarppoq he rose aloft	'tukkamilo ⁸⁵ and falling down	anninilaq ⁸⁶ he felt no pain	oqarfinaalo ⁸⁷ and he said to him,

⁵⁸ *pe* (cf. note 11) + *tar(poq)* mode VI, third person plural.

⁵⁹ Cf. note 18, + *ler(poq)* + *ssu(a)*.

⁶⁰ Cf. note 55, mode VIII, fourth person singular.

⁶¹ *kiyuta(q)* + *erup(poq)* + *tare* (cf. note 48).

⁶² *alaaseq* ONE (in the relative *alaatip* or *alaatip*).

⁶³ *nāllig(a)* conjugation I + *ler(poq)* + *aa(y)* mode X, fourth person subject, third person object, singular.

⁶⁴ *sawi(k)* third person possessive, instrumentalis.

⁶⁵ *tuni(waa)* + *sar(paa)*.

⁶⁶ *isuma* THOUGHT + *lio(rpoq)* MAKES + *ler(poq)*.

⁶⁷ *pissa(k)* STRENGTH + *sar(poq)* GET + *tar(poq)* in mode VII.

⁶⁸ *nakua(q)* STRONG + *sua(q)* GREAT, VERY + *yor(poq)* mode VI, fourth person plural + *lo* AND.

⁶⁹ *ila* in the locative, literally IN (ON) ONE OF THEM (viz., the days).

⁷⁰ *terpoq* mode X, fourth person singular.

⁷¹ *qa'qip(paa)* (mode VI, third person singular) + *lo*.

⁷² *inuk* in third person possessive singular.

⁷³ *lo* AND.

⁷⁴ *apti(woq)* IS BIG + *so(q)* (mode VII) + *ruju(k)* + *ssuaq*.

⁷⁵ *lo* AND.

⁷⁶ *erisip(a)* IS AFRAID OF + *qu(waa)* + *na* negative, fourth person singular.

⁷⁷ = *orunnippaa* mode III, third person singular.

⁷⁸ Mode IX, fourth person singular HE (Kaasassuk) ARRIVING AT HIM (the fox). The object of ARRIVING AT is the same person as the subject of the governing verb (*oqarppoq*), viz., the fox; therefore the fourth-person suffix is used. If the meaning of the word had been HE (the fox) ARRIVING AT HIM (Kaasassuk), the compound suffix would have been (k)inne.

The fox is of course the genius of strength.

⁷⁹ *pamiog* TAIL first person singular, relative.

⁸⁰ *nook* (the third person possessive singular *nooka*) prosecutive case.

⁸¹ Mode I, first person singular < *tinuwaa* = *tinuwaa*.

⁸² *lo* AND = *lo* (*l* becomes unvoiced after *k, q, t*).

⁸³ *sila* THE SPACE OUTSIDE OF THE HOUSE, THE AIR, THE WEATHER + *-innaq* ONLY, MERE + *ss* (locative) + *lo* AND.

⁸⁴ *tup(poq)* mode X, fourth person singular + *lo*.

⁸⁵ *anner(poq)* SMARTS, ACHES + *yyilaq* negative.

⁸⁶ *oqar(poq)* SAYS, TELLS + *-ripaa* + *lo* AND.

kenjmut⁸⁸ qiviareet⁸⁹ takuvaalo penjuāt katasimmāllōjo⁹⁰
 "back look behind you!" and he saw playthings (the fox) shaking it off
 teriānniarlo oqarpoq allineq⁹¹ ajootitit⁹² penuaaro'mattoona'wit⁹³
 and the fox said, "growing the reason why because you have been without
 you are unable to any plaything
 allineq ajorputit aamālo⁹⁴ pa'miu'ma nooāttinut tinumma⁹⁶
 growth you are unable Once more of my tail by the tip of it take hold of me."
 to.
 immuppaa pissipporlo orlonjilaq oqarrinaalo tassa nakuarsuanjhoq⁹⁶
 he wrapped it and he (fox) he (K.) did not and he said to "this is growing very strong
 around made a jump fall down him
 a't'ernearit⁹⁷ at'erlune imminut⁹⁸ malonilerpoq⁹⁹ nakoannorlune¹⁰⁰
 go down" he going down to himself he began to feel himself growing strong
 ujarassuillo¹⁰¹ anj'sorssuit¹⁰² sarmmillojit¹⁰³ artonnilaai¹⁰⁴ illullo¹⁰⁵
 and the big stones enormous upsetting them he mastered them and of the
 (bowlders) house
 killinanut¹⁰⁶ pimmāt¹⁰⁷ meeraqataāsa¹⁰⁸ aluttoraāt¹⁰⁹, etc.
 the border of it as he came his fellow-children they were fascinated etc.
 with him,

⁸⁸ *kego (in possessive *kegua*) THE BACK OF IT; *kenjmut* allative.

⁸⁹ = *qiviarit* mode I, second person singular.

⁹⁰ AND HE SAW THE FOX SHAKING PLAYTHINGS OFF HIS BODY (out of his fur) *katap(paa)* + *stima(waa)* mode VI, third person singular.

⁹¹ *alliwog* mode XII.

⁹² <*ajootippaa?* IS UNABLE TO CARRY OUT A WORK, OR TO BUY SOMETHING = *ajooppaa*, mode IX irregular (obsolete form).

⁹³ *pegua(q)* + *er(paa)* + *ma(wog)* + *toor(poq)* mode X.

⁹⁴ *aama* AGAIN + *lo*.

⁹⁵ Cf. note 82, same mode and person, irregular.

⁹⁶ *nakua(q)* STRONG + *sua(q)* VERY, GREATLY + *yoq* rare form for -*yoq* IT IS SAID.

⁹⁷ *ater(poq)* + *niar(poq)* mode I, second person singular.

⁹⁸ *imme* SELF, allative.

⁹⁹ *malop(aa)* + *ler(poq)*.

¹⁰⁰ *nakua(q)* + *yor(poq)* mode VI.

¹⁰¹ *ujara(k)* + *sua(q)* (in the plural *suit*) + *lo*.

¹⁰² *ayi(wog)* IS BIG, mode VII + *sua(q)* plural.

¹⁰³ *sarmip(paa)* mode VI, third person plural.

¹⁰⁴ *artor(paa)* DOES NOT MASTER, negative, mode III, third person plural.

¹⁰⁵ *illo* relative + *lo*.

¹⁰⁶ *killi(k)* (possessive *killiya*) allative NEAR TO, CLOSE TO.

¹⁰⁷ *pi(wog)* mode X, third person singular.

¹⁰⁸ *meera(q)* + *qat(e)* relative, third person plural.

¹⁰⁹ *aluttora* mode III, third person plural.



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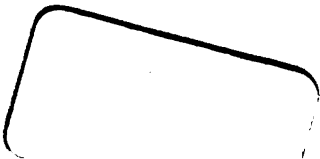
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